THE ISLE OF MAN, GIBRALTAR, MALTA, ST HELENA, BARBADOS, CYPRUS, THE CHANNEL ISLANDS, THE BRITISH ARMY & NAVY

HISTORICAL, POLITICAL, AND GEOGRAPHICAL HISTORY

WITH TWO MAPS

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PREFATORY NOTE

The papers comprised in these volumes were most of them given originally as lectures in the Sunday Afternoon Course at the South Place Institute, Finsbury, from 1895 to 1898, with the object of affording trustworthy information concerning the various colonies, settlements, and countries scattered over the world which go to form the whole known as "The British Empire." It was thought that a wider and deeper knowledge of the growth, present condition, and possibilities of each integral part of our Empire would tend to strengthen the sympathetic, material, and political ties which unite the Colonies to the Mother Country.

The generous response to the invitation to lecture was very gratifying: travellers, natives, and those to whom had been given the onerous task of governing the various provinces of our Empire, vied with one another in their willingness to impart the special knowledge which they had acquired.

The lecturers were asked, when possible, to give a short account of the country prior to its incorporation, its colonial history, the effect of the British connection on the country and the natives, and the outlook for the future. To these topics were added the conditions for colonisation, of trade and commerce, the state and local government, and the laws of the country, especi-

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ally where there was any great difference from those of the United Kingdom.

The task has demonstrated the many and various interests contained in this vast subject, and has far exceeded the original limit. It is, however, hoped that the wider public to which the articles now appeal will be as sympathetic as the original audiences.

WM. SHEOWRING,
Hon. Sec. Institute Committee.

SOUTH PLACE INSTITUTE,
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The Editor and Publishers of the British Empire Series desire to express their obligations to the Publishers of the following works, from which many of the facts and statistics in the Appendices have been gathered.

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INTRODUCTION

By THE RIGHT HON. LORD AVEBURY, F.R.S., D.C.L., LL.D., Etc. Etc. Etc.

Messrs. Kegan Paul & Co. have, I think, done a good service in publishing this Series. If our great Empire is to be preserved, it must be understood; and some of our wars would have been avoided if others had understood us better. The Boers of the Transvaal and the Orange Free State would never have attacked us if they had not been grievously and wickedly misled as to our intentions, and grossly ignorant of our strength and resources.

The rapidity with which we have placed an immense and well-equipped force in the field at a distance of 6000 miles has indeed been a surprise to every one, and even I think to ourselves, though we knew that, in the words of an American statesman, "our flag waves on every sea and in every port, and the morning drum-beat of her soldiers, following the sun and keeping company with the hours, circles the earth with one continuous strain of the martial airs of England."

To maintain that Army and Navy in full efficiency is a duty which I doubt not we shall perform; but if our Empire is to be permanent it must rest not on force, but on justice, and be held together by the sympathy and goodwill of all its parts.

The history of the world is full of warnings. Other great empires have risen and fallen again, and if we are to escape their fate, we must avoid their errors.

Recent events have shown that, whether from our

own fault or more probably from ignorance, we are not popular with foreign countries, though happily there are exceptions, and we shall always remember the expressions of goodwill which we have received from Italy, Greece, Scandinavia, and some other countries.

The dangers of the future are not, however, perhaps so much from without as from within.

The different sections of our widespread community have not in all respects identical interests, we must all be prepared to meet some sacrifices; we cannot be independent of, if we are to be united to, one another. Again, there are profound differences of religion and of race. The centre of gravity of our Empire is English, but the majority of our people are Asiatics, and it is not easy for an Asiatic to understand the views of an Englishman, or an Englishman those of an Asiatic.

Their customs have the force of law, and many have continued from time immemorial. We have done our best to respect their wishes, and even their prejudices; and we may, I think, fairly claim that we have exercised our power, not as a privilege, but as a trust.

The abolition of the slave trade has been mainly due to our efforts, and cost us not less than £100,000,000.

If we look back to ancient times, among the Greeks the colonies were expected to bear not only their own expenditure, but a large part of that of the mother city: the Romans made it a principle that the provinces should bear the expense of the empire. Spain, Portugal, and Holland have all exacted large revenues from their colonial possessions—revenues, however, which have often been obtained at great expense. France, Germany, and the United States impose protective dues for the benefit of home manufacturers and shipowners. France, for instance, has imposed almost prohibitive duties in Madagascar, and the

United States, as soon as they annexed Porto Rico, excluded from the carrying trade all shipping except that of the United States.

In the case of the great self-governing Colonies, our statesmen seem to have devised a system by which the advantages of union with the Empire have been combined with those of practical self-government. They have their own Government, they make their own laws, we do not interfere in their internal affairs, and yet we are knit together into one community, and united by feelings of affection and sympathy which are both deep and of great practical importance. Why is it that the Press of France and Russia—even of Germany—teems with attacks on, and calumnies of, England? Why have we constantly bitter questions and rumours of war, while with our Colonies and India we are on the most friendly footing, animated by feelings of sympathy and goodwill, war is never so much as thought of, and any attack on one, as recent events have shown, is felt as an attack on all.

If a country becomes part of the British Empire, restrictions on trade and commerce, foreign and domestic, are reduced to a minimum; popular government, in which all nationalities are allowed to participate, is gradually introduced, with English common law as its basis.

As soon as the community has become sufficiently numerous and strong, self-government is established, the bond with the Mother Country being retained by the right of appeal to the Privy Council, and by the necessity for the Queen's assent to bills before they become law. The latter is practically never withheld, but the power is nevertheless of great importance.

The Mother Country claims no special advantages in trade, and in the only case when such are voluntarily given—that of Canada, though the inducement has no doubt been in great measure the love for the old

country, and the desire to knit together the ties which bind us to one another, still there is another logical reason, for as *we* admit Canadian products to the British market on more favourable terms than she receives from any other country, it is only natural, apart from feeling, that she should offer us some corresponding advantages. She has, moreover, announced that she will extend those advantages to any other country which will admit her products on the same terms as we do.

Let me in support of these views refer to three eminent foreign authorities.

The *North American Review* for April 1896 contains an admirable article by the great American economist, Mr. Wells, on the Imperial policy of Great Britain, with reference to Mr. Cleveland's wicked threat of war in reference to the Venezuela dispute, in which the arbitration has clearly shown that he was wrong and Lord Salisbury was right. Mr. Wells refers first to our exertions for the abolition of slavery. Passing on to Egypt, he points out that "at no previous period, since Egypt began to have a name, has the fellah lived under a government so careful to protect his rights."

"Under such circumstances Egypt has never—certainly not within a recent period—enjoyed so large a measure of prosperity."

Mr. Wells then proceeds to discuss our government of India. After referring to the tyranny and constant war in former times, he continues: "To-day the humblest Indian peasant is secure in the possession and control of his property, and if wronged in any way can appeal to and find protection in the courts which England has established. As one result of this policy, the buried treasures of India are beginning to come forth and seek investment in England's interest-bearing securities. Under native and Mogul rulers, the only compulsory contribution was an assessment

on land, which averaged about 12s. per acre. To-day the land-tax of India, which the Government has been obliged to maintain for general revenue purposes, does not average more than 2s. per acre.

"The present population of India would not have found food under any previous government of that country, and its very existence has been made possible only through the conditions of food production and distribution established by England's Government.

"In short, there is no Government in the world whose administration is more honestly conducted and which is doing more for the material good of the governed than the present English Government of India."

Mr. Wells then proceeds to discuss our commercial policy. "Fifty years ago," he says, "the commercial policy of all countries claiming to be in any degree civilised, was based on the theory that commerce could benefit one country only to the extent that it injured another, and this is the theory that to-day characterises the commerce and trade policy of all nations—especially the United States—except England. Great Britain alone opens her ports, and imposes no restrictions on the trade of other countries, nor seeks to exclude their productions."

"In this respect England stands alone. No other nation that has ever existed, or now exists, has ever adopted a similar policy."

We owe to my friend the late M. Barthelemy de St. Hilaire, who was Foreign Secretary for France in M. Thiers' Government, an excellent work on India, in which he bears generous testimony to the beneficence and justice of our rule in India, which, he says, "mérite que tous les amis de l'humanité et de la civilisation en souhaitent le succès. Faire l'éducation politique et morale de deux cent cinquante millions de nos semblables est une tâche prodigieuse,

qui, noblement commencée avec ce siècle, exigera, pour être entièrement accomplie, une suite d'éfforts dont on ne saurait préciser la durée." We have to face, he truly says, a difficult problem, but it is very gratifying to be assured that we have the "applaudissements sincères de tous les esprits éclairés et impartiaux."

As regards Canada, I may invoke Bishop Whipple of Minnesota, who commends us as having "not spent one dollar in Indian wars, and have had no Indian massacres. Why? In Canada the Indian treaties call these men 'the Indian subjects of her Majesty.' When civilisation approaches them they are placed on ample reservations, receive aid in civilisation, have personal right in property, are amenable to law, and protected by law, have schools, and Christian people send them the best teachers."

Moreover, there is other testimony more conclusive than the opinion of any individuals, however eminent and impartial.

When the sepoy soldiers mutinied, and we were holding our own in India with a mere handful of troops, we must have been swept into the sea if the people of India had risen against us. So far from that they took no part in the revolt, and their behaviour in that terrible crisis was a striking testimony to the justice and beneficence of our rule.

Similar evidence is afforded by the history of such places as Hong Kong and Singapore. The former before its cession to England was a barren island, inhabited by a few fishermen. It is now crowded by thousands of Chinese, attracted there by the mildness, justice, and wisdom of British rule.

For the same reason the almost uninhabited island of Singapore now teems with a dense population drawn by the same causes from all the countries round.

Mr. Wells sums up the admirable article from which I have already quoted as follows:—

"Wherever sovereignty of England has gone, two blades of grass have grown where one grew before. Her flag, wherever it has been advanced, has benefited the country over which it floats, and has carried with it civilisation, the Christian religion, order, justice, and prosperity. England has always treated a conquered race with justice, and what under her rule is the law for the white man is the law for his black, red, or yellow brother. And here we have one explanation for the fact that England alone of the nations has been successful in establishing and maintaining colonies; and of the further extraordinary fact that a comparatively small insular country, containing less than 40,000,000 inhabitants, can successively preside over the destinies of about 360,000,000 other members of the human race."

Well then may we all join in Milton's prayer: "O Thou, who of Thy free grace didst build up this Brittanick Empire to a glorious and enviable height, with all her daughter islands about her, stay us in this felicitie."

We may join in it, not only in our own interests, but in those of the civilised world. Considering the complete power of self-government enjoyed by our great colonies, I cannot but think that many other communities, now separate from us, would find that they could enjoy all the real advantages of independence, and yet obtain the inestimable benefits of union if they were to combine with us, and thus secure for themselves the advantages of citizenship in this great Empire.

ISLE OF MAN

By J. R. COWELL

(Member of the House of Keys)

History.

The early history of the Isle of Man is shrouded in a dense mist of myth and tradition. All that we can say is, that there is but little doubt that the earliest inhabitants of Man were of non-Aryan race, because there are distinct traces of a cranial development typical of such a race among Manxmen at the present day.

Then, as in Ireland, came the Aryan Gaels, so that in the fifth century, when it is probable that the Manx were converted to Christianity, it would seem that the population was composed of those two races, the latter preponderating. As regards the conversion of the Manx, it is clear that from the fifth to the eighth centuries they were mainly Christianised by Irish missionaries, as some of these missionaries have left their names to our ancient *keeills* and churches. There are also recorded in the same way a few names of missionaries belonging to the Gallwegian and Columbian Churches, which would tend to show a connection, though probably a less intimate one, with Galloway and the Western Isles of Scotland. These Celtic influences, though weakened by Norse incursions and settlements, did not entirely cease till the English connection was finally established under the Stanleys. So firmly, indeed, were they implanted, that as late as

the eighteenth century the majority of the inhabitants of the Isle of Man still spoke their native tongue. Early in the ninth century the emigration from Scandinavia began. It took two directions: one, mainly Danish, to the north-east of England, and the other, mainly Norwegian, to the coasts of the Shetlands, Orkneys, northern Scotland, the Western Isles, Ireland, and the Isle of Man. The annals of Ulster tell us that the earliest incursion of the Vikings took place in A.D. 794, and that, in 798, they burned Inispatrick, probably identical with Peel. These visitors seem at first to have mainly used the Isle of Man as a convenient centre for their forays upon the adjacent coasts, and as a depôt for storing their spoil till they conveyed it home before the winter set in; but, in the year 852 the Norse Viking, Olave the White, reached Ireland with a large fleet and founded a Norse principality at Dublin.

At the same period the Isle of Man must also have received numerous Scandinavian colonists, but they do seem to have been strong enough to subdue the native inhabitants till about the end of the ninth century.

From this period till 1079 the island was mainly ruled by the Norsemen of Dublin, though there were intervals of independence and also of close connection with Norway. In that year it was conquered by the Icelander, Godred Crovan, who founded a dynasty that reigned not only over Man but most of the Western Scotch Islands, under the suzerainty of Norway for nearly two hundred years.

It was in connection with the kingdom of Man and the Isles, as it was called, that, in 1154, the diocese of Sodor and Man, *i.e.* the South Isles (of Scotland) and Man, which was under the archiepiscopal rule of Drontheim in Norway, was founded. Soon after the battle of Largs, in 1263, this kingdom fell into the hands of the Scotch. So ends the epoch of Norse rule in Man.

Its chief claim to remembrance is that, during it, the constitution which has remained, in form at least, to the present day, was established. For nearly eighty years after it the unfortunate Island of Man was an object of contention between the Scotch and the English.

Finally the latter prevailed, but there was no period of settled government till 1406, when Henry IV. presented Man to Sir John Stanley. It remained in the hands of his descendants till the execution of the seventh Earl of Derby in 1651, when it was handed over by the Parliament to Lord Fairfax.

At the Restoration it reverted to the Stanleys, who held it till the death of the tenth Earl without issue in 1735. During the brief interval between 1735 and 1765, when the English Crown again took possession of it, it was ruled by the Atholls, who were descended from a daughter of the seventh Earl.

It is impossible in so brief a sketch to give even an idea of the course of Manx history during this period of 360 years between 1406 and 1765, but we may remark that, generally speaking, it was largely occupied by struggles between the lord and his officials on one side and the people on the other.

Into the determined struggle between the Church and State, which went on at the same time, and which ultimately ended in favour of the latter, we cannot enter here. At first it seemed as if the lord would have it all his own way, as the Keys, or Manx House of Commons, who appear to have been, occasionally at least when acting in a legislative capacity, elected by the people, had become his nominees, and the ancient customary tenants had been changed into mere leaseholders. But by the middle of the seventeenth century the Keys began to claim the curious privilege of self-election which a century later they had fully established, and, by the beginning of the eighteenth

century, the people had obtained a perpetual tenure at a fixed quit-rent, which the change in the value of money has since rendered almost nominal. In 1765, the English Crown, having bought the sovereign rights of the Atholls for £70,000 and an annuity of £2000 (their remaining interests and rights were purchased in 1829 for £417,144), resumed its direct rule of the island. The immediate reason for this transfer was the prevalence of smuggling, which had greatly increased since the beginning of the eighteenth century, till between 1755 and 1765 it was estimated that it caused a loss of about £300,000 a year to the Imperial revenue.

The constitution of the island remained nominally unaffected by its change of rulers, but practically the result was to deprive the Keys of the share of the control of the insular Customs, which they had for the first time obtained in 1737. In fact, during the period between 1765 and 1867, the Manx people were in a state of political and commercial bondage, and it was not till the greater part of it had elapsed that they made any effective struggle for freedom. As a result of this they, in 1844 and 1853, secured the spending of a larger share of the insular revenue in the island, and obtained some other important fiscal concessions: and between the latter date and 1867, though they were still denied a representative House of Keys, they established the germ of municipal self-government, and initiated reforms in such matters as sanitation and the care of lunatics, which had hitherto been totally neglected.

The climate of the Isle of Man may be fitly described as follows: Its temperature is more equable than that of the neighbouring coasts, being somewhat higher in autumn and winter, similar in spring, and lower in summer. The fact that fuchsias, myrtles and other exotics flourish throughout the year in the open air, show that there is comparatively little frost.

Its sunshine is much greater than in any surrounding district. Its winds appear to be much the same in strength and frequency, but, as the island is more exposed, they are felt more than on the mainland. The question of its rainfall is a more complex one, as the fall in the various parts of the island varies so considerably. Generally speaking, however, the rainfall is rather greater and more frequent than on the adjacent coasts, but much less than in the mountainous districts beyond these coasts.[1]

We may say, then, that the Manx climate is equable and sunny, and, though humid, decidedly invigorating; that its rainfall, though never excessive, varies considerably in its different districts; and that it is much exposed to winds, which are, for the most part, mild and damp.

Entomology.

As regards its entomology, and more especially amongst the Lepidopterous order of insects known as Heterocera, the Isle of Man is strikingly rich in local form and variety, its mountains, bogs, heaths, and coast all opening up and affording to the student a magnificent field for investigation and research. Among some of the rarer species to be found in the Isle of Man, and which are prized by English and other collectors, may be enumerated the following: *Seria Philanthiformis*, *Dianthœcia Cæsia*, *Dianthœcia Capsophila*, *Polia Nigroscincta*, *Cirrhöedia Xerampelina*, and numerous others. In certain instances the Isle of Man is richer in variety than any other known British locality. A list of the Heterocera of the island (to the end of

[1] In the north of the island, at Point of Ayre, the total rainfall in 1896 was 22.850 inches, while seven miles off, at foot of mountains, it was as high as 43.143. This outline of history, &c., has been kindly contributed by Mr. A. W. Moore, author of the "Diocese of Sodor and Man," &c.

the Noctuæ), by Mr. H. Shortridge Clarke, F.E.S., of Douglas, was some years ago published in the *British Naturalist* magazine. Since then, however, a number of other species have been found, and Mr. Clarke intends publishing in book form at an early date a revised list with copious notes, as to habitat of each of the species named, which will prove useful and interesting to the collector.

Geology.

Mr. G. W. Lamplugh, of the Geological Survey, has for the last two or three years been engaged upon the survey of the island, and on the occasion of the excursion from the British Association in September last, he contributed an original and up-to-date sketch of its geology, and the handbook which was presented to the members of the excursion. The framework of the island consists of slaty rocks, which Mr. Lamplugh thinks "are not of later age than Cambrian." This mass is traversed by innumerable small dykes of igneous material, mostly pre-carboniferous, and is in some places punctured by larger intrusive bosses of the same. The slates are folded and refolded in an extraordinary manner, presenting many interesting problems for the student.

A critical examination of them by Mr. Lamplugh has caused to be adopted an entirely new reading of the origin and nature not only of these, but of similar rocks in the Lake District and elsewhere.

The slates are traversed by valuable metalliferous lodes, the great lead mines at Foxdale and Laxey having been among the most successful in the United Kingdom.

Between this series and the carboniferous epoch there is an absolute gap. The latter is represented by the basal beds at Langness in the south and Peel in the west, by sandstone and limestone at the Point of

Ayre in the north, and the limestone about Castletown in the south. From the latter series were quarried the steps of St. Paul's Cathedral, London, presented by the celebrated Bishop Wilson.

The volcanic series of this period is represented by the stack of Scarlet and Pooilvaish Bay, and of it Mr. Lamplugh writes: "For the student of volcanic phenomena no finer display could be desired than is afforded by this strip of the Manx coast line, for here he sees a small ancient volcano dissected and laid bare."

Recent borings for coal in the north of the island have revealed beneath an unusual thickness of glacial deposits a varied series of Permian and Triassic strata on the eroded edges of the upturned carboniferous rocks. Though coal has not yet been reached, it seems possible that the salt marls may develop a new and important industry in the island.

An important discovery has recently been made at Kirk Michael of fuller's earth of excellent quality.

Glacial geology is well illustrated in the island. Its drift sections are of unrivalled extent and interest. The foreign boulders are chiefly from the neighbouring parts of Scotland and the Lake District. The general distribution of the drift deposits and of the boulders, the direction of the glacial strides to be found in almost every part, even near the summits of the highest hills, and the character and arrangement of the late glacial and post-glacial deposits, are among the indications which combine to force the conclusion that the basin of the Irish Sea was entirely filled up by an ice-sheet from 1000 to 2000 feet above sea-level, having a general motion of flow from N. or NNW., sweeping southwards round and along the flank of the island.

Since the disappearance of this ice-sheet many changes have taken place. The streams have lost much of their former volume, the lakes have been drained, Sulby, the largest river, has diverted from its

former northerly course to the Lhen eastwards to Ramsey. The forests which sheltered the great Elk, and the bogs which engulfed these animals, have alike disappeared. For all these changes Mr. Lamplugh thinks a long stretch of time must be allowed, discountenancing the opinion that the interval since the glacial period may have been comparatively short.

Biology.

The small size and isolated condition of the island, cut off at an early date from the surrounding lands, explain the peculiarities of the Manx fauna and flora, *e.g.* the remarkable paucity of land forms, the presence of certain species as well as the absence of others, and the peculiar variations met with.

Out of only twelve land mammals, at least five have been introduced. There are but two indigenous reptiles. Of birds, provided as they are with greater powers of locomotion, we have about 150 species. While over 80 marine fish have been taken from immediately around our coast, the fresh-water forms do not exceed half-a-dozen. Our entomology is varied and interesting. Mr. Wallace, in his "Island Life," has called attention to peculiarities of the Manx Lepidoptera, due to conditions of exposure and insulation. For example, the common Tortoise-shell Butterfly (*Vanessa Urtica*) is remarkably small, many others are affected in size and colour, while some forms are almost peculiar to the island.

Flowering plants are few, but the lower forms of plant life are well represented—mosses, fungi, lichens, algæ.

Our seas are classic ground to the marine biologist as being the scene of the pioneer dredging work of Professor Edward Forbes, more than sixty years ago. In 1892, Dr. Herdman established a marine laboratory

at Port Erin, where already much good work has been done. He thinks that, "probably on account of the purity and salinity of the water and of the abundance of Pelagic life, the south end of the Isle of Man would be the most suitable spot in the Irish Sea for a sea-fish hatchery."

Archæology.

The earliest remains of inhabitants are neolithic. Flint implements, knives, axes, arrows, awls, and scrapers are scattered abundantly over the island, and traces of settlements are not infrequent. Polished stone implements are less numerous; most of these are of foreign material, evidently introduced by invaders or secured by barter. Some of the sepulchral monuments appear to belong to the transition period between the end of this and the beginning of the Bronze Age.

The Mull circle above Port Erin, "King Orry's Grave" at Laxey, and the Cashtal at the Dhoon, are of special interest, the former in particular being absolutely unique in design. Below it, around the hill, are clustered hut foundations, in which have been found fragments of pottery and flints similar to those met with in the cists composing the circle.

The Bronze period is poorly represented in implements, but sepulchral remains are numerous throughout the island, on the mountain slopes and around the coast. A fine camp on the summit of South Barrule, some remarkable alignments at Braddan Church, some small earthwork fortifications on hilltops and rocky promontories may date back to this period in their origin, though they were probably in continued use within historic times.

A remarkable breed of tailless cats is not uncommon, and also barn-door fowls without tails.

Political.

The political constitution of the Isle of Man to-day may be said to consist of the Governor, the Council or Upper Chamber, and the House of Keys—the people's representatives. The Governor is the appointment of the British Crown, and is under the Home Department. The Council consists of nine members: the Lieut.-Governor, the Bishop (we have the State Church in Man), the Archdeacon, the Vicar-General, two Deemsters, the common law Judges, the Clerk of the Rolls (Judge of Chancery Court), the Attorney-General and the Receiver-General. These are paid officials, who form the Upper House, and to many Radicals (for want of a better name) the Council is generally the object of criticism, and is one of those institutions which all Radicals and many leading Manxmen are anxious to have reformed. To the House of Keys twenty-four representatives of the people are elected once in seven years by the following franchise: in the country a £4 valuation for occupiers, or a 30s. ownership of land. And here, in the centre of this great empire, I may tell you, that while I have frequently seen it remarked in the press that in the far-off colony of New Zealand they have lately been sufficiently advanced to grant the parliamentary franchise to women, the fact has been overlooked that we in the Isle of Man conceded the parliamentary franchise to ladies more than fifteen years ago. And (I am sure you will pardon this little expression of vanity if you like) the first lady—and a very good-looking lady she was—who ever voted for a Member of Parliament in the civilised world, voted for the lecturer. Knowing when the Act was passed that the franchise could be exercised by ladies, she was clever enough to be early at the poll, and the

moment that the clock struck eight she recorded her vote, and thus gained this distinguished honour. I have often read the debates in this parliament of yours up here on the subject of Home Rule. And it has struck me more than once as being somewhat remarkable that, in the British House of Commons, when the heat has been at an extreme point, and when all kinds of arguments for and against have been introduced into the debate, the members have seemed to ignore the fact that in the centre of the British Isles there is a little country, with a system not absolutely perfect but as near perfection as possible, under a Home Rule government. It is remarkable that, notwithstanding all the discussion there has been on the subject of Home Rule, this little country of ours has not been brought in as an object-lesson, and that the conditions which obtain in our island have not been more frequently referred to in debate. Allow me to say as a Manxman, and as one proud of belonging to the ancient Kingdom of Man, that we hold our Home Rule government in the highest possible esteem. We know its value, and should not allow, under any conceivable circumstances, our bigger brothers on this side ever to deprive us of it. We make our own laws, and have the spending of our own taxes. We use our surplus revenue upon public schemes of usefulness, such as harbours, roads, education, and advertising the isle as a health resort. For instance, we build our own harbours and piers, and we have some of the finest solid work in the shape of landing-piers to be found in the British Isles. These works have been constructed out of surplus revenue, and a small capital debt which has been created, the interest of which we can well meet, and have a good deal to spare. Allow me to point out one or two features of our Home Rule government. In the first place, legislation amongst us is cheap. Suppose a gas, water,

railway, tramway, or any other similar company wish to seek for powers to carry out one of these works of public utility. They can come to their own parliament, and, after an expenditure in many cases of only a few pounds, they can obtain legislative authority to acquire the land and carry out the schemes in which they are concerned. And I venture to say that where any such scheme has not been opposed by a competing company, or by some other interested persons, £20 will in many instances suffice to cover the expenses incurred in connection with procuring Parliamentary powers. Now compare that, if you like, with private bill legislation in the British House of Commons.

Our parliamentary procedure is cheap, in the first place, and, in the second place, it is prompt. A bill is introduced after leave is given and witnesses are called. We stand no nonsense in the examination of the witnesses. They are called, they are examined by counsel, we examine them, and we do not allow counsel to consume too much time, or to waste our time and their client's time. To use an Americanism, which I have picked up lately in a journey to California, we "go straight down to bed rock," and we ask such pertinent questions as very soon establish the real facts of the case, and the bill is introduced, and may even be passed, in one day. And I may point out further, that the bill is considered and dealt with by men who, by reason of their residence in the immediate locality, know the subject-matter which is brought before them, and if they have not had the opportunity of making themselves acquainted with the merits of the case, what do we do? We adjourn the House of Keys, sometimes for a week or ten days, and in the meantime we make inquiries, and having ascertained the facts, we are in a position to appreciate any objections which may have been raised. Then, at the next sitting of the House the bill is introduced again, and very promptly passed

or rejected. The affairs which concern any part of the island are dealt with by men who know best the requirements of the locality, and that, I say, is a method of legislation and of government of which we have every reason to be proud. Each year, on the 5th of July, we have the ancient ceremony of promulgation. Here the old custom continues. In the old days the twenty-four Keys had no written or printed statutes, but they met from time to time to consider such laws as they deemed best for the welfare of the people. Later the law was not always written. It was what was commonly called "breast law." It was in the minds of the judges whose duty it was to administer it. Here was the theory. The people in those days had no books, and, of course, there was no education. How were the people to know the laws that existed? The following method was resorted to. Once a year, in a central part of the island, the Manx people gathered together in the open air at the foot of a little hill known as Tynwald Hill. Here the Lord, or his Lieutenant, the Judges, and the twenty-four Keys assembled. The laws agreed upon in the past year were read aloud in the Manx tongue in the hearing of the people; and the moment the law was promulgated it was enforced, and every man had to abide by it. The theory was that no one was called upon to obey a law until it was first published and made known to him. And we keep up that custom still. Every 5th of July there is a general holiday, and the Manx people in their tens of thousands, together with English visitors, assemble to witness the ancient ceremony. The Manx Parliament, public officers, and State clergy march in procession to Tynwald Hill. The Governor sits in state, the various officers of the law are present, and, though we do not now read the whole contents of the bills that have been passed, we read the marginal notes and a brief description of the object of each Act.

This information is read in the open air. In the common law courts the usual fee of a lawyer is 10s. 6d. The Chancery Court is presided over by the Clerk of the Rolls. There is a general gaol delivery or Assize Court presided over by the Governor and three Judges, and I am very glad to say they have very little to do. Then we have an Appeal Court, which also consists of all the Judges and the Governor. Then there is the Vice-General's Court, a remnant of old ecclesiasticism, which deals with a few effete ecclesiastical matters. Let me assure you again we feel far ahead of you English people. For instance, a will has to be proved and probate granted. The fees for granting probate range from 5s. to a maximum of 25s. How will that do for a comparison with your system? We have no succession or legacy duty, and no receipt stamps. These sources of revenue are held in reserve. If at any time we want to raise a large capital sum for useful public works, here we have an ample field in which to levy taxes.

With regard to revenue, the ordinary gross revenue for 1895—the last return available—was £71,733. To this spirits contributed £32,729; tobacco and cigars, £19,680; tea, £6671; beer and malt, £4930; wine, £935; coffee and chicory, £82; allowance on imperial duty-paid goods imported, £3830; fees and miscellaneous receipts, £6328. The expenditure is, I am glad to say, considerably less than the revenue, although it is by no means above criticism. In 1895 the expenditure was £65,593, against a revenue of £71,733. The expenditure was thus accounted for: customs service, £2746; salaries and pensions on civil list, £9947; police force and police stations, £5698; gaol, including criminal lunatics and criminal prosecutions, £968; harbours, maintenance and repair, £3251; public education, £11,636; volunteer service, £415; public buildings, maintenance and repair, £1551;

Manx Northern Railway, guaranteed interest, £551; interest on and repayment of debt, £15,672: Imperial Exchequer, £10,000; and miscellaneous, £3098. So you see we spend only £968 on our criminals, and £11,636 upon public education. We pay out of our little island into your exchequer every year £10,000. What is the object of this? I never could find it out. I presume it is for the purpose of protection. I think we might save that money, and I think you might, in all reason, waive the sum, because if Germany or France or some other country ever get as far as the Isle of Man, it would be a case of God help England. You see we are a long way up the channel, and, therefore, to protect yourselves you must protect us. We used to have twenty-five soldiers on the island, but the British Government have withdrawn even that force, and we are left without a single British soldier to defend us. Our public debt is incurred very largely in connection with the construction of public works, such as piers and harbours and such other works of public utility. We have now, for the purposes of the magnificent fleet of steamers coming to the Isle of Man and for the use of our home fishing fleet, some of the finest harbours and piers in the British Islands. So the money is not wasted.

The highways of the isle are in an excellent state. There are no finer roads, I venture to say, in the British Isles for cyclists and tourists than are to be found in the Isle of Man. The highways are maintained by a rate on land, by public-house licence fees, by a dog tax, a wheel tax, &c.

Of course the poor we always have with us. I think I may, however, without any undue vanity, point to the Isle of Man as an example in regard to the maintenance of the poor. Only a few years ago we passed a bill through our insular Legislature granting permissive option to towns and localities to levy a rate

in aid for the maintenance of the poor. That was some seven or eight years since; but from that day to this only three localities have adopted the Act. With those exceptions the whole cost of the maintenance of our Manx poor is borne by voluntary contributions, and by legacies left from time to time by charitable Manxmen. There is no portion of the British Isles where the poor are so much regarded and cared for as they are in the Kingdom of Man, owing to the generous sympathies of the Manx people. I am sorry to say that in the island the percentage of lunatics is rather high, and, if you consider this matter, you will find good reason for it. I dare say that in isolated spots and in small islands there is more intermarriage than in larger communities. I do not say that this is common to-day, but in the days gone by it was somewhat too common for blood relations to intermarry; and I am afraid this has had something to do with, perhaps, a little excess in the number of lunatics. There is a lunatic asylum rate, and these unfortunate brethren are well cared for.

The population of the Isle of Man in 1891 was 53,608. There were 26,329 males, and 29,279 females. The births in 1894 numbered 1336, and the deaths for the same year were 1091. The marriages in 1894 were 411. The Isle of Man is remarkable for one particular feature, and were it not for this the island population would grow enormously. We have sent more emigrants to the British Colonies and to the United States of America than any other spot of equal area, with the possible exception of Ireland. In one city in the United States which I recently visited there were 5000 people of our race who, on the testimony of Americans, make, with the Germans, the finest American citizens. But this constant emigration of the very best of our young people of both sexes drains and keeps our population down.

With regard to land we have a custom, I suppose, somewhat distinct from yours. In the old times, under the reign of the Stanleys and Atholls, all the land of the island belonged to the Lord of the Isle. He allowed his tenants to attach mountain and bog, and place them under cultivation, as in Ireland, for so many years. But as the years rolled on, and the land became valuable, and the nominal rent paid by the tenant for possession became insignificant by comparison, the tenants started an agitation in favour of some settlement of the land; and after a great deal of disturbance, protracted for a number of years, an Act was passed called the Act of Settlement, by which all the tenants then in possession of the lord's land were to become the customary tenants—really and truly the owners. A farm of one hundred acres, at one time bog and moorland, would be let say at twenty shillings a year. Of course twenty shillings then was different to twenty shillings now. But that land came down from father to son many times, and to-day the tenure upon which it is held is this: one has to perform certain specified duties as a citizen—various obligations of a merely traditional kind are laid upon the holders of the land—and the lord's rent is still paid. Thus the Manxmen became owners of their farms; and the lawyers tell us there is no safer or better tenure than that on which the Manx proprietor holds his land. With regard to the quality of the land, I do not know that it is remarkably rich, but I say this—having seen many parts of the British Islands—I do not think there are to be found anywhere a more hard-working class of farmers than are to be found in our country. It is not because the land is rich, but because of the economy, skill, and labour with which the Manx farmer cultivates his land, crops are produced which compare very favourably with those on this side. Manx farmers as a

class rank amongst the most prosperous of agriculturists.

With regard to our fishing—a most important industry—allow me to give you a few statistics. From the port of Peel and Port St. Mary there go forth in the season some hundreds of fishing-boats. In the early spring many of the boats go mackerel fishing, as far as Kinsale in the extreme south-west of Ireland. As the summer advances they fish herring nearer home. In 1895 the number of boats was 365, with a tonnage of 6382. These boats carried 1820 men and 273 boys, and would bring a large sum of money into the island. But I regret exceedingly that during the last few years this industry has been under a cloud, and has fallen off very considerably in consequence of the migration of the fish to other grounds. This, we hope, may soon change, and the fish return to their old haunts.

As to the mining industry, though we are a small country we can show creditable results. In 1891 the mining products were valued at £112,630, viz.: lead, £71,864; zinc, £17,230; and silver, £23,536. In 1894, this industry having declined, the total value was £64,252. There are three Manx banks. One of them pays 25 per cent., another 16 per cent., and the third, and youngest, 6 per cent. They have large reserves, and the total amount on deposit is now nearly £1,500,000 sterling. 2½ to 3 per cent. is allowed by the banks for money on deposit. We have about forty-three miles of single line railways in the island, the greater part of which pays exceedingly well; but one section is unfortunate. We have fourteen miles of double tramways, with the electric overhead system. The electric as well as the horse trams pay remarkably well. There is an electric railway to the top of Snaefell—the highest mountain, with an elevation of 2000 feet—and this is the first

successful electric railway to the top of any mountain in the British Isles. The gradient is one in twelve. There is a special arrangement for descending—a centre rail with a gripper upon it. We do not go up straight, as you may suppose, but simply make a circuit of the mountain, and, looking out of one of the windows, the whole island is brought into view; and on a clear day, as you reach the top, England, Wales, Scotland and Ireland can be seen in one glance—the only spot in the British Isles where an equally extensive view can be obtained. Some years ago while I was seated in the smoke-room of a London hotel I got into conversation with an intelligent gentleman, and ultimately it came out that I lived in the Isle of Man. He put on his glasses and looked with a somewhat astonishing and critical gaze at me. He said: "Isle of Man! what a remarkable thing. I remember one time passing that island, but it was in the night, and I heard some one say we were passing by the Point of Ayre lighthouse. I say, what do you do in the Isle of Man;—go fishing and keep sheep?" Go fishing and keep sheep! He evidently thought we were a semi-barbarous people. "But would you be surprised to learn that we have a fleet of eleven steamers running daily to the Isle of Man from British ports, and that the number of benighted Englishmen who come to us every year is now considerably over 300,000. They come to us to spend their holiday." And his jaw dropped. Keep sheep! I venture to tell this audience that we have the finest fleet of coasting steamers in the British Isles. The best of them are paddle steamers, and if any of you gentlemen have given yourselves the pleasure of visiting the Isle of Man by the *Prince of Wales* or the *Queen Victoria*, you have travelled on the fastest passenger steamers afloat. Their capacity is from 1600 to 1700 passengers, and at the present moment there is now being

completed in Fairfield Co.'s shipbuilding yard in Glasgow a steamer that will beat any paddle steamer in the world —any passenger steamer—with a capacity for carrying 2000 people. She will be completed within the next few weeks. When you come over to see us, as I am sure you will all do after this, you will have a most enjoyable passage on one of the fastest steamers in the world. The capital of this steamboat company is £400,000 sterling, and you can cross from Liverpool to the Isle of Man twice a day during the summer season, the average length of the journey being about three and a half hours. There are boats running daily from Fleetwood and Barrow, and we have also a connection with Dublin and Glasgow and other ports. In 1895 the number of passengers carried was 332,914, and last year this number was largely increased.

Now there can be no question whatever that the peculiar feature of the island to-day is that it is a great health and pleasure resort for the people of Lancashire and Yorkshire and of the midland counties; but efforts are being made to inform the people of this village (London) of the attractions of the Isle of Man. We have opened an office in London for this purpose. The island is unquestionably one of the healthiest spots in the world. It is warmer in winter and cooler in summer than most pleasure resorts. Leaving a city like London and crossing to the Isle of Man, you will be struck during the summer with the marvellous change experienced in passing from the hot, suffocating conditions of a big, crowded city to the purest and most refreshing atmosphere imaginable.

There are four towns in the island: Douglas, with a resident population of 20,000, increased during the season by 25,000 visitors; Ramsey, with a population of 5000; Peel, 3500; Castletown, 2000. Then there are smaller places—Laxey, Port St. Mary, and Port

Erin. Then the country itself is fairly populated by industrious farmers and others. With regard to the cost of living. On the whole rents are about one-third of what they are in the suburbs of London or of any great English city. In Douglas, of course, with a frontage to the sea the rents are considerably advanced, but, generally speaking, retired business men who come to the island to settle—and there are many who come to spend their declining years in the Isle of Man—retired business men who seek villas and smaller houses with gardens find that the rents are remarkably low. There is an impression abroad that the island is only the resort of the rough and rowdy element. I want to deny this. I am one of those who believe that the working man has as much right to have his holiday as a prince. And if the tired and wearied sons of labour in Lancashire and Yorkshire find in the Isle of Man—as they do find—the health and invigorating pleasure they need, by all means let them come. While there they conduct themselves in a respectable and orderly manner. Drunkenness amongst our visitors is rarely seen in the island. A few years ago a small, noisy element was to be seen on the island; the stern hand of the police soon put an end to this, and to-day the vast body of working men and women who come to the Isle of Man to spend their summer holiday, are as respectable and well-conducted as can be found anywhere in the British Islands. And it is surprising what effect the island atmosphere has upon them. It is marvellous to see how much energy and enthusiasm a Lancashire or Yorkshire worker can get up on a glass of ale. But it is not the glass of ale that creates their good spirits. The atmosphere, the freedom and glorious surroundings they simultaneously enjoy, combine to produce that exhilaration of spirits which is so marked. The visitor becomes intoxicated with the

freedom and pleasure and pure mountain air he enjoys. Let any one who toils for eleven and a half months in the year in mill, factory, shop, or office come to our beautiful island and ride or roam over our mountains and through the wooded glens, and it is marvellous how he or she will appreciate and enjoy the change. Occasionally you will see some sober-minded shop-keeper or merchant, who seldom laughs at home, some sober-minded head of a family gaily wending his way over our mountains with a great fern leaf, two feet long, in his hat, and a wild flower about the size of a cabbage in his coat. All this is simply the natural effect of the flow of animal spirits in a man freed from that groove in which he is for the most of his time cribbed, cabined and confined, and for the nonce revelling in a pure atmosphere and amid delightful surroundings. For boating, fishing, cycling, every facility is afforded. All our mountains are free; you can go where you like so long as you don't break down the fences. If you belong to the class who desire to take their holiday quietly, and do not care to be mixed up with the hurly-burly of the multitude that visit Man in July or August, then I would advise you to come in May, June, or September, when you will find the isle quiet and only the select visitors present. Then you can have the quiet and retirement you wish—in fact you can practically have the whole place to yourselves.

As I told you, we have the State Church in our isle. We have a Bishop with a nominal salary of £2000 a year. Actually it is not more than about £1600. The vicars and curates, I am sorry to say, are very much underpaid. The Manx people are exceedingly hospitable. I don't care who you may be, but should you be touring in the island and overcome by the heat, you have only to enter a Manxman's farm-house to receive a cordial welcome and hearty

hospitality. And the same in the case of the labourer's cottage. If you ask for water you will get milk, and also some native griddle cake probably. Among the richer class of farmers their hospitality is proverbial. The farmers are mostly in comfortable circumstances. There is very little poverty in the island, and although there is not much great wealth, there is that general average condition of comfort which we think is most desirable.

The agricultural depression which has so seriously affected Great Britain and Ireland, though it has been felt in the Isle of Man somewhat, has not had the same results. The Manx farmer has adapted himself to the new circumstances, and the enormous number of visitors to the island have created for him a market for the dairy-farm products to which he has turned his attention. Manx lamb is a delicacy you can enjoy if you come in the early part of the year, and there is no such lamb anywhere else.

With regard to politics the Manx people are, as a rule, rather behind the age. It was not until 1866 that the franchise was granted to the Manx people. Prior to this for many centuries the House of Keys existed, but up to 1866 they were a self-elected body. When one of their number died or retired the remainder chose his successor. In 1866 the franchise was granted to the Manx people; it has been extended since, and now, of course, the members of the House of Keys are elected by the votes of the people. The fact that before 1866 they had little political experience or knowledge has kept the Manx people back from taking that intensely interested part in politics which, I am told, you take on this side of the water. But we are rapidly coming to the front. A reforming spirit is abroad, a desire to take a deeper interest in our own affairs is manifest on every hand, and there is no question that the younger people now growing up

are becoming very active and intelligent politicians. The language of the island is Gaelic. But this is rapidly dying out. The children are not taught it. But if you come to the island now you may yet hear a man preach and pray in Manx. I do not know that I have ever heard anything which sounds so eloquent or forcible as to hear a Manx fisherman, rugged, stern, with massive features, broad shoulders, and grisly beard, pour forth his soul in prayer. It is marvellous the effect produced by his utterances. The Manx people are yet to some extent a superstitious people. The insularity of the lives of the people for so many centuries led to the growth of superstition and a belief in ghosts, bogaanes, fairies and witches. Belief of this kind was common in my young days, but it is now dying out. One cannot go into any parish or district but one hears some dreadful blood-curdling stories peculiar to the locality. You may laugh, but if these stories are told you on some dark winter's night as you nestle to the fire and hear the wind howling without and in the chimney, and then it is when you leave you have to traverse a road in the darkness, with a ridge on one side and old ivy-covered buildings on the other, and as you go groping along you hear the whistling of the wind in the bare trees and see a dancing light in the bog, and when further you have to pass through a churchyard—I tell you, you would not laugh then. All these things to our old folk were real. I have met many of these old people—God bless them!—and they would say, "Oh, don't go down that road at night on any account. There is a fairy there." I have been told how when the old folks have gone to bed, first leaving the door on the latch—as the custom is in the country—they have heard the fairies enter the kitchen and knock the pipe left for them on the kitchen table. They knocked it if there was not enough tobacco in the bowl to suit them. And the

old people would point out to me as a boy the circles on the grass where the fairies had been dancing in glee during the night. I was told of a woman being followed for half a mile on a country road because she had forgotten to sprinkle with salt the mutton she was conveying home. On the 1st of May every year when the hills are glorious with gorse, bonfires were lighted to burn the witches. May-flowers are strewn carefully across the threshold to keep the wicked fairies from coming into the houses. Some of these old customs are dying out, yet others survive, and I am glad they linger, for they are entertaining, and, as matters go, we can ill afford to lose them. Although there is a certain amount of ignorance and romance in connection with some of these old tales and old customs, we like to hear the story and witness the performance. Among the old customs of the isle which yet survive are "hunt-the-wren" and "op-tu-naa," in connection with which the boys go round and sing. This they formerly did for the love of the thing, but now money is their object. There is one beautiful custom with the fishing fleet of some 250 boats, perhaps with a venerable Manxman as their admiral. As the sun set low in the west and the vessels were rounding the ancient castle of Peel, the admiral would raise his eyes to the setting sun and pray for a blessing on the night's venture; and it was not until that prayer was uttered and over that any one ventured to cast his net into the deep. A large number of the Manx are Nonconformists, mostly Wesleyan and Primitive Methodists. There are over 300 local or lay preachers. The effect of this upon the Manx character is somewhat marked. I do not know any spot of its size where so many men are able to take part in public meetings as in the Isle of Man. If a political or local question has to be discussed you will always get a number of men trained as speakers capable of expressing an opinion upon it.

One anecdote of a fine old lay preacher I may tell you. Speaking of Samson slaying so many with the jawbone of an ass, he said, "An ass's jawbone was too short a weapon for such deadly work, and that the Scripture really meant that Samson picked up an ass somewhere and took it by the hind legs, killed his foes, and so made a very wide circle and kept off his enemies." Now I think I have detained you long enough. I hope you will come and see the Isle of Man for your pleasure and profit. We have many ancient and beautiful remains in which the antiquarian will feel a delight, as well as charming scenery and beauties of nature, which are a source of joy to the many thousand visitors who yearly visit our shores.

THE CHANNEL ISLANDS

By PERCY EDWARD AMY, F.R.G.S., &c.

(*Author of "Sunny Jersey," "Beautiful Jersey," &c.*)

Introductory—General.

Geographically French, yet constitutionally English, the Channel Islands claim special interest as the last relics of the ancient Dukedom of Normandy now appertaining to England.

They have been described as follows: (1) A northern group, including Alderney, Burhou, and the Casquets, together with several rocky ledges; (2) a north-central group, including Guernsey, Herm, Jethou, Sark, and a singular complication of rocks and islets; (3) a south-central group, including Jersey, three groups of shoals and rocky islands connecting the north of Jersey with France, and some others, running out from the north-east of Jersey, also towards France; (4) a southern group, including the Minquiers, the Chausey Islands, and some outlying rocks to the far west.

The same authority aptly added: "Few parts of the world present, in so small a space, so much variety as is the case with this archipelago; and few groups of islands are so remarkable for their great political and historical interest, combined with singular natural beauty."

Briefly stated, Jersey contains some 39,580 English acres, or about 62 square statute miles (of which about 25,000 acres are under cultivation), and it

declines to the south, the highest ground being at "Les Platons," on the northern side, 485 feet above the sea-level. About 12 statute miles in length, from east to west, it is in some parts about half that width.

Guernsey is triangular in shape, the hypotenuse bearing nearly south-west and north-east, and measuring about 9½ statute miles in length, while from south to north (east side) it is about 6½ miles in length, and from east to west (south) some 7 miles. Its total area, land and rock, at low water, is over 24 square miles, or 15,560 English acres, of which two-thirds are under cultivation. Its highest part is at "Haut-nez," above Icart Point, being 349 (or, some say, 363) feet above mean tide.

Alderney—which, as a military position, has been described as "the Ehrenbreitstein of the English Channel"—is oblong, or long oval, in form; its length from north-east to south-west being about 3½ miles, and its width about one mile, much being flat tableland, more or less cultivated.

Sark consists of Great Sark and Little Sark, connected by a natural causeway at an elevation of nearly 300 feet above the sea; Great Sark being rather over two miles in length (north to south), and Little Sark somewhat less than a mile.

Herm is an irregular oval, measuring 1½ miles from south to north and half as much across. Jethou is about half a mile in diameter; Brechou, 1200 yards in length (east to west), and 250 yards wide; while there are smaller islets.

As to the geology of the group it has well been written: "In no part of Europe, and in no group of islands readily accessible, are the physical geography and geology more closely related than in the Channel Islands." The rocks consist of many varieties of syenite, cherts and hornstones, quartzose conglomerates,

clay-stones, porphyry and diorite: and many show truly remarkable contortions of the strata.

The testimony quoted above, coming from such an undoubted authority as Père C. Noury, S.J., is a convincing proof in itself, and personal observation more than confirms its justice.

This is not the place to dilate on the scenic charms of these Nature-favoured isles; nor to do more than mention their exceptional climatic advantages, which have led to such an extraordinary development of the growing industry—Jersey's early potatoes and Guernsey's tomatoes being far-famed. Only recently, indeed (May 30, 1901), the Chancellor of the Exchequer, replying to a memorial from the Chambers of Commerce of Jersey and Guernsey anent the coal duty, wrote that "their climate gives the industry said to be chiefly affected by the coal duty a practical monopoly of early produce in the English market."

The growing of early potatoes is the main industry in Jersey, and some 8000 acres are annually devoted to that crop. As H. Rider Haggard recently put it: "As Guernsey lives and prospers upon fruits, daffodils, and arums, so Jersey grows rich upon the potato."

As regards the export trade of the Channel Islands, it has been summarised as consisting of "Granite, for paving purposes; fruit and vegetables; fish and crustaceans; cows and heifers." The stone is chiefly from St. Sampson, Guernsey; early potatoes mainly from Jersey, tomatoes grown under glass from Guernsey, grapes and pears from both islands.

Climatically, Jersey and Guernsey run one another close in the matter of sunshine, though for several years past the former isle has maintained its reputation as the "Sunniest spot in the United Kingdom." Its record for 1900 was thus 2003.2 hours, Guernsey following with 1965.9 hours, the next stations in

the South of England being Falmouth (1927.5 hours) and Torquay (1898.6 hours).

While the mean temperatures of Jersey and Guernsey are the same, it is usually warmer in the larger isle in spring, summer, and autumn, the climate being generally drier and warmer than that of Guernsey, which, on the other hand, is cooler in summer and warmer in winter; and altogether more bracing—though not so much so as Sark and Alderney. Snow rarely falls, and, when it does, never lies on the ground for any length of time. The islands are famous for their long autumns, while some magnificent sunset effects are to be seen.

Owing to their equability of temperature the islands may well claim to be all-the-year-round health and holiday resorts, though as yet scarcely sufficiently known to those seeking a wintering place with all home comforts and without the disconvenience of foreign travel. Sir Benjamin Brodie has written: "If you want health for the body, rest for the mind, pure air, and splendid scenery, all of God's gifts which go to make a terrestrial Paradise, I emphatically advise you to go to Jersey;" while much-travelled "Dagonet" wrote: "To all who want a genial, bracing climate, and fine bold romantic scenery, and cheap, good living, I would say 'Try Guernsey.'"

The flora of the Channel Islands has been estimated to consist of 1862 species; while there are no fewer than 190 kinds of birds (of which 90 may be set down as permanent residents); the land mammalia is represented by 9 genera and 14 species; but no venomous reptile of any sort exists in the islands. It has lately been estimated there are 2360 species of plants and 1770 species of insects in Guernsey. One authority has issued a list of 636 flowering plants, 18 ferns, and 9 fern-allies, as comprising the indigenous flora of Guernsey. This is also a rich field for marine

zoology, for in one order of the crustaceans alone we have no fewer than 90 of the 100 (approximately) species recorded as found in British waters; there are 120 species of sponges and 180 of sea-slugs and sea-worms.

The islands, having retained many privileges, provide object-lessons in self-government—as also in peasant proprietary—while pauperism and crime are practically unknown therein. They have, in fact, always enjoyed, subject to the paramount authority of the Sovereign in Council, what is really complete independence in matters of legislation, finance, &c.; and have never been represented in the British Parliament. Among other jealously-guarded local privileges, moreover, are perfect freedom from Customs' duties, and all other taxation for the benefit of the Imperial Government. H. Rider Haggard, in his series of "Back to the Land" articles in the *Daily Express* (London) this year, eulogistically said: "The islands are a shining example of successful Home Rule, and yet of a loyalty so fervent that it has almost passed to a proverb."

Owing to their early connection with Normandy, these islands, alike in language, literature, laws, and customs, have retained much that affords opportunity of interesting study to the ethnologist, philologist, the lawyer, and the student of history. To this day the quaint Norman-French is still heard in many rural homesteads, though everywhere being gradually displaced by "the King's English," which is generally understood by all.

Both Jersey and Guernsey are, in proportion to their size, densely peopled, this year's census showing the population of Jersey to be 52,645, while that of Guernsey is set down at 40,300, a decrease in one case of almost 2000, and in the other an increase of just over 5000. The population of Alderney was then

found to be 2054; of Sark, 506; of Herm, 25; and of Jethou, 3, making a total for what may be styled the Guernsey group of 42,888.

There are various routes to Jersey and Guernsey, but the chief of these are *viâ* Southampton (per London and South-Western Railway) and Weymouth (Great Western Railway). Both Companies run express trains and steamships in connection with the principal towns, the services being altogether admirable.

It would be idle to attempt within the limits of available space the task of describing the many pleasing features of the islands, however congenial that task might be.

Much might be said of the larger islands, Jersey and Guernsey, with their quaint historic ruins and venerable churches as links with the past on one hand, and many evidences of up-to-date modernity on the other. Their educational advantages, splendid facilities for sea-bathing, fine markets and public parks, &c., all prove how the islands and islanders have moved with the times; while, as I have written elsewhere, "The town of St. Helier rightly claims attention as a modern, enterprising, and prosperous commercial centre, well paved and adequately lit, and containing some fine public buildings and trading establishments, being thus quite the reverse to the insignificant fishing hamlet which some seem to expect to see." St. Peter Port, the "capital" of Guernsey, is more Continental-looking in aspect, especially from the sea; and also possesses many excellent features.

Alderney claims attention perhaps principally for its breakwater, all that exists of a proposed naval harbour of refuge commenced in 1847, but abandoned after an expenditure by the British Government of over one and a half millions sterling. Large sums were also spent in building a series of forts to command the

harbour in the event of hostilities, but these are naturally now practically useless!

Sark, "The Pearl set in the Silver Sea," is particularly attractive to the lover of the picturesque in Nature, to the artist and to the naturalist, its bijou bays, fantastically fashioned rocks, and natural caverns surely appealing to one and all, while those devoted to marine zoology here find much to interest them. "Mais, c'est magnifique," exclaimed Victor Hugo when he first saw Sark; while an appreciative writer contends that "On the whole it may safely be said that there are very few islands, even though many times larger than Sark, that contain so much of beauty, romantic scenery, and interest."

In Herm's famous shell-beach have been found over 40 genera with about 200 varieties—the bay being thus richer in species than any other place on the shores of the British Isles.

There are many curious insular customs and peculiarities, but these the exigencies of space preclude our dealing with. We might just say that in Guernsey a British sovereign is worth 21s. currency, or 25 francs 2d.; 12½d. being given for a shilling. In Jersey 1s. was worth 13d. till 1876, when this absurd anomaly was wisely altered. It is to be hoped Guernsey will soon follow suit.

History.

The history of the islands cannot easily be summarised, though it may well be said to be replete with interest. It is certain they were inhabited long years ago probably by Bretons, or natives of Brittany, while there are indications of their probable occupation by the Romans.

Christianity was introduced into the islands in about the middle of the sixth century, St. Sampson,

the first missionary, being followed by St. Mareulf, St. Helerius (from whom St. Helier takes its name), and St. Magloire. Though originally connected ecclesiastically with Brittany, they were afterwards annexed to the Diocese of Coutances, and subsequently to the Dioceses of Salisbury (1496) and finally to Winchester (1568).

The Northmen made frequent incursions in the ninth century; and in 912 Charles the Simple, who then ruled France, weakly ceded the Province of Neustria and Dukedom of Normandy to Rollo, who left his mark in more ways than one.

It is sometimes semi-seriously claimed by the Channel islanders that they conquered England; and certain it is they were never conquered by what they now loyally regard as the Mother Country. The islands were naturally attached to the English Crown by the Conquest; though on the death of the victorious William they lost their connection therewith, though again united when Henry I. became king. During Stephen's reign this connection ceased, they being Norman again, as under Rufus; but since the accession of Henry II. they have been part and parcel of the English realm, and by treaties dated 1259 and 1360 the French Sovereigns recognised this fact. King John, who as Count of Mortain was made Lord and Governor of the islands, lost continental Normandy to Philip Augustus, but the French failed to conquer insular Normandy or the Norman Archipelago, which thus for ever severed the ties which had hitherto bound it to the Continent—though the isles remained ecclesiastically connected with Coutances till the Reformation, when they were transferred by Queen Elizabeth to the See of Winchester, though in those times many Huguenot refugees had there made their home. Jersey formally threw in its lot with the Church of England in 1623, but Guernsey adhered to Presby-

terianism— this explaining how in the Civil Wars Jersey sided with the King whilst Guernsey declared for Cromwell.

It is generally conceded that King John took keen interest in the islands and made careful provision for their good government and due defence.

The French still coveted the islands, making unsuccessful attempts on Jersey in the reigns of Henry III., Edward I., and Edward II., and again in that of Edward III., when Castle Cornet was captured and Mont Orgueil Castle was besieged (1338), though without result; as again in 1374, when it is stated Bertrand du Guesclin, the famous Constable of France, also failed to reduce that fortress, which held out till the English came to the relief. In 1343 an important naval battle had, let it be said, been fought off Guernsey; while later on (1372) Ivan de Galles invaded that island, though he too failed to reduce Castle Cornet.

In 1404 Jersey was once more invaded, when the natives sustained temporary defeat; and in the reign of Henry VI. the Comte de Maulevrier successfully stormed Mont Orgueil, that grand, "weather-beaten, ivied pile" — by collusion, *on dit*, with the then Governor. From 1460 to 1466 a curious state of affairs existed, Maulevrier ruling one half of the island, while the remainder was bravely defended by Sir Philip de Carteret; but in the following year Sir Rd. Harliston (Vice-Admiral of England), after a six months' siege, regained possession of Mont Orgueil for the English. It is noteworthy that the islands were granted the privilege of neutrality in the reign of Edward IV.

Passing on to the time of the Civil Wars, much might be written thereon, for these were naturally moving times, though Jersey only played a minor part in the famous quarrel between Crown and Commons;

though in 1643 the island was divided into fierce factions—Sir Philip de Carteret bombarding St. Helier from Elizabeth Castle and the Parliamentarians shelling that island-fortress from batteries raised on the Mont de la Ville. Captain George Carteret, Sir Philip's nephew, succeeded in restoring tranquillity however, when the King's power was everywhere recognised. At this time Castle Cornet in Guernsey was being defended for the Stuarts, practically against the people, by Sir Peter Osborne, to whom Carteret sent relief from Jersey, he having been a guest here in 1643, when what may be called the Guernsey rebellion occurred. In 1646 the Prince of Wales took up his residence at Elizabeth Castle—where, by the way, Sir Edward Hyde (Chancellor of the Exchequer) afterwards wrote the main portion of his "History of the Great Rebellion."

Elizabeth Castle and Castle Cornet were actually the last fortresses to hold out for the Stuarts, though when Prince Charles came to Jersey danger was apprehended from Guernsey more than anywhere else. In 1649 Charles II. and the Duke of York, his brother, again visited Jersey, and in October 23rd of that year, in Elizabeth Castle, signed the historic declaration asserting his rights to the Crown of England, and pledging himself to avenge the death of his father. In 1651 the Parliamentarians made a final effort, and, landing troops in Jersey, soon reduced St. Aubin's Fort and Mont Orgueil Castle, and on December 15th Elizabeth Castle was evacuated —the same day, by a curious coincidence, marking the capitulation of Castle Cornet, the terms of the surrender being, in either case, honourable to all parties. Though Guernsey fared fairly well during the Protectorate, the Restoration was welcomed by both the Jersey and the Guernsey people, and Charles granted the former a mace "as a proof of his Royal affection"

—this much prized memento being even now borne and placed before the Bailiff in the Royal Court and States' sittings, &c. During the whole decennium internal faction had, it must be said, run high in Guernsey.

Coming to the time of William III., we find the abolition of the privilege of neutrality; while in those of George III., two more attempts were made upon Jersey by the French. The first was under the Prince of Nassau, in 1779; and the second, and more serious one, in 1781. On the latter occasion a body of French troops, under the self-styled Baron de Rullecourt, landed in Grouville Bay and marched upon St. Helier, taking the Lieutenant-Governor (Major Moses Corbet) a prisoner, and forcing him to sign a surrender. The officer in charge of Elizabeth Castle declined to follow this ignoble example; and in the meanwhile the regular and militia troops had been got together, and, with Major Frs. Peirson of the 95th, marched on the French in the Royal Square, then the Market-place, where was fought what is known as "The Battle of Jersey," both Peirson and Rullecourt being killed in the action. The death of Jersey's gallant hero is commemorated in a fine painting by Copley now hanging in the National Gallery. Corbet, let us just add, was tried by court-martial and suspended in his commission.

The year 1767 was important for the islands commercially, particularly as regards Guernsey, where smuggling flourished even more than in the larger isle. The Guernsey States had resisted attempts made to introduce an English custom-house in 1709, 1717, 1720, and 1722, but in 1767 a commissioner was sent over and the registry regulations enforced. Guernsey combined smuggling and privateering during the American and French wars and prospered, the law of 1767 having become a dead letter; though in

1800 the Imperial Government determined to enforce even more stringent regulations.

A mutiny broke out in Guernsey on 24th March 1783, the mutineers being Irish soldiers stationed at Fort George; but the outbreak was soon quelled.

The French Revolution did not affect the islands, except that many refugees were there hospitably received. Though the islands refrained from fitting-out privateers when Prussia and Austria declared war against the Republic, matters changed when England joined in the struggle.

During the last thirty years of the eighteenth century many forms of dissent were introduced and developed, John Wesley visiting the islands in 1787, whilst the English Independents had a chapel in Guernsey as early as 1796. It was when the decree against the French clergy was passed by the National Convention, in 1793, that the Abbé Coulon opened a Roman Catholic chapel in the Bordage (St. Peter Port).

In the time of the Revolution, as we have already said, the population of both Jersey and Guernsey was considerably augmented; and trade prospered exceedingly. Printing was introduced in 1784, and several newspapers were founded; while new ports were built and communication with England became more regular, two Post-Office packets commencing in 1794 to run weekly between Weymouth and the Channel Islands. In 1806, the foundation stone of Fort Regent (Jersey) was laid by Lieutenant-General George Don, then Lieutenant-Governor, who also commenced building main roads. While shipping and shipbuilding have much declined since the time when Jersey ranked as fifth port of the United Kingdom in the aggregate of its tonnage, agriculture has steadily improved, and prosperity in both islands increased materially.

Indeed, as has been aptly written, "Since the peace of 1814, the history of the Channel Islands has been

that of a thriving and progressive population, sufficiently isolated to be free from the political storms which visited England, and sufficiently in contact with both England and France to partake of the movement by which the civilisation of the present century is distinguished. . . . Wealth has increased—agriculture has improved—knowledge has been diffused, with the same results, and from the same causes, as in England."

We have dealt mainly with Jersey and Guernsey in our *résumé* of the history of the Channel Islands, yet it might be added that during the Civil Wars the natives of Alderney sided with the Parliamentarians, and at the Restoration the island was granted by King Charles to Edward de Carteret and others, being governed independently of Guernsey till 1825, when Major-General Le Mesurier, the last hereditary Governor, ceded his patent to the Crown. As to Sark, which originally contained a small monastic establishment, it was taken by the French in the time of Edward IV. and recovered by stratagem in that of Queen Mary. In that of Elizabeth (1565) it was granted to Helier de Carteret, who brought over forty families from Jersey, the manorial rights being transferred in 1730 to the Le Pelley family, in whose hands the island remained for a prolonged period, passing in 1852 to the family of the present Seigneur (W. F. Collings).

Constitutions, Judicatures, and Laws.

The rise and progress of the system of self-government enjoyed by the Channel Islands, and the position which these islands occupy with respect to the Crown of England, though subjects of considerable mystery to most people, are of great historical interest, offering a study that will repay not only the antiquarian but the politician.

Originally part of the Duchy of Normandy, as founded by Rollo, the Channel Islands were the special appanage of its Dukes. It is not easy to account for the fact that when the Duchy was lost by King John, they were retained, notwithstanding the efforts that the French King made to capture them. John, indeed, seems to have shown a certain amount of spirit and energy in their defence, and rewarded the loyalty of the islanders by granting them a Charter, which has ever since been the security for their self-government and for the many other privileges and immunities that they enjoy. This Charter exempted the islands from taxation without their consent; it secured to them the right of importing into England all goods of island manufacture free of duty; it established local judicatures, their Bailiff or chief magistrate to be appointed by the Crown, but twelve Jurats elected by the inhabitants to be entrusted with jurisdiction in all matters civil and criminal; and, finally, it secured them from encroachments of English Law, by confirming their own customs and laws, *i.e.* those which then obtained in Normandy.

The original of this Charter is lost. The record we possess is of a much later period. It is probable that John's Charter merely confirmed the previously existing state of things, for we know that elective judges or Jurats existed in Aquitaine and other parts of France before that period. The separation from Normandy, however, placed the islands in a peculiar position. They belonged to the Crown, but formed no part of the realm, and were not represented in the English Parliament. It became very necessary, therefore, to secure them in their new relation to the Sovereign. and this is very likely what John did, thereby gaining amongst the islanders a more popular reputation than he possessed with his subjects at home.

However this may be, it is certain that from John's

reign downwards almost every Sovereign of England has granted fresh Charters to the islanders, confirming their privileges and their right to self-government, and in every one of those Charters will be found reference to the loyalty of the Jerseymen and Guernseymen to the Crown. That they have well earned these favours, no one who reads their history can doubt.

For the purposes of government the Channel Islands are divided into the two Bailiwicks of Jersey and Guernsey, the latter including as dependencies the islands of Alderney, Sark, Herm, and Jethou. Both Bailiwicks are entirely distinct and independent of one another. They have separate Lieutenant-Governors, separate Parliaments or States, and separate Judicatures. Each has gone its own way from the time of John to the present day; there is no connection between them save that of the Sovereign as representative of the old Dukes of Normandy. Their internal Constitutions differ considerably, though the principles underlying them are of course the same. The rights and attributions of the various Assemblies in either Bailiwick vary to a great degree, and these divergencies are, curiously enough, not entirely the result of modern developments and the influence of present-day ideas of government, but are noticeable in the early history of the islands.

Before proceeding to explain the organisation of the governing bodies, it will be well to examine briefly the position of the principal public functionaries and the attributes of their respective offices.

The Lieutenant-Governor now replaces the Governor, formerly a high officer of State. He is a General Officer in the Army, holds the position of Commander-in-chief of the forces, and exercises certain civil rights and duties. There is always a separate Lieutenant-Governor of Jersey and of Guernsey, and they usually hold the appointment for five years.

The Bailiff (*Bailli* in Jersey; *Baillif* in Guernsey), or Chief Magistrate, is the highest civil authority in each Bailiwick. Appointed by the Crown, he generally retains office during life. He is President of the Royal Court and takes the opinions of the Jurats, and, when their opinions are equal, he has a casting vote both in civil and criminal matters. He is also President of the States or local Legislature. The Bailiff is usually appointed from amongst the Crown officers, who have in turn practised at the local Bar.

The Jurats (*Juré-Justiciers*) are twelve in number in each island. In Jersey they are elected by universal suffrage; in Guernsey, indirectly by the ratepayers, by means of what may be termed an electoral college known as the States of Election. No special legal training is requisite for the candidate to the office, which is purely honorary. The Jurats sit in all the Courts and have a voice in all deliberations. They, moreover, are life-members of the States. The origin of this strange incompatibility of functions is most probably due to the fact that the States as legislative bodies had their origin in the Royal Courts, as we shall see later on.

The Royal Courts of Jersey and Guernsey consist of their respective Bailiffs and the twelve Jurats. The Bailiff appoints a Lieutenant-Bailiff, usually one of the Jurats, to act in his absence or in case of indisposition. These Courts have under them certain ministerial officers, viz.: An Attorney-General (*Procureur-Genéral*), a Solicitor-General (*Avocat-Général* in Jersey; *Contrôle de la Reine* in Guernsey), a High-Sheriff (*Vicomte* in Jersey; *Prévôt* in Guernsey), a Greffier or Clerk, a staff of Advocates and Solicitors, besides in Jersey two Sub-sheriffs called *Dénonciateurs*. These Courts are courts of full jurisdiction—subject to the right of appeal to the Privy Council in certain cases.

The Rectors of the different parishes are appointed

by the Crown, and have seats in the States. In Jersey there are twelve Rectors, there being twelve parishes; in Guernsey ten, for the ten parishes. One of the Rectors is generally appointed Dean, and each island has its Dean.

Before considering the composition of the States, we must briefly examine the attributes of the municipal or parochial officers. The parish is the unit. In Jersey each parish elects for a term of three years a Constable (*Connétable*), who represents his parish in the States. He is Mayor of the parish, and also chief of the Honorary Police. To assist him in this latter capacity there are elected *Centeniers*, *Vingteniers*, and *Officiers du Connétable* (Constable's Officers).

The origin of the words Centenier and Vingtenier are worth noting. The Centenier was anciently appointed to supervise a district of one hundred (*cent*) families, and was responsible for the maintenance of good order. Similarly the Vingtenier had under him twenty (*vingt*) families, being the head of the *vingtaine*.

Each parish has two Centeniers, except St. Helier, where six are elected. The Centeniers are also elected for three years, and have full powers of arrest, the senior Centenier acting as Deputy-Mayor in the absence of the Constable. The Vingteniers and Constable's Officers are subordinate officials, with more limited powers. All these officials, who are honorary, together with other officers, such as the Churchwardens and the Principals, or chief ratepayers (*i.e.* of a certain qualification), form what is known as the Parish Assembly, or managing body. Each parish has thus its Assembly.

In Guernsey the parochial system is somewhat different. Each parish elects two Constables (for two years), but they do not sit in the States. On the other hand, each parish also elects a council, termed the *Douzaine* (or dozen), originally so-called from the

number of representatives. The parishes, however, now elect representatives to a certain extent on the basis of population. Thus the town proper of St. Peter Port elects twenty Douzeniers, whilst the suburbs are divided into four districts, each of which elects twelve. In the Vale parish the Douzaine consists of sixteen members, and in the other country parishes of twelve each. The Douzenier is elected for life, and is the conservator of parish rights and the regulator of parochial expenditure.

Since 1844 the Douzaines have been represented in the States of Deliberation by Deputies, who are special delegates rather than representatives. Prior to 1844 the senior Constable, who still presides over the Douzaine, represented that body in the States.

We are now in a position to examine the constitution of the States. In Jersey it is as follows:—

The Lieutenant-Governor	1
The Bailiff	1
The twelve Jurats of the Royal Court . .	12
The Rectors of the twelve parishes . . .	12
The Constables of the twelve parishes . .	12
The Deputies	14
	52

The Attorney-General, the Solicitor-General, and the Viscount (or High Sheriff) possess seats in the States, but not votes. The two former may speak; the latter may not. The Lieutenant-Governor may take part in the debates, but he has no vote. The Bailiff has two votes. He may vote first, and, on an equal division, exercises his casting vote. The fourteen Deputies form a modern addition to the States, being elected in the same manner as the Constables, for three years, under a Law passed in 1856. St. Helier, as the capital town, elects three, and the remaining parishes each one—a somewhat unfair representation,

considering that St. Helier contains half the population of the island.

The States of Jersey cannot be convened without the consent of the Lieutenant-Governor—now a mere matter of form; for, since 1866, they sit periodically twice a week from January to the middle of April. The Bailiff or his Lieutenant presides, and the Lieutenant-Governor possesses the power of veto, whilst the Bailiff has also the right and duty to suspend in certain cases the decisions of the Assembly. In exercising these rights of veto and dissent they must report their reasons for so doing to the Home Secretary.

The States of Jersey pass Acts or Regulations which have force of law for three years, and are renewable at their expiration. When the States pass permanent laws they must be submitted to the Sovereign in Council for sanction. Much of the public business is transacted by means of standing Committees.

The French language still remains the official language in the Legislative Assemblies of the Channel Islands; but the use of English is now optional (in Jersey only since 8th February 1900), and this equally applies to the Courts of Justice, except in Jersey, where the proceedings are still conducted in French. The English language, which is in general use amongst all classes, has made vast strides of late years, and now that its use is permitted in the Legislatures, there can be little doubt but that its influence will continue to increase, and will ultimately dominate, becoming the official language. The native *patois*, though gradually dying out, will nevertheless for many years to come continue to be spoken in the country parishes. The rustic population are much attached to their curious and venerable dialect; but, at the same time, it is very difficult to find a native, even in the country

districts, who cannot converse with the greatest facility in English.

In Guernsey the constitution of the States is different. It consists of two bodies, known as the States of Election and the States of Deliberation, the latter corresponding with the States of Jersey, and being the legislative body.

The States of Election, which date from the beginning of the seventeenth century, being interposed between the body of the ratepayers and the administrative body or States of Deliberation, is constituted as follows:—

The Bailiff	1
The twelve Jurats of the Royal Court	12
The Rectors	10
The Attorney-General	1
The Central Douzaine of St. Peter Port and its two Constables	22
The four suburban districts of St. Peter Port	48
The Douzaine and Constables of the Vale parish	18
The Douzaines and Constables of the other country parishes	112
Total	224

The business of the States of Election is confined to the election of the Jurats and the Sheriff (*Prévôt*). It will thus be seen that the Jurats or judges are, contrary to the Jersey system, elected by a mixed assembly, partly popular; but that popular element passing through a medium.

The Guernsey States of Deliberation is a much more important body. The year 1900 witnessed a change in the constitution of this Assembly. Formerly it consisted of only thirty-seven members. By a law coming into operation on 1st January 1900, the States of Deliberation now consists of forty-eight members, as follows:—

The Bailiff (having only a casting vote) .	1
The twelve Jurats of the Royal Court . .	12
The Rectors	10
The Attorney-General	1
The Controller or Solicitor-General . . .	1
The Deputies from the Douzaines of St. Peter Port	6
The Deputies from the Douzaines of the country parishes	9
Deputies elected to represent the whole island	9
Total . .	48

The object of this change in the Constitution, the most important part of which is the addition of the last-named nine Deputies representative of the electorate of the whole island, is to increase the popular representation, previously very limited—the Jurats, Rectors, and Crown officers being life members.

It will be noted that the Crown officers possess votes in the States of Guernsey, whereas in Jersey the Attorney-General and Solicitor-General only have the right to address the House.

The States of Deliberation are convened by a notice, called the *Billet d'État*, issued by the Bailiff and circulated to each member, including the members of the Douzaines. The notice contains not only the Bills and propositions to be discussed, but official correspondence, to which are sometimes added general and even argumentative remarks by the Bailiff. As a matter of fact, all propositions are formally brought forward by the Bailiff, although they may have originated with some member or with the Royal Court. The propositions or Bills are submitted to the States as a whole for their acceptance or rejection, and no amendments of any great importance can be introduced. By the *Billet d'État*, or convening notice, being issued beforehand, the Douzaines have an opportunity afforded to meet to discuss the questions submitted,

and then, after voting on each detail, to choose one of their body to act for the occasion as their deputy or representative, who is instructed to vote in the States of Deliberation according to the directions which may be given to him.

A very remarkable feature in the Constitution of Guernsey must not be lost sight of. The Royal Court, consisting of the Bailiff and Jurats, still possesses its ancient power of enacting Ordinances at the sittings known as the Chief Pleas, or the opening of the Law terms, three times a year. These Ordinances, or Orders of the Court, are proposed by the Crown officers, the enacting power resting entirely with the Bailiff and the Jurats. They take effect without the sanction of the Crown, without even the assent of the Lieutenant-Governor, and without the voice or concurrence of the ratepayers, though the latter may be heard by counsel before the Court if they think any of these Orders may affect their interests. This extraordinary legislative power is somewhat ill-defined, but in practice is tolerably well understood. The Ordinances refer to a variety of subjects, such as law proceedings, roads, the levying of taxes, and the discipline and duties of the local Militia.

The Royal Court of Jersey formerly possessed similar powers to the Court of the sister isle, but they were withdrawn in 1771, when a so-called code of laws was drawn up for the island.

Starting from similar institutions we have thus been able to gather some idea of how widely the two principal islands have diverged. The origin of the States in both islands is somewhat obscure. To enter into an inquiry on this interesting historical point is beyond our province. It must suffice to say that these assemblies first appear by that name towards the end of the fifteenth century, and were in all probability developments of the Royal Courts.

In early times we have seen that these Courts possessed powers not merely judicial, but ministerial and administrative—powers still possessed by the Guernsey Judicature. From a very early period we find these Courts enacting bye-laws or ordinances for the good order of the islands, and it gradually became the custom for the Bailiff and Jurats, when any important measure required to be carried, to consult the Clergy and the Constables, as being not only officials but the best educated and the most representative and influential men of the land — a practice which in the course of time became settled and to be considered as a matter of right, with the result that the powers originally vested in the Royal Courts alone became undermined and were usurped by the States.

In comparing the Constitutions of these two islands, it will be seen that the States of Jersey are nearly independent, and certainly more democratic than those of Guernsey. The Jersey States possess more extensive legislative powers than those of the sister island, for they have long ago been freed from the tutelage of the Royal Court; whereas the Guernsey States are still greatly influenced by the extraordinary legislative powers of the Royal Court, which has undoubtedly proved a hindrance to the development of the Assembly. In the Jersey States individual members may bring in Bills on any subject, and these are tabled and discussed in turn; whilst, as we have seen, in Guernsey, all measures must originate with the Bailiff or the Court.

The sources of the laws of the Channel Islands may be said to be five:—

(1) The ancient Customary Law of Normandy, and Judiciary Law;

(2) Royal Charters;

(3) Orders of the Sovereign in Council;

(4) Laws passed by the States and sanctioned by the Privy Council; and

(5) Ordinances or bye-laws passed by the States (or in Guernsey by the Court) but not requiring the Royal sanction.

The ancient Customary Law of Normandy served as the foundation of the laws of the Channel Islands. By degrees an assimilation has taken place of the local law to that of England, as regards most of the modern requirements of trade and commerce. In respect, however, of their land laws, the tenure of property, and the law of inheritance or bequest, very little change has been effected, and to find a full explanation of those laws recourse must be had to such treatises as the *Grand Coustumier*, and the works of Terrien, Basnage, and other commentators. The feudal laws of Normandy have left slight traces, but did not exercise on the Channel Islands as pronounced an influence as one might have expected, this probably being due to the fact that at the period of the separation from Normandy most of the nobles having property on the mainland threw in their lot with the French, and their manors in the islands were confiscated by John. As a matter of fact, only one or two important manors were retained by their lords, and these retain to this day the privileges of primogeniture and other feudal rights.

Judiciary law is law generated indirectly by the decisions of the Royal Courts, or of the Privy Council as the final Court of Appeal. This creation of Judiciary law is increased by the fact that these Courts enjoy a species of equitable jurisdiction in the exercise of which they indirectly promulgate new law by adapting existing rules to the changing requirements of society.

Of Royal Charters there are many granting rights and privileges to the islanders, one of the most important being that of John already referred to, by

which the local Courts have jurisdiction in all cases arising in the islands, whether of a civil or of a criminal nature.

As to Orders in Council, there is a certain obscurity. The Crown had, no doubt, in olden times the right to legislate for the islands, but prescription seems to now avail, and the theory generally accepted by present-day authorities is that the Crown may not initiate laws without the consent of the States. In 1852 the question was amply debated before the Privy Council, but the Lords of the Council avoided giving any direct decision on the point, though expressing their serious doubts as to whether such legislation would be consistent with the Constitutional rights of the islands. Acts of the British Parliament, which are intended to apply to the Channel Islands, are transmitted by Order in Council to the Royal Courts for registration. The theory in favour in the islands is that an Act of Parliament is inoperative until so transmitted; whilst the theory held by the Council is set forth in every Order sent down. It is that the Act is directed to be registered, not in order to give it validity, but that the people may know its contents. The Courts sometimes suspend registration of such Acts, if it is considered that the local law or any of the privileges of the islands are being infringed. The precise limits of the Crown's power, and the conditions under which it can be duly exercised, remain therefore somewhat undefined.

In considering the external relations of the Channel Islands to the Imperial Government, and their constitutional position in the British Empire, we must remember that a wide difference exists between these relics of the ancient Norman Duchy and the rest of the empire as regards the origin of its attachment to Great Britain. The islands are neither a colony nor a conquest; and herein is to be found the keynote of many

of the peculiarities of their Constitutions. It is right to say that the Channel Islands are held by Great Britain in right of the Sovereign. An able writer has recently pointed out that to maintain her late Majesty had no status in these islands, except as Duchess of Normandy, was an untenable proposition, beyond the range of the practical present-day politics; and he claimed that the ultimate sovereignty rests with the Sovereign and the Imperial Parliament. The origin of an institution is one thing, the reason for its continuance another. Thus, although the Channel Islands became united to England as personal possessions of the Sovereign, yet, being so united, they must take their place as integral portions of the empire. This view is worthy of consideration. It may well be that the power of the present occupant of the British Throne does not extend as far as that of his predecessors; for the Channel Islands Constitutions, like that of Great Britain, have grown and developed, and the position of the Crown has also undergone changes, as it has in Great Britain.

What is certain is this, that if this view be correct, and that if theoretically an Act of the British Parliament in which the islands are named takes effect immediately, it would be considered highly unconstitutional to enforce such an Act until transmitted for registration by the Privy Council, which, as has been already explained, is the usual course adopted. It can hardly be maintained that the British Parliament would have the right to legislate specially for the Channel Islands, seeing that they are in no way represented therein. Such a course might be legal, but would be eminently unconstitutional. After all, the exact position is probably this, that in all matters of Imperial concern the British Parliament is supreme, and this theory is one favoured by some of the best local authorities.

The islands are a bright and happy example of local government. Whether they be subject to the sovereignty of the Imperial Parliament, or whether they regard the Sovereign as representing the ancient Dukes of Normandy as their supreme head, in practice they enjoy almost absolute autonomy and independence, under the special supervision of the Privy Council, contributing nothing to the Imperial exchequer (if we except the compulsory military service obtaining in the islands), and yet sharing in the beneficent protection afforded by the British Navy and Army.

It still remains to deal with the Constitution and Judicatures of Alderney and Sark, both of which islands are dependencies of Guernsey.

The Court of Alderney consists of a President, called the Judge, and of six Jurats elected by the people, together with an Attorney-General, a Greffier, and a Sheriff. This Court has jurisdiction without appeal where the sum in dispute does not exceed ten pounds. Above that amount an appeal lies to Guernsey. In matters of correctional police the Court may sentence to one month's imprisonment, or to a fine not exceeding five pounds (£5). If the case be of a more serious nature it must be referred to the Guernsey Court. The Alderney Court, like the Guernsey Court, holds Chief Pleas, and enacts thereat local ordinances or bye-laws.

The States of Alderney consist of the Lieutenant-Governor of Guernsey, or usually, in his absence, of the senior officer commanding the troops, acting as Deputy-Governor; the Judge, the Jurats, the officials of the Court, and the twelve Douzeniers, elected by the inhabitants, as in Guernsey.

The Constitution of Sark is of a different nature. The island has no legislative body similar to the States in the other islands; but possesses a Court,

the origin and vicissitudes of which are interesting. It must in the first place be explained that Sark was colonised from Jersey in Queen Elizabeth's reign by Helier de Carteret, to whom that Sovereign granted the island, then the haunt of pirates, as a *fief*. In 1579 the inhabitants assembled with their Seigneur and founded a Constitution for the island, adopting the principles of that of Jersey and establishing a Court, to consist of a Bailiff and twelve Jurats. Sark being a dependency of Guernsey we find, two years later, the Guernsey authorities demanding by what right the Sark Court had been set up. After an inquiry the Court was abolished, but in 1583 the Privy Council established a Court of five Jurats, the senior to preside. This Court existed until 1672, when, during the religious troubles of that period, all the Jurats were displaced owing to their refusing to adhere to the Anglican form of worship; but a difficulty then arose; for it was found impossible to find sufficiently capable men in the island to replace them, and three years later the *Seigneur*, or Lord of Sark, was ordered to constitute a feudal Court and to appoint a Seneschal as judge. This is the origin of the present Sark Court.

The Court has its Greffier, and a Sheriff, both also appointed by the Seigneur. The Court is subordinate to that of Guernsey, and has very limited powers in criminal matters, but in civil the Seneschal's power is unrestricted. The Court holds Chief Pleas at which all the tenants holding land from the Seigneur have a right to vote. This Assembly sits twice a year and enacts ordinances. The Seigneur must be present, and his consent is necessary to any enactment.

The small islands of Herm and Jethou are entirely governed from Guernsey.

The laws of the Channel Islands offer many peculiarities, which do not come within the scope of

this article to notice. By far the most important for us to consider are those affecting the tenure of land, which undoubtedly have caused much of the general prosperity and of the widely-diffused wealth, not to mention the universal industry and thrift characteristic of the inhabitants, so remarkable in these islands. The Land Laws aim at the distribution and division of property, and, being thus opposed to its accumulation, have exercised a stimulating influence and have encouraged the existence of a numerous proprietary. On the death of the owner of land, his property must be divided among the children in a certain proportion, and there is no power of disposing of it by will, if there be issue. In addition to this, the Land Laws facilitate the creation or maintenance of small ownerships, by a curious system under which land and houses can be charged with the payment of "rentes," which form a permanent charge on the property, and are regarded as real property. Whilst the owner of the land pays the annual interest on these "rentes," he cannot be dispossessed; on the other hand, he can disencumber himself of the debt by paying off at his discretion portions of the "rente," and that by very small sums. The "rente" owner has no actual estate in the land itself corresponding with the legal estate of an English mortgagee. This system of "rentes" has thus the advantage of offering the means of investing small sums in the purchase of real property, without the inconvenience of such sums as may be due on the property being liable to be paid off like a mortgage. All property in the islands is thus a species of freehold, partaking of the nature of a perpetual lease, and its disposal under such a system is greatly facilitated, inasmuch as the sphere of competition is thereby extended, and many are enabled to become landowners who could not do so under a different order of things. Most of the freeholds in

the islands are more or less encumbered with these "rentes," but if the owner be a thrifty man, he can gradually reimburse them, and, instead of being liable, as he would be under the English law, to be turned out of his farm, he has afforded to him all the security desired and every incentive to improve his position.

As a result of its Land Laws, we find the land of the Channel Islands parcelled out amongst a vast number of small proprietors. The largest cultivator in Jersey owns probably about one hundred acres; in Guernsey not more than fifty. In practice, it is well to point out, the Law has little or no tendency to divide up the land into smaller properties than at present obtain, for the custom is generally resorted to of the younger children selling their shares to the eldest whenever land is too small for division.

Moreover, another great advantage results from the system. It is obvious that the properties being of small extent will, as a rule, be cultivated by their owners. What, therefore, represents the rent is thus expended in improving the property and the well-being of its owner.

The Channel Islander thus practically combines in one person the three functions of landowner, capitalist, and labourer. It is by reason of this combination that there exists no opposition of interest between these functions. In England, and particularly in Ireland, we see these three classes, viz., the landowner, the capitalist, and the tenant separated, and in a certain sense in opposition, for their interests are not the same. The results of the Land Laws of those countries are seen in the rural depopulation of England and the Irish agrarian difficulties.

Property is the great natural educator. By removing all legalised hindrances to the acquisition of land, you pave the way for a self-respecting, thrifty, and enterprising population of peasant—or yeomen—

proprietors, where you now have a class teeming with discontent.

The Land Laws of the Channel Islands have produced remarkable results. Without those laws it is doubtful whether they would have attained the prosperity they have enjoyed, and still enjoy—a prosperity which has permeated through every class of society, for nowhere will you find so great an absence of real pauperism; and nowhere will you find so high a sense of citizenship, of equality and pride in ownership. It does not seem wrong to assume that, if these Land Laws have done so much to contribute to the prosperity of these islands on their limited scale, a similar system on an Imperial scale should be fraught with beneficent results.

The marriage laws deserve a passing notice. Marriage settlements are unknown. The widow is entitled to one-third of the real estate which her husband possessed at the time of the marriage, or, at her option, on all the estate that her husband died possessed of. The husband's realty can never be freed of these liabilities, except by the wife's consent formally expressed in a deed of sale. A widower enjoys his deceased wife's estate, if there has been issue of the marriage, and so long as he remains unmarried; whilst in Jersey the wife, who is separated as regards property, may by will, if there be no children, bequeath the usufruct or enjoyment of her property to her husband after her death during his lifetime.

We have stated that marriage settlements are not in use, but after marriage a husband and wife can obtain what is known as a separation as regards property by applying to the Courts. The wife thus obtains full power over her property as if she were a *feme sole.* In Jersey, marriage with a deceased wife's sister is permissible under a recent law (1896), but this is not so in Guernsey, the Court of that

island having refused to entertain the question. Alderney passed the Marriage with a Deceased Wife's Sister Bill unanimously on 2nd October 1899.

The laws relating to the alienation of property by will have been extended greatly of late years, but the island laws on the subject of testamentary powers differ considerably from those of England.

A great many Englishmen reside in these islands, and it is to be wished that legislation might be introduced with the object of bringing about more uniformity as to testamentary power, thereby avoiding constantly recurring difficulties as to domicile and the conflict of laws, whether it be under a will or under an intestacy.

Voting by ballot now exists in both Jersey and Guernsey. The system was adopted in the former island in 1891, but is of quite recent introduction in Guernsey. The Jersey Ballot Law is an admirable piece of legislation, having been drafted on all that is best in the English, French, and American systems. The Guernsey law is somewhat incomplete, and in certain cases, such as an election for Constable, is optional, *i.e.* the ballot is not put in operation unless demanded by the electors.

Education is compulsory in Jersey, and, under a new law passed in 1899 and just come into operation, is being placed on a sound footing. The elementary schools are subject to the inspectorship of the English Education Department. Victoria College (Jersey) and Elizabeth College (Guernsey) are public schools of great promise. Their students possess considerable advantages at the Universities in the form of Scholarships and Exhibitions at Pembroke, Exeter, and Jesus Colleges.

A very valuable and reliable report on the laws of Jersey was issued in 1860 by Royal Commissioners appointed for that purpose. The inquiry, which was conducted by the Earl of Devon, Sir John Awdry, and Mr. Richard Jebb, was most exhaustive, and the report

is often cited in the Courts as of authority, whilst several of their recommendations have been carried out. Previous to this (in 1846) another Royal Commission had sat to inquire into the Criminal Laws of Jersey and Guernsey. A separate report was issued for each island.

The peculiar Constitutions of these islands stand alone. In practice, they are to a great degree oligarchies checked by public opinion and the Crown and Privy Council. We find the judges popularly elected and exercising legislative, as well as administrative and judicial functions; we find a convocation, as shown by the Rectors sitting *ex officio* in the States, largely represented in the local Parliaments; and furthermore, the municipal element has in many respects a great and an increasing preponderance, for we have seen that to the Guernsey States of Deliberation were added only last year nine more direct representatives of the people. The working of these systems of government may appear complex, but their complexities are familiar to the islanders. They may not be model Constitutions, but still, having stood the wear and tear of eight centuries, they daily evince, with the right men at the wheel, a strong tendency and a capability to adjust themselves to the exigencies of modern society.

[*The Author of the above* (Mr. P. Edward Amy, F.R.G.S.) *desires to convey his cordial acknowledgments and sincere appreciation of invaluable assistance rendered him, more particularly in the Constitutional and Judicial section, by* Ed. Toulmin Nicolle, Esq. (*Barrister-at-Law and Advocate of the Royal Court of Jersey*), *the able Editor of the third edition of that standard work, Messrs. Ansted and Latham's "The Channel Islands"; also Author of "Jersey—Descriptive and Historical" in "The Court Guide,"* &c.]

GIBRALTAR

By Sir CAVENDISH BOYLE

In the extent of territory over which floats the flag of Great Britain there is perhaps no spot of higher historical importance, of greater strategical value, than the rock of Gibraltar. And the word "spot" is advisedly used. Let us look for a moment at the map of the world, contemplate the huge areas coloured red thereon, and, turning to the entrance of the Mediterranean, observe the tiny patch which notifies that British rule obtains, that the Queen's subjects are within Her Majesty's dominions the moment they set foot on that little "spot" in the province of Andalusia.

To the ancients this remarkable excrescence, for it is nothing else, was known as Mons Calpe, otherwise one of the Pillars of Hercules, its fellow being Abyla, now Ape's Hill, which is situate on the opposite coast of Morocco. The modern name Gibraltar originates in the Moorish chieftain Tarik-Ibn-Zeynd, who landed at Algeciras in A.D. 711 with a considerable force, and shortly afterwards established himself on the other side of the bay, fortifying the face of the hill, Gibal-Tarik, or the mountain of Tarik, thereafter to bear the world-famous name of Gibraltar, the scene of numerous sieges, the fortress-home of successive thousands of defenders, the spot on which have been spent millions of treasure and the life-blood of many a stalwart soldier. But it must not be imagined that the Moor was first to realise the high importance of the position. Phœnicians and Carthaginians, Romans and Visigoths,

succeeded each other in its possession; and of these the men of Carthage appear to have been the most active, for on the Rock they erected watch-towers, whence to observe the movements of the Roman galleys. In the year 710 the Gothic power began to wane, and Julian, the disaffected governor of Ceuta, through his overtures to the Moorish chiefs, brought about the invasion by Tarik in the following April. For upwards of seven hundred and fifty years, although not continually, the Moorish power predominated on the Rock, the point of their first foothold in Spain, the scene of their final departure. Tarik built a fine castle on Mons Calpe, and there yet remain in the stone and "tapia" walls of the Moorish castle, now used as the Civil Prison, enduring evidences of his work. Near Medina-Sidonia Tarik met Roderick with his army of Visigoths, and after a furious contest defeated him, obtaining possession of the whole province of Andalusia. Space would not allow, even if records could furnish, any detailed account of the many vicissitudes of the fortress and its inhabitants during the earlier centuries succeeding the first Moorish occupation. Under the rule of the Chief Taxfin, the Spanish Moors sought the aid of their African allies and connections, and a great fight took place in 1086 at Badajos between the Christian and Moslem forces, the latter being largely strengthened by an army sent across the Straits, with the result that the invading conquerors soon turned against the Moorish residents in Spain and occupied the land. In 1309 Guzman the Good laid siege to and captured the Rock of Gibraltar from the Moors, and Ferdinand IV. granted a constitution to the town. In 1333 the Moors recaptured it, and in 1462 Arcos, Ponce de Leon, and the Duke John de Guzman of Medina-Sidonia finally wrenched it from the Moslem power. From the last-mentioned date Gibraltar was

possessed and governed by the Medina-Sidonia family until 1502, when it was annexed by the Spanish Crown. In 1609 the final departure of the Moor from Spain took place, and, as above stated, the point of that departure was the Rock on which Tarik had landed nine centuries previously. On 24th July 1704, the fortress was taken from the Spanish by Sir George Rooke after a three days' siege, and from that time British supremacy has been maintained there, although repeated attempts were made to recapture it, the first of which took place within the same year of Rooke's victory. The Treaty of Utrecht, 1713, ceded the fortress to Great Britain, but the Spaniards sought fourteen years later to recover its possession in the thirteenth siege, which lasted five months. Between that year and 1779, when the fourteenth or great siege commenced, many attempts were made by the Spanish nation to regain possession of the Rock; but, in spite of plots, of treachery, and of diplomatic endeavour, the British flag continued to fly on its summit, and much was done to strengthen its defences and Anglicise its customs.

From the 11th July 1779 until the 12th March 1783 the combined forces of Spain and France beleaguered the fortress, and heroic was the defence, and beyond praise the endurance, of General George Eliott, afterwards Lord Heathfield, and those who served under him.

"I am honoured with His Majesty's commands to assure you in the strongest terms that no encouragement shall be wanting to the brave officers and soldiers under your command. His royal approbation of the past will no doubt be a powerful incentive to further exertions, and I have the King's authority to assure you that every distinguished mark of emulation and gallantry which shall be performed in the course of the siege, by any, even of the lowest rank, will meet with

ample reward from his generous protection and favour." So wrote Lord Melbourne to General Eliott in July 1782. They were great words, but not too great for the noble deeds, for the sturdy bravery of those for whom they were intended, of him to whom they were addressed.

The besieging forces of France and Spain numbered 61,000, the garrison contained 5300, reinforced in 1780 by 1050, and in October 1782 by 1600 men. A naval brigade of 900 men was also on duty on shore, landed from Admiral Duff's fleet, which consisted of H.M. ships *Panther*, *Enterprise*, *Childers*, *Gibraltar*, and *Fortune*.

In the summer of 1780 a fleet of gunboats belonging to the enemy commenced, from the 26-pounder guns carried by each, a persistent and harassing bombardment of the town, and this was continued nightly during the remainder of the siege. In January 1780 Admiral Rodney, and in April 1781 Admiral Darby, brought relief to the garrison. On the latter occasion the soldiers were within measurable distance of starvation—stores had been exhausted, famine was imminent, and matters looked black indeed for the defenders. It is related that General Eliott himself lived for eight days during the extremity on four ounces of rice per day. A frantic bombardment following Admiral Darby's timely relief lasted for six weeks.

The town was abandoned by the civil population, who sought refuge in the southern portion of the Rock. The result was a revelation of accumulated provisions and liquors which some of the merchants had hoarded, and this discovery naturally led to acts of plunder by the soldiers.

In November 1781 a sortie of 2160 officers and men under General Ross was organised, and was completely successful. This small force at night attacked the enemy's lines and advanced trenches on the

North Front, containing an army 14,000 strong and mounting 130 heavy guns; destroyed works which had cost millions of treasure and the lives of thousands to erect; spiked nearly all the mortars and cannon, and exploded the magazines. The British casualties were one officer and twenty-five men wounded and four men killed. The Spaniards, however, lost no time in repairing their siege lines, and these again were destroyed by means of red-hot shot which was poured into them from the Rock batteries. In 1782 rewards for the best scheme of reducing the fortress were freely offered by the enemy, and a plan formulated by a French engineer, Chevalier D'Arcon, was adopted. This plan embraced a combined attack by sea and land. Floating batteries of an average of 1000 tons burden, ten in number, were constructed. They mounted in all 138 guns, and carried crews aggregating 5200 men. The land batteries mounted 240 guns, and were manned by an army of 40,000 rank and file. The fleet in the bay, French and Spanish, consisted of forty-seven sail of the line, in addition to the ten batteries above mentioned, besides a flotilla of small vessels. Five hundred guns played on the Rock at one time, and from the 9th to the 14th of April a furious bombardment was maintained; but even this supreme effort was of no avail, for the garrison held its own, and again the use of red-hot shot brought discomfiture on the attacking force, although but ninety-six guns were available for the defence.

The defeat of the enemy was complete. All the floating batteries were destroyed, and many of the ships of the line were disabled or burnt. Two thousand men at least were lost, of whom 1500 were on the batteries. In Gibraltar one officer and fifteen men were killed, and sixty-eight rank and file wounded. The attack had been witnessed from the land side by thousands of Spanish spectators confident that the fall of the devoted fortress was imminent. Their disappointment at

the failure of the action may well be imagined, and the result on the nation itself produced a feeling of consternation and dismay. In October of this year, 1782, Lord Howe partially relieved the garrison, landing provisions and a draft of 1600 men. A most skilful manœuvre was this, for the English fleet failing through stress of weather to effect a landing at the first attempt, ran out to the eastern side of the Rock, then, refusing to give battle with the enemy, slipped back to the Moorish coast and anchored off Tetuan. From this position Lord Howe sent two frigates and twelve transports into the bay, and having safely landed men and provisions, the whole fleet retired to Cadiz, where a naval engagement took place, the English ships afterwards continuing their homeward voyage.

The expenditure of Spain and France in blood and treasure during this long and fruitless siege was enormous. The former admitted a loss of 6000 men—it must have been considerably more — and the cost must have been nearly 15,000,000 dollars. In January 1783 the preliminaries of peace were signed, and in March of that year visits were exchanged between General Eliott and the Duc de Crillon, who had been in supreme command of the besieging forces. The garrison lost in killed, wounded, sick, and discharged 1200 all told, 205,000 rounds of shot were fired, 8000 barrels of powder were consumed, and 53 pieces of cannon were destroyed within the fortress. General Eliott was honoured with a Knight-Commandership of the Bath, and given a pension of £1500 per annum. Four years later he was raised to the peerage under the title of Baron Heathfield.

The story of this the latest siege of Gibraltar is one of the brightest pages in British history. The resistance of the defenders, almost miraculous in its endurance and result, exhibits an unparalleled record of sturdy heroism under terrible circumstances, and against

odds apparently overwhelming. The duration of the siege, too, is a matter of wonder. As weeks grew into months, and months into years, there was no thought of yielding in the minds of the imprisoned garrison, but, under a continuous storm of shot and shell, works of magnitude were devised and completed. Short rations, scant water, frequent sickness were cheerfully endured, and superhuman efforts were made, and were successful, in preserving to the British Crown the most valuable of Britain's military possessions. Small blame is it, therefore, to any British subject that he should dwell with pride on the record of Heathfield's heroic defence and the magnificent bravery of those under his command.

From the termination of the siege writers are comparatively silent as to the work of the garrison and the doings of the civil population, which latter at the period may be roughly estimated to amount in number to 3000, until 1802, when we find that the Duke of Kent was appointed Governor of Gibraltar, with express powers to put down numerous abuses which had sprung up within the fortress and town. His Royal Highness appears to have set to work with a will in his endeavour to reform the condition of affairs and to re-establish discipline and control. Within a year, however, the Duke left the command, Ministers, yielding to the representations of the disaffected in the garrison and amongst the numerous retailers of liquor in the town, apparently ignored the good work of reform which had earned the gratitude and esteem of all the respectable community on the Rock under the short residential rule of His Royal Highness.

In 1830 a Charter of Justice was given to the city of Gibraltar, and the inhabitants were granted civil liberty. The story of the resident population of the Rock, with its limited habitable area, and the requirements of the force of armed men necessary for its

defence, the repeated attempts to control the numbers, increasing from the 3000 recorded by Ayala in 1724, and composed of Genoese, Jewish, and English settlers, until the present date, when the returns show some 19,800 inhabitants, exclusive of a military and naval force of nearly 6000 men, would fill a bulky volume. In 1791 the principles laid down would seem to have gone so far as to declare that even natural-born British subjects could not claim the right of residence; whilst in 1812 the chief duty of the then newly established military police appeared to have been the control of the admission of foreigners and the prevention of overcrowding. This establishment of police was brought about by the epidemic fever first appearing in 1810, which between that year and 1814 attacked no less than 14,000 persons and caused the deaths of more than half that number. In the last-mentioned year the civil population numbered close on 10,000. In 1822 licenses to marry amongst the aliens were only granted on condition that the newly-wedded left the city. Although in 1828 another epidemic decimated the overcrowded city, the census of 1829 showed that there were upwards of 12,000 persons resident therein on "permit." In 1830, by order from the Home Government, the granting of "permits" was greatly restricted, the returns showing that the population had increased to 17,000, including 7000 who could not claim British origin. In 1873 an Order in Council was passed dealing with the question of the admission of aliens temporarily or for residential purposes, the general principles of this and all previous enactments on the subject being that the requirements of the fortress and the limited habitable area of Gibraltar rendered necessary exceptional measures to restrict the increase of the permanent population.

During the present century the defences of Gibraltar have constantly occupied attention, and modern

improvements in ordnance have caused frequent changes in its heavy armament. At the present time extensive works are in progress in the Bay and on the Rock. Moles for defence and for commercial purposes are under construction, as well as three graving docks. Electric lighting has been installed, and the difficult question of a sufficient water-supply has been taken in hand. Under a Board of Commissioners the sanitary conditions of the town and fortress are carefully guarded, and no endeavour to secure the health and well-being of the military and civilian residents is neglected. Nor can any surprise be felt at all this. Apart from its strategical value from a purely military and naval point of view, as a trade centre and port of call Gibraltar is of high importance, a fact which none have recognised more fully than the law-abiding and loyal residents who have made their homes and who pursue their avocations therein.

How the Moor succeeded the Goth, how Spain recovered her possession only to yield finally to Great Britain, has been briefly shown above. A few words—surmises perhaps would be more fitting—as to the origin of the rock itself may not here be out of place. During the secondary period of the earth's story, massive beds of limestone were formed beneath the ocean, to be uplifted by natural force, volcanic probably, acting from below. Around the base so formed fresh beds of stone collected, to be further lifted by a second upheaval, which may be said to have broken the rock in two, as is evidenced in the gulleys and ravines which separate the northern from the southern portion. And about this time the eastern sands must have been formed and raised into their present position round the little settlement now known as Catalan Bay. A third uplifting followed, indenting the ridge to the south of the present signal station, and the result is

that the outline of the Rock itself is markedly irregular, giving it the appearance and earning for it the name of the "Crouching Lion:" form and name alike significant of Britain's great sentinel tower of the Mediterranean. As there were upheavals, so too there must have been subsidences, borne out by the erosion of ledges and deposit of calcareous sandstone. The most recent upheaval it is thought may possibly have joined Europe once more with Africa, and this again was followed by another depression separating the two pillars, and leaving them as guardian towers over the Straits of the Mediterranean Sea.

Adown the western side of the Rock is a sloping plain of stratified siliceous deposit, known as the Red Sands, and on this the town itself stands. The Genista caves, which Captain Brome explored in the years 1863–68, gave a rich return of mammalian remains, including bones of the bear, hyæna, panther, rhinoceros, ibex, hare, and rabbit. A full account of these valuable discoveries is given in Mr. G. Busk's "Quaternary Fauna of Gibraltar," published in the *Transactions of the Zoological Society of London*, Part ii. vol. x., 1877.

Oblong in form, Gibraltar juts into the sea, running nearly due north and south lengthwise for about three miles; its greatest breadth is three-quarters of a mile; in circumference it measures about seven miles, and it contains 1266 acres, in which are included that portion on the isthmus known as the North Front.

Although Gibraltar cannot be classified in the list of agricultural dependencies of the Crown, at one time, and not many years ago, there existed three "farms" on the western slope of the Rock, "Ince's," "Bruce's," and "Porral's." These small freeholds were allotted, in recognition of special acts of bravery, to non-commissioned officers who had survived the dangers of the great siege. They changed hands several times,

and eventually were resumed on payment by the War Department. But it must not be imagined that Gibraltar, although a rock, is devoid of vegetation. Indeed it boasts of more than four hundred flowering plants and ferns which are indigenous, and it possesses one pretty flower, the Gibraltar candytuft, which is to be found nowhere else in Europe. Many beautiful trees and shrubs are to be seen growing luxuriantly in the well-kept gardens of the Convent, the Alameda, and the Mount. The aloe, the prickly pear, and the great scarlet geranium flourish as hedgerows, and the grounds of the Governor's residence and of the senior naval officers' quarters are gay in spring and early summer with brightness and colour.

Foxes, badgers, rabbits, and the genet-cat share the hillside with the far-famed Rock monkeys (*Macacus inuus* of Linné). The latter are undoubtedly descended from an ancestry brought by the hand of man from the Barbary coast opposite, and all legends of natural tunnels beneath the Straits, created for their special use, or of the Rock apes having survived one of the great depressions dividing the two coasts, must be put aside. Still there they are, a great and protected curiosity, for nowhere else in Europe are they to be found. The guard on the highest post, namely, the signal station, have strict orders to chronicle their movements, and to register their births and deaths in the several troops; and even when their numbers have so greatly increased and their manners so depreciated as to render a little thinning out desirable, special warrants from high home authorities are required ere an official may "have it in command" to give the quietus to a small percentage of the family.

The bright and pretty market of Gibraltar, situate near the Waterport gate, is well worth a visit. The Prince of Wales laid the foundation-stone in April 1876, and it was finished in the following year

under the supervision of the designer, the late Colonial Engineer, at a cost of £10,000. Meat comes from Northern and Southern Spain, and from Morocco. The latter country also supplies large quantities of poultry and eggs; and the waters of the Bay and of the eastern side furnish a considerable quantity of fish, such as red mullet, sole, turbot, anchovy, bonita, john dory, and ranger. The tunny fisheries, which formerly yielded a large revenue, and for which many of the watch-towers were used as points of observation, have dwindled into insignificance. Fruit, vegetables, and flowers are to be found in Southern abundance; oranges, melons, figs, and muscatel grapes are plentiful, and very cheap in their respective seasons, and the little Spanish artichoke is largely sold. Partridges, woodcock, snipe, and wild duck can also be obtained in the autumn and winter months, whilst one of the sights of the Rock town is a Spaniard driving without effort a flock of turkeys through the narrow streets, and offering them for sale from house to house.

Trade, although not what it was in former days, is still considerable in Gibraltar. As a coaling-station and port of call for ships entering and leaving the Mediterranean, the Bay is of much commercial value. The total tonnage of ships entered and cleared, by the more recent returns, is given at eight and three-quarter millions, of which over six and a half millions were British. Gibraltar is practically a free port. The tariff is very light, and only moderate duties of Customs are levied on wines, spirits, beer, and tobacco, other articles of consumption being free. There is still an appreciable volume of business done with Morocco, and although the profits from tobacco are no longer as great as in past years, employment is still found for upwards of 450 persons in the manufacture of cheap cigars and cigarettes; whilst 1200 persons

are employed in the coaling trade, which, pending the construction of the new wharves, is carried on from hulks anchored in the Bay.

The currency question of Gibraltar is full of complexities, and this should not cause surprise when the position of the town and fortress and the nature of the business transacted, and the nationality of many engaged therein, are duly considered. Payment for supplies from Spain and Morocco must be made in the coin of the first-named country, and these coins have been made and are legal tender, although British gold and silver are taken at the daily rate of exchange. Spanish coins consist nominally of gold pieces of 100, 50, 25, 10, and 5 pesetas. The only gold of Spain, however, seen on the Rock are the 25-peseta pieces known as "Doblons de Isabel," and they are not common. The silver coins in circulation are dollars or 5-peseta pieces, and lesser denominations, such as the 2 and 1 peseta, and the 50 and 25 centimo pieces. In bronze there are 10, 5, 2, and 1 centimo pieces. A British penny-piece is taken at 10 centimos. Other forms of legal tender, but rarely seen, are the 2 and 1 escudos, value respectively one and a half of one hard dollar—duro peso. Accounts are generally kept in dollars, pesetas, and centimos, but calculations are also made in reals de vellon, which value 20 to the dollar or 4 to the peseta, and also in the more confusingly reals of plate, 12 of which make one dollar. The soldier and sailor are paid in British coin, and it has lately been arranged, under the administration of the present Governor and Commander-in-Chief, Sir Robert Biddulph, that all official salaries shall be calculated and drawn in the same currency. The rate of exchange now ruling is about 31.05 pesetas to the pound sterling. It has been very much more, a sovereign at one time, and not very long ago, being exchangeable for considerably nearer 50 than 40 pesetas, and the par rate

of 25 pesetas to the pound has not been heard of for many a long year. It speaks well for British credit and administration, as well as for the methods adopted in business and banking circles, that under conditions often presenting considerable difficulty the course of finance on the Rock should run as smoothly as it does.

The principal unofficial financial establishment is a branch of the Anglo-Egyptian Bank, which has amalgamated with and taken over the bank founded by the late Jerome Saccone, whose name is still a household word on the Rock, and whose general business flourishes there under the able management of his heirs and assigns. Many of the leading merchants, however, are also bankers, and visitors to the town and those quartered in the fortress will find every facility in this connection which they may require.

The temperature on the Rock for eight months of the year, or even nine, from, say, October to June, is most pleasant, and there can be but little doubt that, if space permitted, it would be a favourite resort for crowds of wealthy travellers who now go farther up the Mediterranean for their winter visits. In the remaining portion of the year considerable heat is experienced, and the east wind, or Levanter, brings a certain amount of damp discomfort, which is felt by beast as well as by man. Snow is unknown, although hail-storms occasionally occur. The mean temperature is about 62°, the maximum which has been registered is 92°20′ and the minimum 33°. The principal rainfall is between September and May: the average is about 34 inches, although great variations have occurred, as small an amount as 15 inches having been recorded, whilst 79 inches fell in 1855. For a long time it was thought that much of the surface water of the Rock itself found its way into caves, and remaining stored there, could, if properly tapped, be utilised. This idea, however, has so far been proved groundless,

for the caves, through which a tunnel has now been bored from the western to the eastern side (and through the very heart of the rock), have been found to be dry—from the fact of their being bottomless. The extraordinary rapidity with which the water from an almost tropical downpour disappears is very remarkable, and many have been the attempts to conserve this gift of the clouds and thus provide a sufficiency for the inhabitants. As it is, the majority of houses are provided with large tanks—there are wide "catches" on the lower slopes of the Rock—and a certain amount of more or less brackish water is supplied for sanitary purposes from the shallow wells on the North Front. Large condensing engines, too, have been erected, and are available in time of need; and it is now believed that the inconvenience and dangers of the worst of all famines, namely, the want of a sufficiency of water potable and for drainage purposes, may never again be felt as they have been felt at times in the past. Under the improved conditions and under the excellent work of the Board of Sanitary Commissioners the health of the town and garrison has greatly improved. This Board is composed partly of official and partly of civilian members, and they have under their charge the general management of lighting, paving, draining, and water-supply, as well as all matters relating to the housing of the inhabitants other than the military and naval forces on the station. The death-rate in consequence shows a very considerable improvement, whilst epidemic sickness is unknown. Indeed it has been said that in no other place in the world where English soldiers serve does a regiment improve so thoroughly and so rapidly. Rock-fever, so called, it is true exists—a species of enteric—but the majority of cases are generally traceable to want of care on the part of those whom it attacks, and to neglect of the ordinary precautions necessary when out-of-door work

is performed under a hot sun and where chills are frequent toward nightfall. "Sentry go" has, however, none of the disadvantages of an inclement climate, and the soldier who finds outside his purely military duties constant employment "on the works" is as well placed as in any other portion of Her Majesty's wide dominions.

The sights on the Rock itself are many and full of interest. The upper portions of the hill are, it is true, closed on sound military considerations; but in the old and far-famed galleries, which can be viewed under permit, in the Moorish castle, with its battle-worn walls of stone and "tapia" cement (a lost art the construction of this latter), in the various guard-houses and barracks, in the Convent grounds and the beautiful Alameda gardens, in the several churches and gates of the fortress, in the lower lines of fortification, in the dockyard and in the moles and landing-places, in the bastions and casemates, in the well-furnished garrison library, in the commodious and picturesque dwellings of the leading residents, there is ample to occupy the attention of a visitor for many an enjoyable day, and food for reflection on the story of this famous stronghold of our nation which commands and dominates the entrance to the Mediterranean Sea.

To many of the farmers and herdsmen of the neighbourhood, both in Andalusia and in Northern Morocco, Gibraltar under British occupancy affords a profitable means of livelihood. Therein they find a steady market and prompt payment for their produce. Then the constant inflow of ships of war and of commerce into the Bay means an equally constant demand for supplies—coal, water, and fresh provisions. That this is fully appreciated by those who are engaged in the trade is shown in the goodwill which exists between the owners of the soil outside and the residents within the town and fortress. The gates of the garrison by

land and sea are open daily, under necessary but by no means irksome regulations, to all who have any business to transact therein; and in turn the surrounding country is practically free to those from the Rock who have dealings with their Spanish or Moorish neighbours, or who may seek exercise and sport in the fair fields of Spain or the wild lands which border on Tangier.

Spanish courtesy is proverbial, and the Andalusian countryman—farmer, innkeeper, muleteer—is no exception to this rule. If the foreigner, be he travelling for a few hours or for a month in the country, will bear in mind that he should address those whom he meets as "caballeros" (gentlemen), he will find many rough places made smooth, many difficulties and discomforts overcome and avoided. "Courtesy of speech avails much and costs little" is a well-known saying in Spain, and it is a truth which should never be forgotten. The Spaniard, once his sensitive nature and self-esteem have been conciliated, will be quick to return the compliment, and will render every assistance in his power to the visitor by whom he has been placed on a footing of equality. Bully him or browbeat him, and failure to attain the desired end will be the inevitable result; whereas careful civility will elicit that which is needed, and will secure hospitality and attention. "Esta su casa, señor" ("This house is yours, sir") is the form of welcome which is ever tendered to the visitor when once the Spaniard has made up his mind to receive him, but all the moral battering-rams in the world will fail if offence has been caused by brusqueness in speech or manner.

A shooting party from Gibraltar were, not many years ago, making their way from Algeciras to Casas Viejas with a team of four horses. Just beyond Tarifa one of the animals jibbed hopelessly. A country carrier came by with his long tandem of horses and

mules and saw their dilemma. A kindly-spoken word of sympathy by the Spaniard was courteously acknowledged, and then his best animal was unhitched and speedily harnessed into the place of the unwilling horse. Arrangements were made for the restoration of the carrier's property, and for picking up the exchanged horse at the next stage, some ten miles farther on the road; a couple of cigars were offered to the carrier and accepted with courtly grace. No question of payment was raised—it would have been indignantly refused had it been proposed; but hats were lifted on both sides, hopes were expressed for a successful journey and a heavy bag, the thanks of the party were tendered, and they went their way with the musical tinkle of bells and the cheery "Arré" ("get on") of this kind-hearted countryman, who was withal and in truth one of Nature's "Caballeros," ringing in their ears.

The Andalusian farmer, as a rule, raises no difficulties to those who ask to shoot over his land, and is willing to afford them accommodation in his house for a consideration. Although he cannot quite see the reason of the British love for, and method of, hunting the fox, and whilst hitherto all efforts to induce the Spanish officers and residents in the neighbourhood to join in that sport have practically failed, the farmers and landowners smile not unkindly at the "mad Ingleses," who spend their money so freely in chasing with horse and hound the animal which otherwise might be, and occasionally has been, rolled over with powder and shot. Then there is the perennial damage bill, a matter of consideration and moment alike to growers of crops and the management of the Calpe Hunt.

The actual origin of this well-known institution is somewhat obscure. In 1814, when the British garrison were leaving Cadiz, the members of the "Real Isla de

Leon Hunting Club" offered their hounds to the 29th Regiment and the officers quartered at Gibraltar. But before this date the fox had been hunted *on the Rock itself.* Two hounds had been imported from England for the purpose, and on the departure of the French from the neighbourhood this *pack* was enlarged by further drafts from the old country, and the sport was systematically established, the early subscribers constituting themselves into a club under the name of the Civil Hunt, with their kennels at San Roque, a few miles north of the Rock. The garrison was not slow to join the scheme, and it was probably in the above-mentioned year that the title of the club was changed to what it is to-day, namely, the Calpe Hunt. It is on record that during the quarantine restrictions of 1814, hounds, which were still kennelled at San Roque, and were followed almost exclusively by officers of the British fleet—the garrison were hard and fast within the cordon of Lines—found a large grey wolf in the cork-woods, and, after an exciting run, killed in the open, Admiral Fleming, the commander of the British fleet, being in at the death.

When the cordon was removed, hounds were brought into Gibraltar territory, and the kennels were established on the North Front. The present buildings were erected in 1884, and are satisfactory and complete. In December 1853 quarantine again put a stop to hunting in Spain, and the pack was allowed to visit Barbary, being conveyed across the straits to Tangier. The Moorish owners of the land joined *con amore* in the sport, and vied with the English Minister, Mr., afterwards Sir, John Drummond Hay in giving a cordial reception to the visitors. Foxes were numerous, and again a wolf gave an excellent run of over forty minutes and a distance of nine miles, to be lost eventually in the rocks of Cape Spartel.

Many have been the vicissitudes of the Calpe Hunt:

the sickness produced by hot summers, the consequent necessity of annual drafts of hounds from England, and the heavy drain for damages, have at times threatened it with extinction from lack of necessary funds. Means, however, have been found to prevent this calamity, for it would be nothing less to the pent-up garrison and sporting residents on the Rock, and the Hunt still survives. Formerly all the officers of the club were elected from the Imperial services. About 1893, however, the mastership passed into the hands of Mr. Larios, a leading resident in Gibraltar, a proprietor of much land in the neighbourhood, and the head of a family of "all-round sportsmen." Under his generous leadership excellent sport is shown, and the hounds and the hunt are not less welcome throughout the country than they were in former days and under previous conditions. Horse-flesh is cheap in Gibraltar; Spanish-bred ponies and Barbs are there in plenty, and the British subaltern, even when not over-richly endowed, has little difficulty in getting his two days a week hunting during the winter months, and is able to take part in polo, which is played on the ground leased at Campamento almost daily throughout the summer.

The birds of the Rock, transient and remaining there, have been well described in Colonel Irby's "Ornithology of the Straits of Gibraltar." The osprey, the vulture (Egyptian), and Bonelli's eagle are amongst the latter, and their nests are not uncommon in the southern heights. Then there are always to be found on the hillside the Barbary partridge, as well as some few hoopoes, golden orioles, and the fast-flying blue-rock or wild pigeon. The great bustard is occasionally shot on the plains between San Roque and Algeciras, whilst quail, golden plover, wild duck in considerable variety, and the grey lag goose are to be had during their respective seasons. The cabra montesa, or ibex of the Sierras sloping down to Estepona and Marbella,

have not infrequently attracted ambitious sportsmen from Gibraltar. These, the wariest and most shy of all mountain-sheep, are hard to get near, and it has been said that every ibex killed by a party from the Rock has cost not less than £100. But those who are sound of limb and wind, and who can obtain permission to try their luck, or may be favoured with an invitation to shoot with the owners of the preserved country, will be rewarded by a most enjoyable week or ten days amidst magnificent scenery, and in a climate unsurpassed in Southern Europe.

On the Moorish shore the Barbary partridge (*Caccabis petrosa*) in the autumn, and snipe in the winter months, frequently yield heavy bags to those who know the ground, who have made friends with its owners, and who are not averse to hard work and rough living.

But undue prominence may seem to have been given to the subject of sport; and if so, the only excuse to be offered is the recollection of many a trip of bygone years taken with keen companions — some, alas! have sped for aye to the unknown hunting-fields —the memory of happy days spent under conditions of nature to be found at best in the country-side environing the old Rock of Gibraltar.

In 1892 the Bobadilla-Algeciras Railway was opened throughout, and by this means the Rock can be reached from London in less than three days without encountering the discomforts of steamer passage through the Bay of Biscay; whilst Cordova, Malaga, and Granada have been brought within a journey of less than twelve hours from Gibraltar.

The road, 110 miles in length, is a wonderful piece of engineering skill, winding its way past brawling streams, around rocky cliffs, and plunging at short intervals into the heart of the Andalusian hills. From Algeciras to Ronda the scenery is wild and picturesque.

At the last-named place, perhaps one of the most romantic spots in all Southern Spain, travellers can break their journey, and a stay of a day or two in its invigorating air will amply reward them. Thence to Bobadilla the route is less mountainous, but is still full of natural beauty. Shortly before Bobadilla, Teba is passed, the birthplace of the Empress Eugenie; and finally junction is made with the Andaluces railway system, connecting with all parts of Spain. To the resident on the Rock the opening of the Algeciras Railway is of inestimable benefit. Visits to famous historic scenes, such as Seville, Cordova and Granada, can be made with ease and at a reasonable expenditure of time and money. Madrid can be reached in less than twenty-four hours, and the homeward bound can, at moderate cost and in comfort, find their way through that town and through Bordeaux and Paris to English shores and London streets.

In this attempt to furnish a few simple observations on the Rock and its surroundings, recourse has frequently been had to the condensed history and elaborate notes compiled by the late Colonel G. J. Gilbard, who founded the annual publication known as the "Gibraltar Directory." This work, from 1888 to 1892, was edited for Mrs. Gilbard by the present writer, in collaboration with Mr. R. Bandury, the genial and popular Deputy of the Garrison Library, and in the last-mentioned year the book passed entirely into their hands. Since 1894 Mr. Bandury, who then became its sole proprietor, has conducted its publication. Colonel Gilbard's history and notes were revised and partially rewritten between 1889 and 1893, but it would be a graceless act to allow the present article to go to press without the writer's fullest acknowledgment to his late coadjutor, and without a word of gratitude to the memory of him who originated the "Directory," and who compiled a volume replete with information.

THE MALTESE ISLANDS

By CLAUDE LYON (of Malta)

Open a map of the world and you will see in the middle of the Mediterranean, between Sicily and Tripoli, a tiny spot no larger than a pin's head. This is Malta, an island which, though it looks so small and insignificant on the map, is really a place of very considerable importance, not only in the estimation of the islanders, but also in the opinion of our highest naval and military authorities. The Maltese islands may be said to form a little world in themselves: a world in which the manners and customs of the East are curiously mixed up with those of the West.

It is usual to speak of "Malta and its Dependencies": the Dependencies consist of Gozo, Comino, Cominotto, and Filfala. Gozo and Comino are inhabited, but Cominotto and Filfala are mere rocks, the former lying off the west coast of Comino, and the latter off the south coast of Malta.

Malta, as every one knows, is the Melita of the Bible: it was called Melita by the Greeks, from the wild honey it produced, the name being derived either from *meli* (honey) or from *melita* (a bee). It retained this name for several centuries. The modern name is derived from a Hebrew or Arabic word meaning refuge or asylum. It has also the poetical designation of the "*Fior' del Mondo*," or "Flower of the World."

The distance from London to Malta is, approximately, 2280 miles by sea, and 2000 by the Continent. The fare is about the same by both routes,

namely, £16 first class; the sea voyage takes about a week, and the land journey about 4½ days. The islands lie about 58 miles south of Sicily, and 180 north of the African coast. Malta is an irregular oval in shape, about 18½ miles long by 8½ broad, with an area of 95 square miles, and a population, exclusive of the garrison, of 154,000 in 1896, or with the Dependencies, 174,000. In 1891 the total population was 165,000, and in 1881, 149,000. It may be interesting to compare these figures with those of former periods. When Napoleon took the islands a century ago the total population was about 115,000; but in the subsequent struggle 20,000 of the islanders perished, chiefly by disease, and in two years the population fell to less than 100,000. The islands at the present day enjoy the distinction of being the most densely populated in the world. The figures give an average of 1621 per square mile for Malta, and 1000 for Gozo. Belgium, the most densely inhabited country on the Continent, has only about 563. I may add that there are about 2500 more females than males, which is probably owing to the larger emigration of the latter. The garrison comprises about 10,000 men, including the Royal Malta Artillery and the newly raised Royal Malta Regiment, together about 1500 strong.

Both revenue and expenditure are increasing, but it is satisfactory to note that whereas the expenditure used often to exceed the revenue, the revenue now usually exceeds the expenditure. In 1881 the revenue was £186,000, and the expenditure £188,000; in 1891 they were respectively £263,000 and £270,000; and in 1896, £313,680 and £308,902. The public debt is under £80,000. There are no direct taxes; the revenue is derived from import duties, port dues, rents of Government property, licences, stamps, &c. The proportion received from customs amounts to more than half of the whole, and the amount grew in

the ten years, 1881–90, from £103,000 to £160,000. In 1896 it was £176,457. The duties on the whole are low, and are little felt by the people. They are levied on wheat (1s. 3d. a bushel), flour (3s. 10d. a cwt.), Indian corn, rice, olive oil (other oils are free), cattle, meat, &c., and on beer and ale, wine and spirits. Tobacco, both raw and manufactured, is free. As regards all other articles the islands enjoy absolutely free trade, and hence become a great distributing centre for the products of our factories. The value of the imports and exports were in 1896, £842,039 and about £43,000 respectively; the former is chiefly made up of coal from Great Britain, and cattle and grain from foreign countries; the latter of potatoes, fruit, and lace. The tonnage of vessels, mostly British steamers, entering and leaving the port was 6,584,000 in 1896; 7,033,000 in 1895; 8,100,000 in 1891: the falling off is due partly to the economy in fuel consumption owing to improvements in marine engines, which enables vessels to go greater distances without recoaling, and partly, and as I believe chiefly, to the vexatious quarantine regulations so frequently imposed. In this respect the island is more behind the times than even Italy. Malta is an important station of the Eastern Telegraph Company, whose cables come in here from all parts of the Mediterranean. The local telegraph lines have a total length of 65 miles, and the telephone lines of 276 miles. Mails for England and the Continent are made up every day, except Sunday, and are received and distributed every day; also at frequent intervals to and from Egypt, India, &c. The number of letters and postcards passing annually through the Post Office is now nearly a million, and of newspapers 346,000. The receipts from the Post Office were £13,200 in 1896, and the disbursements somewhat more: so that it is not yet quite self-supporting, though it is believed that it soon will be.

The total deposits in the savings' banks are now almost £500,000. Turning to the criminal statistics, the figures are highly satisfactory, for though there was a slight increase in the number of convictions in 1896 over 1895, there was a steady decline in the figures each year from 1891 to 1895.

About a third of the total acreage of the island is Government property; of the remaining two-thirds, about half belongs to the Church, and the rest to private individuals. The revenue from Government lands and house property is about £41,000 per annum, two-thirds of which is from house property.

There is a narrow gauge railway, eight miles long connecting Valetta with the former capital, Notabile. The line was constructed by a company and worked by them at first, but was taken over by the Government in 1890, and is now worked by them at a profit of over £1000 a year.

The government of the islands is carried on by an Executive and Legislative Council, called the Council of Government, with the Governor as *ex-officio* President or a Vice-President. Twenty members compose the Council, of whom six are official and fourteen elected. Ten of the elected members are elected by the general electors, of whom there are about 10,000, and four by special electors chosen from the general electors. The qualification to become a special elector is an income of £60 per annum, or the payment of rent to that amount. The qualification to become a general elector is an income of £6, or a payment of a like sum in rent, or the age of twenty-one and the right to serve as a common juror. The four members elected by the special electors represent the Ecclesiastics, the Nobles, the University, and the *Borsa* or Chamber of Commerce. The islands are divided into ten electoral districts, and one member is therefore returned for each district. The Council meets once a week during the season in

a room set apart for the purpose, called the Council Chamber, in the Governor's Palace in Valetta. The Council may last three years without re-election. There is nothing in Malta corresponding to our county council, no school board, and no local rates.

Malta is inadequately provided with school accommodation, and the number of *inalfebeti, i.e.* illiterate persons, though less in proportion to the total population than it was a few years ago, is still greater than one would expect to find in so important a colony. Indeed, nothing surprises the visitor more on his first acquaintance with the place than the number of *inalfebeti* he is continually coming in contact with. It is not only the peasants who are uneducated, but a large number of the servants, both men and women, boatmen, cab-drivers, gardeners, and artisans, and even some of the shopkeepers. So unsatisfactory is the present condition of affairs in this respect in the islands that a Select Committee has been appointed to inquire into the matter, and, as the Chief Secretary says in his report, "It is hoped that the earnest labours of the Committee . . . will finally lead to a satisfactory solution of this vital question, in the interest both of the present and of the future generations of the people of Malta." What, as it seems to me, is required is a complete reorganisation of the present system, the building of more schools, and the passing of a compulsory Education Act. Meanwhile the children in their thousands are left to run wild about the streets of the towns, a veritable nuisance to themselves and everybody else. The total expenditure on education is about £21,000 a year. There are 99 elementary day schools, and 29 night schools supported by the Government. The University and the Lyceum are also supported by the Government; the former costs £3600 a year, and is attended by 132 students; the latter cost £2900, and is attended by 447 students. There are several

private scholastic establishments, including a college conducted by Jesuit fathers. I should add that the education of the people is largely controlled by the priests.

The Maltese are a strong, healthy, hard-working race, passionately attached to their island home. They are a very frugal people, and no matter how low their wages may be, or how large a family they may have to support, they always contrive to save something. This seems to have been characteristic of the people for many generations. When the knights took possession of Malta, we are told that the people were noted for their frugality. The food of the peasants consists of coarse brown bread, or *pasta*, a kind of macaroni, olives, and olive oil with a simple milk cheese, made in the island, and sometimes a little fish and fruit. On this simple fare they do well. For drink they have a thin coffee in the morning, and water, or a little of the light Sicilian wine with their midday meal. They rarely eat meat, as it is too expensive; but if they do, it is generally pork in some form. They have not the objection of other Eastern people to the flesh of the pig; on the contrary, they look upon it as a delicacy. The hours of labour are long, but the people rest for a couple of hours in the middle of the day, when they take the *siesta*, or after-dinner sleep. This is indulged in by all classes. The gentry retire to their rooms, but the peasants lie down on the ground in the nearest shady spot and sleep soundly till it is time to resume work. The ambition of every peasant is to become the owner of a little plot of ground on which to build himself a cottage. This he often manages. Sometimes he builds his cottage with his own hands, assisted by his neighbours, whom he assists in return. The houses are all built of stone, which is often quarried on the spot. It is got out in blocks a couple of feet long, by a foot in width and

height. It is easily cut to the required shape, and placed in position. The mortar is frequently only lime and earth—very little lime to a good deal of earth. The roofs are flat, and are formed of slabs of the same stone, supported on cheap iron girders. Before the introduction of the present girders, which come, I believe, from Belgium, wooden beams were used, and were much more expensive. The doors and windows are the work of the nearest carpenter. They are strongly but roughly made. The village blacksmith supplies the locks and hinges, which are very roughly, not to say badly, made. The walls are not papered, but colour washed. The woodwork is painted with a very cheap bad paint, which often does not dry for weeks. This completes the house; the furniture for which is of the simplest description. Nothing is provided but what is absolutely necessary. Carpets are unknown; so, too, are curtains and table linen. The *batterie de cuisine* consists of a few pots and pans. The cooking is done on a charcoal brazier; the washing in any old pan or bucket.

The dress of the peasants may be practical, but it is certainly not picturesque. As a rule the men do not wear a coat, even in the street. Their nether garments are made of a coarse blue cotton cloth, and are always so patched that it is next to impossible to tell how much of them represents the original garment. They wear neither shoes nor stockings; but some now wear a kind of sandal. The women of this class are no better dressed than the men; and they, too, go barefoot all the year round. Their headdress, however, is peculiar. It consists of a kind of mantle or long hood, called the *faldetta*, and reaching to about the waist. It is the Sunday headdress of all classes.

The Maltese make good servants; they often attach themselves to their master and mistress, and will do anything for them. Those who speak English

command good wages in English households. Women servants will get from £3 to £4 a month, and men from £4 to £5. Out of this they have to feed and clothe themselves; but it is high as wages go in Malta. They all have their own homes, to which they return when the day's work is over. If, as I have said, the desire of the peasant is to become a houseowner, the desire of the servant is to become a shopkeeper. To get the requisite capital he saves up the greater portion of his wages, and as soon as he can he makes a start. Once started it is not often that he does not succeed in making the shop pay. His favourite shop is a small grocery with a licence to sell drink. The result is, that there is an immense number of these drinking dens—for they are nothing else—and most of them do an excellent business. Their chief patrons are our soldiers and sailors, who thus have temptations to drink thrown in their way which should not be tolerated for a moment. We make every effort to keep the men sober while serving in Great Britain, and in places like Malta, where the evil effects of over-indulgence in drink are far worse than in our temperate climate, we leave them to the tender mercies of these grasping publicans. This is a matter that demands the immediate attention of the Imperial Government.

The Maltese are believed to be descended from the Phœnicians, who first settled in the islands about 1500 B.C. They have been Christians since the early days of Christianity. They are nearly all Roman Catholics, and very much attached to their Church. Their language is thought by some to be a survival of the Punic tongue; but it is more probably a dialect of Arabic, introduced by the Saracenic invaders. At all events if not an Arabic dialect, it is so closely allied to Arabic that the people have no difficulty in conversing with the Arabs. The purest Maltese is now spoken in Gozo

and the country districts of Malta. In Valetta and the large towns, it has been much corrupted by the introduction of foreign, principally Italian, words and phrases. Until comparatively recently it was not possible to write Maltese, but now the Latin characters have been adapted to express the various sounds of the Arabic characters, and books and papers are printed in the vernacular. The literature, however, is confined to school books and religious works translated from English or Italian. Italian is the official language, and it is spoken by all the upper classes. Most of them speak English as well. In fact our language is gaining ground every day, and seems destined at no distant date to supersede Italian.

Geologically the Maltese islands belong to the late Eocene period. The rocks are coralline and calcareous limestone, with beds of greensand and blue clay or marl. As in all limestone formations there are numerous caves and grottos, in many of which the remains of various extinct animals have been found; the most remarkable are the bones of two kinds of pigmy elephants. Of these, one, *Elephas Melitensis*, was only from 4 to 5 feet high, and the other, *Elephas Falconera*, only about 3 feet. These remains prove that the islands were once united to the mainland. They are, in fact, the most elevated parts of the ridge which once united Europe and Africa. This ridge is now easily to be traced between Sicily and Malta by the comparative shallowness of the water overlying it. The fauna and flora belong partly to Europe and partly to Africa. The domestic animals include all those with which we are familiar. The famous Maltese dog, however, is extinct in Malta. The goats are a speciality of the place, and are a source of considerable profit to their owners. They supply most of the milk consumed. The amount of milk given by a good goat is large, sometimes, indeed, as much as the third of a

gallon a day. The animals are driven into the towns in flocks every morning and evening, and milked at the customers' doors. Cattle are imported from North Africa and Russia, horses from Barbary. Donkeys are bred in the islands. They are a small but useful breed, the best trotting as fast as a pony. Besides the above there are rabbits and weasels, hedgehogs and bats. Of reptiles there are lizards in considerable numbers, and two or three species of snakes. The latter are fairly numerous, but are seldom seen. None are poisonous. According to a Maltese legend, St. Paul did for Malta what St. Patrick is credited with having done for Ireland; that is to say, he expelled the venomous reptiles. The sea round the Malta coast is fairly well stocked with fish. The most esteemed fish are the john dory and the red mullet. Tunny, sardines, and grey mullet are common. The octopus is frequently caught, and is eaten by the fisher-folk. More than 250 species of migratory birds visit the islands on their way to and from the north. The most prized is the quail, which is shot and trapped in large numbers. But all birds are looked upon as "game" by the Maltese sportsman; and every winged creature, from the hawk to the robin, from the owl to the linnet, is ruthlessly shot, and sold or eaten. The markets, during the migratory season, are a sad but instructive sight; every kind of bird common to Europe being exposed at different times for sale on the stalls. Mr. A. L. Adams, in his valuable "Notes of a Naturalist," observes, "Nowhere are the feathered tribe more persecuted than in Malta," and he estimates that "half the migratory birds are shot or captured" on the islands, an estimate which I am sure is no exaggeration. Of the resident birds there are not more than a dozen species, the commonest being the ubiquitous sparrow. Canaries are bred for sale to visitors, and parrots are brought over from Africa for the same purpose.

The flora is extensive. Nearly all our vegetables grow well: the fruits are those of Southern Europe, the most important being the orange, of which there are half-a-dozen varieties, the lemon, the fig, and the almond. Strawberries are plentiful in the spring, a small wild strawberry of excellent flavour; other fruits are the *nestboli* or Japanese medlar (*Eryobotrya Japonica*), the melon, and the prickly pear. The vine is cultivated, but not to the same extent as formerly. Flowers are abundant. Malta was famous for its roses in Roman times, and they are still grown in large quantities. The chief agricultural products are potatoes, which are exported in the winter and spring, corn, *sulla*, cummin, aniseed, onions, and olives. *Sulla* is a tall red clover (*Hedysarium Coronarium*), and grows luxuriantly all over the island. Cotton used to be grown for export, but the export has now ceased. Garlic is another product. It grows wild everywhere, and is eaten as a stomachic by all classes. There are no woods or forests, as there is not sufficient depth of soil for forest trees to grow. The cultivated trees are all of a low growing order and are mostly evergreens. They are the orange, the lemon, the olive, the caruba, &c. The last named is the tree which produces the locust bean, now used for fattening cattle. Its botanical name is *Ceratonia siliqua*. While speaking of the flora I must not omit to mention a very curious and interesting plant, said to be indigenous. This is the fungus Melitensis, or *Cynomorium Coccineum*. It is, as the name implies, a fungus-like plant, and is chiefly found growing on a rocky islet off the coast of Gozo, called the General's Rock. It was highly prized by the knights, who used it as a styptic and a cure for dysentery. Another indigenous plant grows on the south cliffs. It is called *Centaurea Crassifolia*.

The soil is very fertile, though nowhere of any depth. The average depth is in fact only a few inches.

It is really little more than a sprinkling of soil upon the surface of the limestone rock; but it is capable of yielding two crops a year. The farming implements are of the most primitive kind. The plough is like the one that has been in use in the East from time immemorial. The frame is formed of a single curved piece of wood. Through this a spike is driven, and it is with this spike the soil is turned up, or rather furrowed. The plough can be guided with one hand, and drawn by a cow or a donkey; by any draught animal, indeed, that is available. The harrow is of equally simple construction, and both implements are so light that they can be carried by the farmer on his shoulder. They seem to answer their purpose well, and have the great advantage of being easily made and easily repaired. The land is divided into quite small plots by stone walls. These stone walls are met with all over the islands, and are the most conspicuous feature in the landscape. They are of great importance in keeping in the soil, which would otherwise in many places be washed away. The great drawback to farming in Malta is the want of water. If water were available for irrigating the fields, Malta would probably be the most fertile island in the world. As it is there is neither lake nor stream, and though there are springs in the hills they only yield enough water for domestic purposes.

The climate is delightful in the spring. It is wet and windy in the winter and hot and dusty in the summer. The winter temperature varies from about 45° to 60°, seldom falling below 42°. The summer temperature varies from about 70° to 90°, occasionally rising to 92° or 93°. The coldest month is generally January, and the wettest November. Frost and snow are unknown, but hail sometimes falls. There are no fogs, but there is a good deal of wind. The prevalent winds are the north-east, called the *gregale*, and the

south-east, called the *sirocco*. The former is a cold wind blowing down from the Adriatic, and raising a heavy sea along the northern coast. It usually blows for three days, and is frequently accompanied by heavy showers of rain: it is the Euroclydon of the Bible. The *sirocco* is the prevalent wind in the Mediterranean: it is a debilitating wind, and seems to affect both the spirits and the temper. It, too, blows for three days at a time and at all seasons. Its debilitating effects are most noticeable in September. The average annual rainfall is about 20″; but too often the amount registered is very much less, which means, of course, a short supply in summer. Provision is made for storing the winter rainfall to supplement the supply from the springs. In many parts of the island this rain-water is all the inhabitants have to depend upon. On the whole Malta is a healthy place, though there is a kind of malarial fever, called "Malta Fever," which is rather prevalent. The death-rate is not high (last year 28 per 1000), and it would be low were it not for the very high rate of infant mortality. In point of cleanliness, Valetta compares very favourably with the winter resorts of France and Italy, and the city itself is well drained. The climate is beneficial to sufferers from insomnia and nervous complaints.

Valetta is situated in N. lat. 35° 44′ and E. long. 14° 31′. It has been described as a city "built by gentlemen for gentlemen." It occupies the whole of the rocky ridge called Mount Sceberras, which separates the Grand Harbour on the east from the Quarantine Harbour on the west. The ridge itself rises to a height of over 100 feet above the sea, and has been likened to an elephant's body. The main street, Strada Reale, runs along the crest of the ridge in a straight line in a north and south direction, and forms, as it were, the backbone of the elephant, while the side streets which run down both sides of the ridge to the

two harbours are the ribs. The chief buildings are the Governor's Palace, formerly the residence of the Grand Masters, St. John's Cathedral, the Auberge de Castile, and the Opera House. St. John's, the work of a Maltese architect, Girolamo Cussar, is noted for its beautiful inlaid pavement of coloured marbles; before the French robbed it of its most valuable treasures it was accounted the richest church in Christendom. The knights had their clubs, or *auberges*, one for each nation. The *Auberge de Castile*, the resort of the Castilian knights, was the largest and finest; the *Auberge d'Angleterre* was the poorest, and has been pulled down. The Opera House is a modern building. Valetta is supplied with water from springs in the centre of the island by aqueducts and tunnels, forming a conduit eight miles long, constructed by Grand Master Vignacourt. Mount Sceberras is cut off from the rest of the island by a ditch 90 feet deep, which extends almost from harbour to harbour. This ditch is crossed by a drawbridge; beyond it is the populous suburb of Floriana, with its parade ground and gardens. The fortifications here are very remarkable. In the olden days they were regarded as impregnable, and it is related of Napoleon that when he first passed through them to take possession of the city, he turned to one of his generals and observed, "It is fortunate we had friends inside to open the gates for us"; the French knights having, it is said, forced the Grand Master Von Hompesch to capitulate. The population of Valetta is about 25,000, and of the populous suburb known as "The Three Cities," 25,000. The Three Cities are really three contiguous towns, called Vittoriosa, Cospicua, and Senglea. Besides these there are six towns and upwards of twenty villages in Malta.

None of the local industries are of much importance. In ancient times Malta was famous for its cotton manufactures. Cotton goods are still made, but

only on a small scale and for local use. The chief industry now is that of lace making. The lace is made mostly in Gozo, and gives employment to from 4000 to 5000 women and girls. Other industries are those of cigar and cigarette making, gold and silver filigree work, soap-boiling, match-making, straw-plaiting, basket-weaving, &c. There are boat-building yards, carriage works, flour mills, and a brewery, also ice works and cold stores for frozen meat.

Gozo lies to the north-west of Malta. It is a much smaller island, having an area of only about 20 square miles, and a population of about 20,000. On three sides it rises abruptly from the sea; it is only on the side facing Malta that a landing is possible. It is more verdant and productive than Malta in proportion to its size. The Maltese name for it is Ghandex, which is said to be a corruption of Codex, the name given to it by the Romans to show that it is a tail or appendage of the sister island, from which it is separated by a channel 2½ miles wide. The capital of Gozo is a small town in the centre of the island, which used to be called Rabato, but was changed by desire of the inhabitants into Vittoria in 1887 in honour of the Queen's Jubilee. The female portion of the inhabitants are engaged to a large extent, as I have said, in lace making. The men are agriculturalists and fishermen. The island is famous for honey, fruit, and vegetables, and a peculiar kind of cheese made of sheep's milk.

Comino lies in the channel between Malta and Gozo; it is only about one square mile in extent, and can boast of only a solitary farm and chapel. The name is derived from the cummin seed. It will long be remembered as the island off which the *Sultan* grounded in 1889.

The history of the islands extends back to the time of the Phœnicians, who formed a settlement here

between 1400 and 1500 B.C. They remained in sole possession of the place for over 700 years, and appear to have brought it to a high state of prosperity. Remains of their temples are still to be seen in both islands, the most interesting being the megalithic ruins of Hagiar Kem and Mnaidra in Malta, and the so-called Giant's Tower in Gozo. The Greeks followed the Phœnicians, and were themselves succeeded by the Carthaginians, under whom the islands prospered exceedingly. During the wars between the Romans and the Carthaginians Malta seems to have been taken and retaken, remaining finally in the possession of the Romans. A Roman governor administered the islands, but a large amount of liberty was accorded to the people, who retained their own laws, customs, and institutions. The Romans remained masters of Malta until the break up of the Empire. The most notable event during their occupation was the landing of St. Paul in A.D. 58, and the conversion of the people to Christianity. From 870 to 1090 the islands were in the hands of the Saracens, from whom they were conquered by Count Roger, otherwise Roger the Norman, in the latter year. He added them to his Sicilian dominions, and they remained subject to the sovereigns of Sicily for nearly a hundred years, when, through the marriage of the sister of King Tancred, a descendant of Count Roger, with the Emperor Henry VI., they passed under the sway of Germany. In 1266 they were seized by the notorious Charles of Anjou, and remained a French possession until shortly after the Sicilian Vespers. During this period the unhappy islanders suffered terribly from misgovernment and oppression, but worse was in store for them under their new masters, the Aragonese. The kings of Aragon, ever in want of money, mortgaged the islands to various feudal lords who, under the title of Viceroys, oppressed the people beyond endurance, and finally

drove them into revolt. An arrangement was then come to for incorporating the islands with the kingdom of Sicily, and giving the people the same privileges as the Sicilians. In 1519 the islands passed by inheritance to the great Emperor Charles V. Eleven years later Pope Clement VII. induced Charles to cede them to the Knights of St. John of Jerusalem, who had been driven out of Rhodes eight years previously. The deed of gift is preserved in the Armoury of the Palace in Valetta, signed by Charles and bearing his seal. L'Isle Adam, the Grand Master of the Order, landed in Malta on the 26th of October 1530, and took formal possession of the islands. The rule of the knights lasted from that time until June 1798, when Malta was seized by the French, and Von Hompesch, the last of the Grand Masters, left with a few followers for Trieste. The two most important events in the history of the islands during the rule of the knights were, first, the Great Siege in 1565, when the knights under La Valette succeeded in defending the place against the repeated attacks of the Turkish fleet. After four months' siege the invaders were obliged to retire, with the loss of three-fourths of their men. This victory was an event of far more than local importance, and gained for the gallant defenders the applause and thanks of the whole Christian world. The second great event was the founding of the modern capital. The foundation-stone is said to have been laid at eight o'clock in the morning of the 28th of March 1566, and the city was named after its founder the hero of the siege, Jean Parisot de la Valette, whose statue now adorns one side of Porta Reale, the main entrance gateway.

Early in June 1798, Napoleon, in command of the fleet intended for the conquest of Egypt, appeared off Malta and, inventing a pretext for quarrelling with the Grand Master, landed a force and took possession of

the islands without opposition. After remaining a few days in Valetta to establish a new government and collect all the treasure he could lay his hands on, he set sail, leaving General Vaubois in command with some three thousand men to garrison the forts. The force, though small, would have been sufficient had the people been friendly; but the French had outraged their feelings by plundering their churches, and the work of spoliation was continued by Vaubois's men. The inevitable result followed. The Maltese rose in revolt, massacred the troops garrisoning Citta Vecchia, and besieged Valetta. Nelson was appealed to, and sent a fleet to their assistance. For two years the siege lasted, then General Vaubois surrendered. That was in September 1800, and on the 19th of February 1801, General Pigott, in command of the British troops then in the island, issued a proclamation to the effect that "His Britannic Majesty took the Maltese under his protection and granted them the full enjoyment of their religion, property, and liberties." Our permanent occupation of the islands was agreed to by Europe in Article VII. of the Treaty of Paris of 1814. That the Maltese have greatly benefited by their connection with this country no one can deny; that they are freer, happier, and better off generally now than they ever were before in all their long history is equally incontestible. They are allowed full liberty in the management of their own affairs, and they are looked after and protected by us at no cost to themselves. And though there are in Malta, as in most other places, agitators and sedition-mongers, they have never had any real following. These men, for their own selfish ends, have made a clamour for the expulsion of the "stranger," meaning the British; but the cry was never well received by any section of the people, and is now seldom heard. The great mass of Maltese are far too sensible to be taken in by so silly a cry. They

know that the departure of the "stranger" would mean the ruin of the place, and, knowing this, there is little likelihood of their advocating so suicidal a policy. The majority — the great majority — are amongst the most loyal of the Queen's subjects, as was shown by the enthusiasm of all classes during the recent jubilee festivities.

In conclusion, I cannot do better than quote the words of a very intelligent Maltese. Writing to the *Times* not long ago on Malta, the Rev. A. Camillin says: "Never at any historical period have the Maltese been richer, freer, happier, and better governed than they have been ever since the British flag waved on the island and the Maltese merchant vessels." He adds: "The one thing they might wish to have is time, experience, and more extended knowledge of the English tongue."

CYPRUS AND SOME OF ITS POSSIBILITIES

By Mr. and Mrs. PATRICK GEDDES

The whole island is not much larger than a large Scottish county; it has no large towns, and no important town industries, but depends almost exclusively on agriculture. To send immigrants there in great numbers, especially any without agricultural aptitudes or training, would therefore be only to court that disappointment, which the unemployed Armenian immigrants already there are actually now experiencing.

There is no sufficient extent of wholly unoccupied land, as in Canada for instance, from which grants could be made to settle immigrants. and the native population is already so poor and so heavily burdened by the annual tribute, that it is needful to be cautious before introducing the unemployed, who tend of course to become (or at least to be dreaded as) a new burden. The problem, then, is not without difficulties.

On the other hand, Cyprus needs an increase of population to develop its resources, which are as yet to a large extent unworked. The present population is less than a fifth of what it was under the Venetians; a little over 200,000 now as against over a million then; and the land is in some parts entirely uncultivated, in others, much less intensively cultivated than it would admit of—for lack of hands and capital and skill. Hence land can be purchased or leased on reasonable terms, and as capital and organising power become available, the colonists can be settled on it.

Now a word as to the methods of organising such

settlements. While it is quite natural that national and individual sympathy and help should go out in the first place to the orphans and widows, thereafter to the general mass of destitute refugees, and only lastly to the competent leaders amongst these, yet this philanthropic method is not the best in practice; for to reorganise labour we must begin from the opposite end. Imagine a rout, such as that which the recent Graeco-Turkish war news has brought so vividly before us. Must not the leaders (or whoever seek to replace them) begin by rallying the officers first, and through them the rank and file of troops, only thereafter the helpless fugitives, the women and children? So it should be with Armenian or any other refugees. We must first find and utilise the captains of industry, of whom there are not a few. Find industrial leaders, then dependable foremen, and set them to manage the available workers; and this even in the best interests of the orphans and widows.

We are not now treating of the question of immediate relief, but of that of providing permanent industrial openings for those whom we now go on relieving, and at the same time demoralising—a process in active operation—for many a lost leader has by this time, thanks to our uneconomic philanthropy, settled down to become a begging-letter writer, since we did not set him to work. Cyprus might have become one of the best of rallying centres, and this for all the refugees it contained, provided the available leaders had been utilised on the one hand, and the capital to start them been forthcoming on the other.

The greater part of our three months' stay was occupied in a study of the island, its needs and possibilities; in which we received the most friendly and valuable assistance and information as well as encouragement from the officials, from the High Commissioner downwards.

Cyprus, although, as we have said, not much larger than the largest of our counties, has a much greater variety of agricultural possibilities and resources. This is largely owing to the difference in level from the almost subtropical plain to cool temperate heights (the principal range rising to 6400 feet). Given water, anything from dates and cotton up to apples and oats can thus be grown. The main products of the island, beside cereals, beans, pulse, &c., are olives, carobs or locust beans (largely used for cattle food), the vine, orange, pomegranate, and other fruits, with mulberries for silk. Stock raising and mule-breeding might also be profitably carried on, especially for the Egyptian market. In spite of the ruin brought about by the centuries of disforesting, during which time torrential rivers have been carrying down the soil into the sea, or to form the unhealthy marshes, &c., too common in all Mediterranean countries, there still remains a great deal of fertility in the island, and with improved irrigation, tree-planting, and skilled farming, Cyprus can be made to yield much more abundantly than it does under the present circumstances, the ground being merely scratched with a primitive wooden plough. the olives, vines, &c., either left unpruned, or overpruned, and so on.

In agriculture it is not too much to say that almost every conceivable mistake is made, every sin of omission and commission, and the field for improvement is thus correspondingly great.

One of the first things was the need of improving the silk industry. This forms one of the most important possible sources of wealth of the island, for the native Cyprus cocoon is both larger than any other and gives a stronger thread; hence it is likely that Cyprus silk, if properly produced and wound, will compete favourably with other kinds, and with the imitations or substitutes for silk, even if these latter

should succeed as well as is predicted by their promoters.

At the present moment owing to ignorance and carelessness, silk culture in Cyprus has so declined that where a French peasant would produce forty cocoons, a Cypriote will often only succeed in rearing six; so that in some parts the peasants had in despair begun to cut down their valuable mulberry trees. In co-operation with Mr. van Millingen, manager of the Imperial Ottoman Bank in Cyprus, himself almost an expert in silk and a resourceful organiser of Armenian labour, a School of Sericulture was opened at Nicosia, with a branch at Larnaka — both under the direction of an Armenian silk expert, with the assistance of a young compatriot from Broussa. The school opened in spring 1897 with over 40 students, *i.e.* 15 or 16 native Cypriotes, and about 25 Armenians. Instruction was given in the Pasteurian methods of eliminating disease, and on other important and hitherto neglected points; and the students took turns under supervision in the rearing of silk-worms, which during the greater part of the six weeks or two months of their development require constant attention and feeding both night and day. No fees were asked, the students giving their services in return for instruction; while to the Armenian students who had not the means of subsistence during this period several small bursaries (of 1s. per day) were given.

Thus many of these students have become qualified to be sent out into the villages where silk-rearing is practised, to spread this so much needed instruction in scientific methods, which mainly consist in microscopic examination to guarantee the eggs, and in antiseptic cleanliness during the rearing. (What a reformation might be brought about in the East were this habit of cleanliness necessary to silk-rearing once learned and applied to daily life!) In time every Silk School

should even pay its way, from the sale of eggs of guaranteed quality.

You will have noted that in our little Silk School Cypriotes and Armenians were working together, a point we should like to emphasise. For just as it seems to us that we help the helpless best by helping and rallying the competent leaders first, so we are also convinced that if we are to do the best permanently for the Armenians, we must not isolate them from the community amidst which they are to settle, thereby inevitably arousing dislike and opposition to them. Taking this concrete case of the little Silk School at Nicosia, had we admitted Armenians only we should have run great risk of arousing jealousy and ill-will in the minds of the Cypriotes against the Armenians; and we should not have had help or encouragement from the island government, which is naturally one of and for Turks and Greeks mainly. Let the Armenians show, as they can do in Cyprus, that their presence there will be a benefit to, not a drain upon, the already heavily taxed island, and they will be welcomed and themselves prosper accordingly, just as did the Huguenots silk-weavers two centuries ago in this country. Such trained and disciplined workers may later on do good service to their countrymen in Armenia, when the country is more settled and they can return in safety. In this way then too, Cyprus may become a rallying centre from which to send out captains of industry, who unite (as the best Armenians do) with Western science that comprehension of, and sympathy with Eastern needs and habits, which we Westerns at first naturally lack, and which we can never hope completely to supply.

In addition to silk-rearing, the other processes of winding, spinning, and weaving are all in the same need of being improved.

In regard to silk-winding, Mr. van Millingen started

on a very small scale a better machine than any existing in the island. The machine was made by an Armenian carpenter, and afterwards improvements were added by Mr. van Millingen and by Sir Walter Sendall (the High Commissioner), who interested himself keenly in this department of the work, and others. Encouraged by the success of this experiment, Mr. Bunting's Committee hopes to provide funds for the starting of silk-winding on a larger scale.

One branch of our Cyprus work, which may not be without suggestiveness to other centres elsewhere, is the formation of a village colony. A hundred acres were offered to us by the trustees of the Armenian Monastery of the island, rent free, for a period of five years, on the condition of its being reclaimed and cultivated. We afterwards arranged for eight years instead of five, with the understanding also that the colonists should at the end of this period be kept on at a fair rent. Our Armenian manager estimated that £500 would be required to start a small group of families upon this land, to build houses, buy seed, implements, &c., and pay wages to keep them going until their first crops were up; for it was then too late to have the ground ready for a summer crop. Canon Rawnsley's Keswick Committee, with a promptitude for which we are very grateful, wired us the £500 required, and so enabled us before leaving the island to accept this offer and set going the preparations for starting the colony.[1]

[1] Perhaps it has not been made sufficiently clear that this is no new initiative of settling of Armenians in a strange country, but simply the renewal of one of their oldest centres of religion and of refuge which has served them in former persecutions again and again. Traditionally founded by St. Maghar in the third century, its authentic records date from the twelfth. In 1140 the son of the king of Armenia, Leo I., was taken captive by the Emperor to Constantinople, but escaped to Cyprus and stayed here for some time along with some of his countrymen, who were suffering persecution by the Greeks of Cyprus. Hidden in its mountains, it is an ideal refuge. In 1159 the superior of the convent was a member of the Church council in Asia Minor, and

More capital could be carefully employed in this way, for the Monastery owns about 3000 acres, and would probably be willing to have more of it worked on similar terms. Personal inspection on our visit indicated that the principal spring was capable of great improvement, and a little work at once proved this. We have consequently obtained a survey of the whole set of springs upon which the fertility of this estate so largely depends, with a result that a gradual expenditure of about £200 (which would of course employ as many men in relief works as the corresponding sum anywhere else) would not only permanently enhance the fertility of the existing cultivated area, but notably extend this.

It cannot be too clearly understood that along this whole mountain range the mountain springs have for ages been sealing themselves up with a thick deposit of carbonate of lime, just as a kettle in any limestone district at home becomes gradually spoiled by a limy deposit. It only needed a little geological instruction in the field, and one or two practical experiments to satisfy those we left in charge, that here, as so often elsewhere, modern science is but recovering the know-

up to the Turkish occupation in 1571, it frequently served as a place of refuge for priests and sometimes people from persecutions on the mountain. In 1692 a conference with the Patriarch of Jerusalem was held. After the Turkish conquest, Sultans Mustapha and Mahmoud issued several firmans exempting the convent lands from taxation. In 1850 the convent became a dependence of the Armenian Church at Nicosia; its monks died out and it became a simple farm, and that falling out of cultivation. Thus it will be readily seen that in planting a colony of refugee Armenians on the lands of St. Maghar, there is no danger of exciting race animosities in Cyprus; for both Greeks and Turks, most respectful of tradition in all things, readily admit and acquiesce in the prescriptive rights of the Armenians to their ancient home. Now that these beginnings are made, it is very desirable that some Armenian who appreciates these traditions of his people should return to St. Maghar—as a modern abbot, in short. There is already one such Greek abbot in the island—agriculturalist, educationist, and statesman, as well as churchman. Have the Armenians not one such somewhere?

ledge and the practical "wisdom of the Egyptians," and that here at their disposal is the very miracle of Moses' rod; for the geological agriculturalist has again but to smite the rock in the right place, and the waters gush forth as of old.

How much such an improved water supply would mean for agricultural prosperity—in other words, what water-springs and brooks mean in these thirsty lands—cannot be adequately realised even by the Eastern traveller, not even by the Biblical student, save as he brings an increasing study of the climate and geology, agriculture and economics of the East to the interpretation of its literature, its history on one hand, of its present troubles on the other. As one does this, what he may once have thought of as but the vivid metaphors of poetic expression or of spiritual teaching become permanent realities: as true, perhaps truer now than ever. Thus even the highest associations of Water, as with Peace and Life in the highest senses, are seen to have arisen from their elemental and literal association—that constant normal association of irrigation and intensive agriculture, not only with external peace and material prosperity, but also with internal social order, and with individual and general moral progress, which is the vital history of the East; and this whether we read it in the Biblical descriptions of Eden or of Palestine, from the literature of ancient Egypt or from the teaching of Confucius. "Il faut cultiver son jardin."

Here then is one way, we venture to say an important and an essential way, in which Cyprus can become a centre of help alike for the Armenians and for the East. All industry is no doubt good in its way, and to encourage needlework, metal work, good work of all kinds is excellent and desirable; to import Eastern goods for such as desire them, excellent also; and with each and all of these lines of work we have actually

been endeavouring in Cyprus to bear a hand. But all such matters are subsidiary and minor ones, and will be mischievous if they disguise from us (as in our Western world of mechanical industry, of manufactures and of commerce they constantly do disguise) the fundamental agricultural order of the East. In a word, we must not forget that we have first to aid to reconstitute the self-supporting agricultural village, in Cyprus, in Armenia, everywhere through the ruined East, before we seek to reproduce a miniature manufacturing and exporting town.

ST. HELENA

By R. A. STERNDALE

(*Governor of St. Helena; Author of "Mammalia of British India and Ceylon," &c.*)

On the 21st day of May A.D. 1502, João da Nova, the commodore of a Portuguese fleet sailing homeward from the East Indies, discovered a lofty volcanic island right in the track of the SE. trade winds, in latitude 15° 55′ S. and longitude 5° 49′ W.

The day of discovery being that recorded as the birthday of St. Helena, the mother of Constantine the Great, he called the island after her.

It was not then so barren as it appears now from the sea, for the frowning cliffs were crowned with the foliage of indigenous vegetation which has now almost disappeared, or has been supplanted by an alien flora. Clear rivulets ran down the gorges through forests of the native gumwood and ebony. The rivulets remain, but the foliage, alas! has gone, except in the interior, where the luxuriance of the vegetation caused a recent traveller to describe St. Helena as an emerald set in granite. Few people imagine, from a passing glance, that so forbidding an exterior contains, like a rugged walnut, so fair a kernel.

Viewed from the deck of a ship it is certainly not prepossessing. Lofty barren hills split up and divided by deep gorges, with a total absence of verdure beyond a few patches of samphire and cactus, for from the sea the wooded peaks of the interior are shut out from view by the precipitous cliffs. In João da Nova's

day the woods ran down to the sea, and what is now a dreary waste of bare rock with patches of cactus extending from Ladder Hill to High Knoll, was then a dense forest in which the earlier settlers used to lose their way. This deforesting arose from the cutting down of the trees, in the vicinity of the first settlements, for firewood and building timber; then the goats, which were imported, bred to such an extent that in the old records it is stated that the herds extended for a mile long. These devoured the young plants, and, deprived of the protecting influences of leaf and branch, the heavy rains washed away the thin coating of soil and exposed the barren rock.

In the interior the soil being of greater depth and, where not covered by trees, protected by grass, the luxuriance of the vegetation is in striking contrast to the outer zone of lava.

Melliss in his admirable work on the island says: "Its isolated position, its peculiar fauna, and its very remarkable insular flora, together with its geological character, present strong reasons for placing St. Helena amongst the oldest land now existing on the face of the globe."

The island is bisected by a semicircular ridge, of which the highest point, Diana's Peak, is 2740 feet above the sea. To the south of this ridge lies an enormous basin, measuring about four miles across, which forms part of the huge crater which existed at the volcanic period, the southern edge of this crater now being submerged in Sandy Bay. The view from the central ridge, or from the high road above Mount Pleasant, is one not easily to be surpassed, and I hope it will at some future time tempt artists of note to come and place it on the walls of the Royal Academy. From the latter point of view rise to the left the peaks of Actæon and Diana clothed in a forest of the old-world flora—tree ferns, dogwood, gumwood, and cab-

bage trees. Away to the right is a grand range of rocks, to describe which I will quote, to me, an unknown writer, a few scraps of whose graphic pictures I found not long ago. "On the right," he says, "great rugged mountains, black and naked, stretch their craggy peaks heavenward, the rocky summits being split and rent into the most fantastic outline, and seeming in their huge uprising to have shivered the strata through which they forced their way, and sent the boulders rolling into the vast abyss below in all directions—

> 'Crags, knolls, and mounds confusedly hurl'd,
> The fragments of an earlier world.'

"Conspicuous in the centre of the chasm the rocky pyramid of Lot shoots its weather-worn pinnacle abruptly out of the surrounding scoria; while to windward, in an opening of the cliffs, is seen the bay with its narrow fringe of surf; and beyond all the vast expanse of the Atlantic Ocean where, ever and anon, favoured by the trade wind from the Cape,

> 'The stately ships move on
> To their haven under the hill.'"

No description of mine could improve on the above bit of word-painting. The Lot mentioned is a huge monolith of hard grey-stone shaped like a cone, situated on a ridge about 1440 feet above the sea, and rising from a base 100 feet in diameter to a height of nearly 300 feet. About a mile farther to the south-west is Lot's Wife, another monolith, about 260 feet high and 1550 feet above the sea, which has the peculiarity of being narrower at the base than at the top. I have not space for a geological sketch of the island, but every turn is full of interest, and the newcomer, in going from Jamestown up the road to Ladder Hill, looks with a shudder at the masses of overhanging rocks which ages ago were streams of molten lava cooling into most weird and fantastic forms.

St. Helena is very well watered, and in this it favourably contrasts with the volcanic island of Ascension. There are over two hundred springs discharging fresh water into the ocean. The best testimony to the generosity of soil and climate is to be found in the fact that trees from all parts of the world have been successfully introduced, and have flourished to such an extent as to drive back the indigenous flora to the central mountains. The extensive grounds of Government House contain trees from Europe, Asia, Africa, Australia, and Polynesia. The *Araucaria excelsa*, or Norfolk Island Pine, so commonly seen as a pot plant in English conservatories, grows here to a height of over 100 feet. Side by side with a tree from Ceylon is the South Sea Island *pandanus* or screw pine; the oak and the bamboo, the apple and the banana, mingle their foliage; here and there an indigenous tree stands amid a host of aliens. The English furze and blackberry have overrun the island, but every marshy valley is white with the snowy blooms of the Arum lily. All the mammals on the island have been imported—the ubiquitous rat, the pest of the place, not excepted. In João da Nova's day the only mammal was the manatee or sea-cow (*Manatus australis* or *M. Senegalensis*), the former being the American and the latter the African species. It may, however, have been peculiar to the island, but for centuries it has been killed when found ashore, and the last one was destroyed in 1810, and there is not even a bone left for a naturalist to speculate upon. The only indigenous land-bird is a small one of the plover family (*Ægialitis Sanctæ Helenæ*), or "wire-bird," as it is locally called, the other birds being imported ones, and are mostly of the finch family. Canaries are wild and numerous, and are charming songsters; and there is a beautiful little crimson bird called the cardinal finch. Avaduvats and Java sparrows abound, a small ground dove, a

pheasant from China, and a partridge from India. There are no birds of prey, but insectivorous birds are greatly wanted to keep down numerous insect pests. There are no snakes nor any noxious reptile, reptilia being represented only by a harmless little lizard, two enormous tortoises of fabulous age—it is said over 150 years—and a small species of frog introduced lately, and which has now spread marvellously all over the island.

Before proceeding to the history of the place, I must briefly mention its inhabitants. The Portuguese left no trace of their occupancy, nor did the Dutch, so I allude to the present people of St. Helena—not the English descendants of the old colonial officials who settled in the island, the gentry of the place, but to the St. Helenians proper. Sixty-five years ago they were slaves, and consisted of a mixture of Europeans, Asiatics (including Chinese), and Africans. I am of opinion that the majority of the people are descended from the Malayo-Polynesians imported from Madagascar, which used to be the favourite source of slave supply in the old days. In the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries they were cruelly treated, as the records of the time amply show, but in the beginning of the present century their condition was much ameliorated, and their emancipation was conducted with a wise and gradual progression. The initiative was due to Sir Hudson Lowe, the well-known custodian of Napoleon, who, after much deliberation, induced the proprietor inhabitants to agree that after Christmas Day 1818, all children born of slave parents should be free. The cause of the slaves was still further advanced by the philanthropic treatment of General Alexander Walker, who became Governor in March 1823, and who made great efforts to improve their religious and moral condition, and so fit them for their final emancipation in 1832, when, at a cost of

£28,000, they were made free. It may take some generations to eradicate habits of dependence and indolence, which are the hereditary results of so long a period of slavery, but education has told and is telling on them, and, as Melliss writes of them, "they are a very quiet, tractable, inoffensive people, amongst whom crime is small, murder unknown, and burglary so little thought of that doors and windows of houses are not secured by bolts and bars, or even locks and keys." I can confirm this, for during fourteen criminal sessions, over which I presided as Chief-Justice, I had white gloves presented to me on all but two occasions. They are very steady churchgoers, and most of them belong to benevolent and other charitable societies. The two great denominations are Church of England and Baptists. The Salvation Army is also represented. The first is presided over by the bishop, assisted by the vicars of the three parishes of St. James', St. Paul's, and St. Matthew's, who are also Canons of St. Paul's Cathedral. Besides these churches there is a Garrison church in Jamestown, built at the time when the military force was too large to be accommodated in St. James' Church. None of the churches can lay claim to any architectural beauty; the most imposing is that of St. James, which I think should have been the cathedral, preference having been given to St. Paul's on account of its central position I suppose, for St. James' must have been built on the site of the chapel erected by the Portuguese, from which the valley was called Chapel Valley, subsequently named James' Valley, and Jamestown after King James II.

The present Cathedral of St. Paul was erected in 1847–48 on the site of an older country church, the memory of which is preserved in the monuments transferred to the walls of the existing edifice. St. Paul's is utterly devoid of architectural beauty outside or in. The addition of a tower or spire would add greatly to

its appearance, and it is commandingly situated on a hill at the back of the Government House, and is surrounded by the principal cemetery of the island; it is roomy, and that is all that can be said of it, but is capable of much improvement in the way of ornamentation, but, alas, there are no funds available, nor likely to be for some time. When I arrived in the island I found that there was not an organ in any of the churches, the one in St. James' having been entirely destroyed by the white ants which devastated the town about thirty-five years ago. In the cathedral the services were conducted with a very indifferent harmonium, but I found a little old organ all in ruins; it had one tiny keyboard, no pedals.

We were fortunate in having some one on the island who understood organ-building, so we had it repaired, as the tone was good. But it is very desirable that the principal place of worship in the island should possess an organ even as good as most country villages in England have. In no place in the world would it be more appreciated, for the St. Helenians are devoted to music. I found the local band in a moribund condition, but by the purchase of some new instruments and a more liberal patronage it has revived. The performers are mostly labourers and out-door servants, and it is a pleasant sight to me to see the men after their day's work trudging down to Jamestown to attend the evening practices. The church choirs are also popular with them, and some of the voices, though untrained, are very good. In the funeral services the organ would be greatly appreciated, for the St. Helenians dearly love a funeral, and always demand a hymn to be sung at the side of the grave. I think the late bishop was right in his opinion when he told me that the love of the St. Helenians for a grand funeral had its origin in the old slave days. In those days the slaves were buried anywhere and anyhow. In

the Government House grounds, near some large clumps of Indian bamboos, in a valley where the Chinese had their Joss-house, are a couple of small headstones, one of which is dated 1777, and a few others in fragments, and in many places in the island are to be found traces of slave burial; but their masters had imposing funerals, which they had to attend, and then when emancipation came they, too, went in for a more ceremonious way of disposing of their dead. The St. Helenian is very loyal. Away in his island home, in the very centre of the wide Atlantic, he is no politician; he knows nothing of party feeling, and cares little about other countries save England and England's Queen, who is also his Queen, represented by the Governor she sends out to look after his interests, and he is not chary of the little money he has when any loyal demonstration calls for it, as on the Jubilee of her Majesty's Accession in 1887, and again on the occasion of the Diamond Jubilee of 1897.

His lot is very different now to what it was in the old days of slavery.

Owing to the wise and gradual process of emancipation adopted here, the free children growing up with their slave parents, the evils of sudden manumission so disastrously felt in the West Indies were avoided in St. Helena, and the result is a manly, civil, and honest people, quite as well educated as the same class in the United Kingdom (in fact, the English tongue is spoken by them with greater purity than in most of our rural districts in England), living in comfortable cottages, in many cases with productive little gardens attached. Contrast this life with that of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries:—

Slaves were judicially tortured, hung, drawn and quartered, and burnt alive on mere circumstantial evidence, whilst for open acts of diabolical cruelty their masters were acquitted or slightly punished. I take the following instances from the records:—

"*January* 2, 1693.—Jamy, a slave of Deputy-Governor Keeling, found guilty of sorcery and burnt to death."

"In November 1687 Peter, and December 1689 Job and Derick, slaves, convicted of poisoning their masters out of revenge, were burnt to death; all other slaves to be present, and to bring down a turn of wood for the purpose."

"A black who was tried before a jury and *acquitted*, was ordered to be flogged before being discharged!"

"For stealing a piece of cloth from a sailor in the street, William Whaley was hung on the 24th July 1789; and on the 15th January 1800, Job, Mr. Defountain's slave, was hung for snatching a bottle of liquor from a drunken soldier. Both these cases were looked upon as highway robbery."

"A young girl was found guilty of burglary; the jury were told to reconsider their verdict, but they adhered to it, and she was sentenced to death. She was respited for a time, but hung herself in prison."

But the times were cruel, and we must remember that in England highway robbery, sheep-stealing, and forgery were capital offences.

Even the whites in St. Helena suffered cruel punishments. In 1684 Elizabeth Starling was flogged and ducked three times. In November 1728, Ensign Slaughter, accused of slandering the Governor, was flogged; and later in the records is a reference to this whipping, which, it is stated, was done with wire-whips and fish-hooks tied to a cord!

As regards the history of the island, the first purpose to which St. Helena was put in 1513 was to make it a place of exile for a Portuguese noble named Fernão Lopez, who, having been disgraced and mutilated, was left here with a few slaves and a stock of pigs, goats, and poultry.

Henceforth the Portuguese made it a port of call;

and by the end of the century there was a considerable settlement there with a church; but the attention of the Mother Country having been diverted into other channels, St. Helena was neglected and finally abandoned. The Dutch then took possession of it and retained it till 1651, when they left it in order to concentrate themselves at the Cape of Good Hope, and the island was at once appropriated by the English East India Company, who improved the place much, and strengthened the fortifications in Chapel Valley, which original name they changed to James' Valley, in honour of the Duke of York, afterwards James II. Fort James gave in recent years its name to Jamestown, the present capital. It is stated in Melliss' book that the Dutch captured the island in 1665, and it is so asserted in Anderson's "History of Commerce," but there is no proof or contemporary record of such an occurrence.

The Dutch, however, made a strong attempt to regain the place, and in 1672, after a severe repulse in Lemon Valley, they succeeded in landing 500 men at Bennett's Point and penetrated inland nearly to High Peak, where they were met by a small force from the island garrison. An engagement ensued which ended in victory on the side of the invaders, who then marched upon Fort James, which capitulated after long and tedious attacks. The Governor and most of the English inhabitants escaped with their goods on board the ships which were in the harbour, and making for the Brazilian coast they fell in with a British squadron under the command of Captain (afterwards Sir Richard) Munden, who immediately bore up for St. Helena and, unperceived by the Dutch, landed a force of 200 men at a spot on the east coast, to make their way across whilst he sailed round to James' Bay. The little force which had been landed was guided by Oliver, an island-born slave, through the rugged ravines till at last farther progress seemed

to be stayed by an insurmountable barrier. A sailor named Tom volunteered, however, to scale the precipice, and amid the encouraging shouts of "Hold fast, Tom!" from his comrades he succeeded, taking with him a ball of twine by means of which he was enabled to haul up ropes. The rock is called "Holdfast Tom" to this day in memory of the gallant action by which the little force was enabled to gain the heights of Longwood, and thence to march on to the top of Rupert's Hill overlooking James' Valley. Captain Munden appearing at the same time in the Bay, the Dutch were so surprised at being taken in front and rear that they surrendered at once. Captain Munden erected the fortification known as Munden's Battery, and otherwise strengthened the place; and he had the satisfaction of taking prisoner the Dutch Governor who had been sent out to assume the charge of the island, and also of securing several richly-laden Dutch vessels which, not suspecting that an enemy was in possession, had put in on their homeward way. Since then St. Helena has remained undisturbed in British hands.

Three years later the island was visited by the celebrated astronomer Halley, in memory of whom the high ridge on which he pitched his tent has been named "Halley's Mount."

The East India Company were determined to make the place impregnable for the future, and batteries were built to command every weak point and the garrison increased. For nearly two centuries it was looked upon as a valued possession, and a sum of between eighty and ninety thousand pounds was annually spent on it. Of local forces, there were three companies of St. Helena Artillery and the St. Helena Regiment of Infantry, 700 strong, besides Militia.

No wonder, then, that the British Government

casting their eyes about for a safe place in which to confine the Great Emperor, fixed upon the Gibraltar of the South Atlantic as a fitting prison; and accordingly Napoleon was conveyed there in October 1815; and there he died in May 1821.

In 1832, the East India Company abolished slavery at a cost of £28,000.

The first blow to the prosperity of the St. Helenians came in the following year, when the island was transferred from the East India Company to the Home Government. Some little time elapsed ere the transaction was completed; but on the 24th February 1836, Major-General Middlemore took formal possession in the name of his Majesty, William IV.

The change told heavily on the official residents; for the Company's staff was greatly reduced, and many who had been in receipt of good salaries found themselves cut down to comparative penury.

The salary of the Company's Governors had been about £5000 per annum; that of the Crown Governor was fixed at about one-half. Still a considerable civil staff was kept up; and in 1840 a Vice-Admiralty Court for the trial of vessels engaged in the slave trade was established, which, with the working of the Liberated African Depôt and the frequent visits of the naval squadron employed in the suppression of the slave trade, brought into circulation a considerable amount of money and furnished employment to the islanders, though unfortunately of a kind to cause them to neglect the diligent cultivation of their fertile soil, which would have been ultimately of greater benefit to them. The total extinction of the slave trade after the American War led to the reduction of the West African Squadron and the abolition of the Liberated African Establishment; and then truly hard times began to fall on the poor little island.

This time it was an invasion of an enemy which

did infinitely more harm than did the earlier invaders, the Dutch. In the débris of a condemned vessel there happened to be a colony of white ants; and these grew and multiplied in their new home to such an extent that Jamestown was almost ruined. When I visited the island in 1861, I was shown some of the ravages committed by this wicked little insect, of which I had seen a good deal in India, but of whose iniquities I had not till then formed an adequate conception. However, in justice to our Indian termite, I may say that the St. Helenian pest was many years afterwards identified, by means of specimens taken to England by Mr. Melliss, as belonging to a South American species, and was probably introduced in the timbers of a Brazilian slaver.

Still the St. Helenians jogged on comfortably enough in the little world of their own in spite of failing sources of revenue and white ants and a negro element in the population, which they would rather have done without; and though some of the wiser ones may have looked anxiously ahead in anticipation of evil times to come, still the majority knew little and cared less for the Suez Canal, and were happy enough in the custom of the thousand ships which annually cast anchor in their harbour. But the Canal was at last finished, and ruin was hastened. Year by year saw the lessening of the tale of vessels. The old familiar names of the great passenger liners ceased to gladden the eyes of those who used to look out for them. Few passengers went to India round the Cape; so the ships were sent to Australia and other distant lands, or were broken up as they got old and were replaced by powerful steamers or great four-masted vessels fitted with all the modern appliances that obviated the necessity for their putting in anywhere during the voyage for water or fresh provisions. And so, year by year, the number of vessels lessened, till at

last not one-fourth anchored in the almost deserted harbour.

Now became apparent the folly of neglecting the natural capabilities of the soil for the doubtful advantages of an outside traffic. St. Helena had no export trade. She imported everything, even to the food which she ought to have been able to grow for her own people. If her arable land was not extensive, her population was in ratio not excessive. Montserrat, an island of the same area and of like mountainous character, has a thriving export trade, and supports a population now three times as great as that of St. Helena. But in the case of the latter her exports are *nil*, and her population is yearly decreasing by emigration.

Such, briefly, is the history of one of the most charming of our smaller colonies. As I have remarked elsewhere, there was a time when St. Helena was a household word in the mouths of Englishmen and their children.

"But now, beyond the fact of its having been the prison of Napoleon, and a vague idea that it is a barren volcanic rock somewhere in the midst of the ocean, and that it had a green spot with a weeping willow-tree hanging over the grave that once held the Great Emperor, few people know anything about the island. That it ever had a past beyond the historical incident just alluded to, or that it is capable of a future, enters not into the minds of men. Old Anglo-Indians used to know something of it when the only route to India was round the Cape of Good Hope; and even up to the time of the opening of the Suez Canal, when sailing-vessels ceased to carry passengers to the East, it was visited by some, like myself, who, for considerations of health, took the longer sea voyage. Now a few passengers to the Cape touch there; but the time allowed is so short that but little of the island can be seen, and many content themselves with a view of the

outside which, like the rugged walnut, contains so fair a kernel."[1]

As regards climate St. Helena has one of the finest in the world; I think even preferable to Madeira, being drier in parts, and its effect on weak-chested and consumptive patients has been most beneficial. A steady cool trade-wind from the south-east blows all the year round and keeps down the heat of the tropics. Europeans go about with small caps on their heads, yet sunstroke is not known. I have experienced much hotter summers in England than in St. Helena. The maximum temperature in Jamestown, a confined valley near the sea, is 84°, whilst up in the interior it is ten degrees cooler; the minimum cold in winter on the high lands is about 50°.

The rainfall varies very much according to locality. Taking last year (1898) as an average, it was 36.06 inches at Mount Pleasant, but only 4.82 in Jamestown. The population is about 4000, and the death-rate is about 14 per 1000, including seamen landed seriously ill. Many of the latter, however, recover, there being an excellent hospital with a most careful staff of nurses.

The longevity of the inhabitants is remarkable, many of whom over eighty years of age continue working, and think nothing of walking miles up the steep roads. The late Bishop was still actively controlling his diocese when, in his eighty-ninth year, he was killed in a carriage accident. Lately there died at the Castle, aged over ninety, an old lady (Miss E. P. Bagley) who had been custodian of that building for many years. She belonged to one of the old families of the island who were well-to-do in the East India Company's time; though confined to her bed for years and unable to move she was of a most bright and cheerful disposition, and was possessed to the last of

[1] From an article by the writer in the *Asiatic Quarterly Review*, entitled "St Helena: The Gibraltar of the South Atlantic."

all her mental faculties. She used to receive her friends daily, and all visitors of note were to be found at her bedside; admirals and generals and officers of the army and navy were her especial favourites, and they used to please her greatly when they went in uniform. She was full of anecdotes and reminiscences of the past, and remembered the landing of Napoleon, and was present at his funeral and exhumation. Her death last year severed a most interesting link with that historic period.

The island has again lately come to the front as a State prison, General P. A. Cronjé and 2000 of his Boer followers having been sent here after the surrender at Paardeberg. With him came also Colonel Schiel, the Comte de Breda, and a number of the officers of the Transvaal army, and later on Eloff and others who were taken at Mafeking.

General Cronjé with his wife, grandson, secretary, and adjutant reside in a small house, called Kent Cottage, under a guard. The rest of the war prisoners are in camp five miles off, near Longwood, on a healthy breezy plateau called Deadwood Plain. They are encamped in a large enclosure surrounded by barbed wire fencing. They have good tents, plenty of good food, excellent water, and room for recreation—such as cricket, football, &c. Some of the officers are on parole, and such men as like to work are employed on fixed wages. On the whole, I do not think they will look back on their imprisonment here with feelings of animosity.

There are no industries at present in St. Helena, but there are capabilities of a good business in fish-curing and of preparing fibre from the *Furcræa gigantea*, an aloe which grows wild all over the island, with leaves varying from three to eight feet long, which yield a fibre equal to Manilla hemp, commanding a good price. Coffee of an excellent quality is also grown, and the

cultivation is capable of much extension. The passage from England by mail steamer takes sixteen days, the greater part of the voyage being in beautiful calm weather.

The island has a submarine cable to the Cape, and has lately been connected directly with the United Kingdom *viâ* Ascension.

As a place of resort for invalids and artists in search of health and the beautiful in scenery, I think there is a chance of St. Helena becoming a favourite in the future when it gets better known.

THE NEGRO IN BARBADOS

By WALTER MERIVALE, Memb. Inst. C.E.

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There is little in the history of the world that obtains as much attention from students as the development of the various races of man from their primitive condition of savagery into their supreme station of civilisation and their gradual return to barbarism. In a greater or lesser degree this rise and fall is the history of every race, so far as it is known, and there may be something of the selfish pleasure one feels in reading one's family history in thus studying the history of our species. The consciousness that the life of our own nation must be lived within lines parallel to those of the lives of the nations we read about, gives us a special interest in the account of their doings, the causes of their rise, and the reasons of their fall. It is with difficulty that with rough pick and shovel, with photography, with chemical analysis, and with etymological science we trace the rough outlines of the early scenes of the life of great nations, often smearing out the tentative sketches of our predecessors as the development of a photograph, or the turn of a shovel, enables us to fill in some detail in the scene, until at last the canvas is full. Often however we must rely upon imagination for the filling up of gaps that are far wider than the part painted. What can we say of the ancestors of even such a modern nation as the English before the time when Julius Cæsar found them wandering about the island, painted savages

with stone hatchets? And yet, to have arrived at even that degree of civilisation, they must have toiled patiently upwards for many centuries, and that they did so the little we can find out about them from their tombs tells us. And the earlier pages of the history even of Cæsar's own great nation are very blank. It is with a greater interest, then, that we may turn to the history of the West Indian negro, who has grown from a savage into a man of culture in four hundred years. His compatriots are still wandering about the primeval forests of Africa precisely as he left them between one hundred and four hundred years ago; but he is walking erect, in top-hat and trousers, administering justice in silk to European litigants, or in bands, gaiters, and lawn-sleeves giving his blessing to his kneeling flock in an English church. His ancestors are, so to speak, still with us, and we can study them at our ease; we need no conjecture to enable us to paint the picture of their daily lives. But our savage forefathers went to their graves two thousand years ago, leaving nothing but their graves behind them to tell us how they lived. It is the object of the following pages to describe one country out of the dozen or so inhabited by negroes in the West Indies, which they have made almost their own, and it is hoped that thereby some of the many misconceptions about the virtues and vices of the West Indian negro may be removed. I have chosen Barbados, partly because, having never belonged to any other nation but the British, its negroes offer a simpler case to describe, and partly because Barbados is an island in which I have lived for some years, and am therefore enabled to speak of things which I have seen myself, and am not obliged to depend upon the reports of others.

Barbados is an island in the Atlantic Ocean, standing out about 100 miles from the curved chain of

the Antilles. It is just opposite St. Vincent; St. Lucia lying a little to the NW., and Grenada about the same distance to the SW.; Trinidad is about 300 miles to the south. Barbados is shaped like a pear, the stalk to the north, and in a dent on the bulged end, on the leeward side, lies Bridgetown, the port and chief town of the island. The ships anchor in an open roadstead called Carlisle Bay, after Lord Carlisle, who bought the island from the Earl of Marlborough in the time of James I., as will presently be related. Eleven miles farther north, on the leeward coast, is a small town called Speightstown, at which sailing ships used to call for sugar in the old days, but now that steamers carry so much of the freight it is all shipped in small sailing barges, called *droghers*, to Bridgetown, and there transferred to the steamers. There are no other towns, nor are there any villages as we know them in England, but the 1200 people who cover each square mile of this crowded little island live in collections of huts on the different estates. There is no "village community" and no village common, though here and there there are ponds of stagnant water which used to serve the negroes for drinking and washing purposes before the establishment of the exceedingly good water service by the Government and local capitalists. This is however still in course of construction, and in a few places the negroes still resort to the ponds or to the estate windmill for their water: but along almost all the main roads—and there are hundreds of miles of them—there are standpipes of fresh clear water every mile or so.

According to Poyer, who wrote a history of Barbados in 1808, the island does not appear on any chart before the year 1600. It was conjectured by Ligon, who visited the island about 1650, that the "Portugals" had made use of it as a depôt, according to their custom, and for this purpose had stocked it

with swine and with a few vegetables for the use of their ships on their voyages to the gold-bearing islands farther west. It is natural that both they and the Spaniards should have neglected to acquire possession of a country that, having no precious metals or inhabitants who could be made use of as slaves, was of no manner of use to them except for the purpose above mentioned.

But in 1605 the *Olive*, belonging to Sir Oliver Leigh, happened to put in to Barbados on her return from Guinea. Her sailors found no inhabitants in the island, but thick forest well stocked with wild hog, esteemed by Ligon, forty years later, to afford the sweetest flesh in the world. With these they provisioned the *Olive*, and having erected a cross upon the coast and carved upon a tree the words "James, King of England and of this Island," and so taken possession of it in his name, they returned to London and made a report of all that they had seen. Twenty years later, a Dutch ship returned to Flanders with such a brilliant account of the island that Sir William Courteen, a great London merchant, hearing about it through his correspondent in Flanders, decided to send out a settlement. This he accordingly did, in two ships, but of these one only, the *John and William*, arrived. This expedition, though sent at the expense of Sir William Courteen, was under the patronage of the Earl of Marlborough, who had obtained a patent, or, as we should say now, the concession, for exploiting the island. But the Earl of Carlisle owned the concession of the Caribbee Islands, and claimed that the Earl of Marlborough's operations would interfere with his; and on the accession of Charles I., litigation was begun between the two Earls, which was settled for the time by the Earl of Carlisle agreeing to pay to the Earl of Marlborough the sum of £300 a year in perpetuity for the island of Barbados.

The Earl of Carlisle departing on a diplomatic mission, that astute monarch Charles I. presented the concession to Sir William Courteen, and on the Earl's return gave it back to him. The only result to Sir William of this connection with the aristocracy was the sowing in the island of the seeds of civil dissension, which sprang into life and flourished for many a long year, until finally stamped out by Oliver Cromwell. The story of the growth of this little commonwealth in the Atlantic Ocean is interesting, but it need not be continued here; it is enough for us to notice that Barbados was first colonised by Englishmen, and has never belonged to any other Power. There is no evidence even to show that there has ever been an indigenous population in the island. Carib remains, such as earthenware pots and shell hatchets, &c., have been frequently found there, and some few of the places used in earlier days to be still called by their Indian names; but it does not appear that the Indians ever lived there for more than a couple of months at a time, when they used to visit the island for the sake of the fishing. This fact has an important bearing on the subject of this paper, for with no native population accustomed to the tropical heat to assist them in their field-work, the English settlers found themselves obliged to have recourse to the importation of slaves from the other islands, both African and Indian, and on the introduction of the sugar-cane the labour became so severe that African slaves had to be imported from Guinea.

To the Portuguese belongs the credit, or discredit, of exporting the first slaves from Africa. In 1503 a few were sent from their African settlements to the Spanish colonies in America. In 1511 Ferdinand V. of Spain allowed a larger trade in this article to spring up, and after his death the humane Bishop of Chiapa, Bartholomew de Las Casas, to ease the sad case of the

Indian in the Spanish-American gold mines, proposed to Cardinal Ximenes, Regent of Spain for Charles V., a regular system by which negroes might be carried across from Africa and sold to the Spanish colonists. But Cardinal Ximenes refused, on the ground of humanity, to adopt the course of action which Las Casas had proposed. Charles V., however, on the death of the Cardinal, permitted a friend of his own to convey 4000 negroes annually to the colonies; that was in 1517, and in 1540 he revoked his permission, and ordered all the slaves to be set at liberty! It is marvellous how business could ever have been successfully conducted in those good old days. If only 2000 negroes had been imported every year, from 1517 to 1540, at such a moderate value as £15 apiece, here was property to the value of some £700,000 suddenly lost in slaves alone, without counting all the accessories such as ships and slave warehouses, and the difficulty of replacing 46,000 servants. However, although the slaves were dutifully set free, in obedience to the orders of the Royal Commissioner Gasca, yet the moment he set out on his return to Spain they were all recaptured and set to work again as slaves. Shortly afterwards the king retired into a monastery, and from that time till the latter part of this century slavery flourished practically undisturbed in the Spanish colonies.

But the conscience of the world never wholly slept. There seem always to have been some good men who refused to believe that any man has the right to become the absolute proprietor of another. Pope Leo X. was one of these, though he does not seem to have done more than publish his sentiments upon the subject. Queen Elizabeth went a little further, and plainly told Captain Hawkins what she thought about it, and forced him to declare he would never import another negro into the West Indies: but

he did not keep his promise. Louis XIII. inquired into the matter, but being told that this was the best way of making them Christians, issued an edict that every negro coming into French territory should become *ipso facto* a slave. But as time went on the public conscience was thoroughly roused, and at last it spoke out through the mouths of Pope, Baxter, Sterne, Warburton, Addison, Postlethwaite, and Adam Smith, and from the poet, the parson, the man of business, and the thinker was evolved the philanthropist in the persons of Granville Sharp, Clarkson, and Wilberforce.

The terrible legacy which this disgraceful traffic has left us will be examined later. It is necessary here to say a few words on the arguments that were brought forward for it and against it, a hundred years ago, when the trade was finally stopped, as far as England was concerned, by Act of Parliament (1806).

It must be remembered that the West Indian colonies in those days were a very long way from the Mother Country. There were no tourists spending three weeks on a continent, and writing a volume about it on the voyage home. Scarcely any one visited the West Indies who was not pecuniarily interested in the sugar plantations, and so in the price of labour, so that it is not surprising that objections to the slave-trade should come almost entirely from the poets, and thinkers, and preachers. These three classes, but especially perhaps the poets, are generally the first to discover a public sin; but the public look upon the poets as dreamers, the thinkers as madmen, and the preachers as paid to preach to them, and they heed very little what they say. Thus the unfortunate slave—for, in spite of what I shall say later of the advantages to the negro of slavery, any person who is the property of another must be regarded as unfortunate—came but little before the public eye, except in so far as he furnished a subject which the

poet might work up into a harrowing story of innocent suffering, like Addison with "Inkle and Yarico," or as offering a proof to the political economist that free labour is cheaper than forced labour. He was, in fact, to the public an abstract idea, and it was not until a planter named David Lisle ill-treated his slave, Jonathan Strong, in London, and so brought Granville Sharp down upon him, that the facts of slavery took concrete form in England at all. It is worth recording this incident somewhat fully, for it was the horror aroused in the public mind by the story of Lisle's cruelty that made emancipation possible. The slave-owners did not encourage their slaves to become Christians, because, as Ligon relates of one of them, they knew it was the law of the land that no Christian can be made a slave; therefore if a slave be made a Christian he may cease to be a slave. But it so frequently happened that slaves who were brought over to England to wait on their masters got themselves baptized and then claimed their freedom, that at last, in 1729, the planters obtained an opinion from Messrs. York and Talbot, the Attorney-General and the Solicitor-General, upon the question of their ceasing to be slaves as soon as they were baptized. These lawyers decided against the slaves, and slave-hunts became general in London from that time till 1765, when David Lisle brought Jonathan Strong over to London, and there so ill-treated him that his market value was destroyed, and he was not worth taking back to the plantations. Granville Sharp, however, came across the poor wretch, took care of him, and in time completely cured him His old master learning this, now claimed him as his own, and had him kidnapped in Fenchurch Street, and sold him to John Kerr for £30 at the Poultrey Compter. With great difficulty Sharp got the case brought before the Lord Mayor, when York and Talbot's

opinion had such weight that the decision would have been in favour of Kerr but that Strong had been apprehended without a warrant. On this ground, jealous, no doubt, of his own prerogative, the Lord Mayor discharged him. In consequence of his success in this case, Sharp was so frequently called upon to interfere between master and slave that he decided to read the law on the subject, to enable him to confute the York and Talbot opinion, which he felt could not be the law of England. For three years then he read the law, and he embodied all he had learnt in a book, which came to be cited by counsel in all slave cases in the London courts. Finally occurred the well-known case of Somerset, when the lawyers, determined not to rest content with magisterial rulings any longer, carried the case to the highest court, and obtained the judicial ruling that will last as long as the British Empire endures, that no man who sets his foot upon British soil can remain a slave. In 1806 an Act of Parliament was passed, the credit of which is due pre-eminently to Clarkson, putting a stop to the trade, and in 1834, by a further Act, a four years' apprenticeship was granted as a first instalment of the complete emancipation which followed in British colonies in 1838.

Undoubtedly, as in all other great reformations, the reformers were led into very considerable exaggeration of the evils against which they struggled, and a great distinction must be drawn between the capture and importation of slaves and the continuance of slaves in a state of slavery. It may well be doubted whether the horrors of the middle passage were exaggerated even by Clarkson, but that the lot of the children and grandchildren of slaves born on a plantation was worse, or even as bad, as that of the free indentured servant on the same estate, is more than doubtful, and it could certainly not have been more miserable than that of the agricultural labourer in

Europe at that time. Hear what Ligon says in 1650: "The slaves and their posterity, being subject to their masters for ever, are kept and preserved with greater care than the servants, who are theirs but for five years, according to the law of the land, so that for the time the servants have the worser lives, for they are put to every hard labour, ill lodging, and their dyet is very sleight." There are few persons, even to-day, that will take as much care of a hired hack as they will of their own horse. Ligon represents them as a happy faithful lot, and he is much more surprised at the intelligence some of them exhibit than at their ignorance. They were looked upon as cattle, and were accounted for in the stock-book as such, their pedigree being written up as carefully as that of a prize bull, and their offspring recorded with the name and age both of sire and dam. Ligon speaks of them as being married, but it was not by a church ceremony. In those early days, however, it seems as if the husbands had some right over their wives, for if the unfortunate woman chanced to have twins it was reckoned a certain proof of her infidelity, and her husband promptly killed her.

Against this idyllic state of happiness may be set off the legal status of the slave. Poyer, writing in 1808, when the slave-trade had just been abolished and the agitation for emancipation was increasing, quotes a portion of the slave law of Barbados, enacted in 1688, and still in force at the time he wrote. He condemns the outcry against slavery, a system which is capable of producing such a humane law as the following: "If any slave under punishment shall suffer in life or member, no one shall be liable to any fine for it. But if any person wantonly or cruelly kill his own slave, he shall pay into the Treasury £15." Commenting on this law Poyer remarks that the punishment on the white murderer is greater than it appears

to be, for he has already lost his slave, a property which no reasonable man would wilfully destroy. He says, moreover, that white men murder each other in Barbados far more often than they murder black men. In fact, "in thirty-four years there have been no authentic accounts of more than sixteen negroes killed by white men, and of these only six came within the legal description of that species of homicide which even the English criminal judicature would punish with death."

The negro was of course bought and sold like cattle. He was not allowed to marry or to become a Christian; but unions that the master thought would be profitable to himself were arranged, sometimes between black men and women, sometimes between black women and white men, and sometimes between black men and white women. The subject is an unpleasant one, but the condition of the coloured population cannot be understood without a thorough grasp of the facts connected with its origin. If the progeny resulting from the union of black and white were white and well-favoured, it was sometimes acknowledged, and, in Demerara, it might be legitimatised, but if it was dark and unlikely-looking, it was raised in the negro barracks as a slave. The brutal instincts of the slave-owner sometimes led him into still more horrible practices, many of which are to be read in old books, leaving the certain inference that far more brutality escaped the knowledge of contemporaries than was chronicled by them. Of the 200,000 people in Barbados, probably not 200 are able to trace their parentage on both sides for more than two generations back, and of those 200 it is probable that not fifty can do so without finding a drop of coloured blood amongst them. There is said to be a far larger percentage of pure whites in Barbados than in any other part of the West Indies.

English people will find it hard to realise the state of mind induced by these circumstances, where so many people know that they are ignorant of the details of their ancestry and are suspected by their friends of being coloured. And although the brutality which produced many of the coloured people was by no means accountable for the production of all, yet it deepened the feeling of shame that was attached to slave parentage. Every coloured person has slave blood in him, but the only shameful fact about their parentage, in many cases, is that the marriage was polygamous, and legalised by custom, not by law or church. A similar shame attaches to the parentage of many of our great nobility in England. Nowadays, and for many generations back, the coloured people live, and have lived, lives as respectable as those of their white neighbours, so that it seems hard to remember the sins or misfortunes of such remote fathers upon their children. Remembered, however, they are, and probably for a long time will be, and it is with this great fact we have to contend. The example of the English in Barbados is decidedly a strong factor in breaking down the barrier between white and coloured. The English have no fear that by mixing with coloured people they will fall under the suspicion of being coloured themselves, consequently where a coloured family is otherwise agreeable (and frequently this is the case) they mix with them as freely as they do with the white people, and a few Barbadian families are beginning to follow their example, but unfortunately this is not always so, and cases are not unfrequent where a very white Barbadian family has been guilty of the most atrocious rudeness to avoid meeting coloured people, even though the coloured family may have been more highly cultivated and better bred than itself. The result of this feeling is that the coloured people, by nature self-conscious, live

in a state of constant suspicion of the motives of the white people. They are ready to discover in every little trifle a covert sneer at their colour, or a belittling of them before the public. This is most unfortunate, as it is the earnest desire of every prudent white man in the island to work harmoniously with the coloured people, even if he does not wish to mix with all of them socially. But no one can blame the latter for being apt to misinterpret what is said and done by the whites; contempt is the characteristic of the white man's attitude towards the coloured people, and those amongst them, who take the higher stand of showing to the coloured people the same respect that they show to the white: are hated by the one set as blacklegs, and by the other as humbugs.

What the number of pure blacks is in Barbados it is impossible to say; there is probably a greater percentage of pure blacks amongst the blacks than there is of pure whites amongst the whites. It is an object of great ambition amongst the black women to have a "clear-skinned" child; the legitimacy or illegitimacy of the means they adopt to this end does not appear to trouble them at all; a mother will readily forgive her daughter's errors from the path of virtue if the result is "clear-skinned," and the whiter it is the more readily the forgiveness is granted, but errors of this sort with black men are looked upon as bad form. But this tendency on the part of the black women to raise themselves in the social scale through the colour of their children by no means prevents them from presenting their lawful husbands with their full share of black babies, and, judging by colour and by shape of features, I am inclined to think, as stated above, that the number of full blacks is considerable, though nothing like so great as that of the coloured people. In this matter I doubt whether statistics are very reliable, since, as we have seen, the desire is very strong

among these people to make themselves out either white or "clear-skinned." The proportion of children born in wedlock to those born out of it is three to seven in Jamaica, and I believe Barbados is as free from conventional usage in this matter as any other island. The women dislike matrimony, which state of mind is contrary to the nature of their European sisters (I am speaking of course of the black and coloured working-classes). They complain that as soon as the law has made them the chattel of their husbands, and they are no longer free to change owners, their husbands, no longer anxious as to their claim to the property, are apt to wander off and enjoy the society of their unconventional sisters, which no black man would dare to do if his regular companion instead of being his legal wife was free to forsake him at the least sign of ill-treatment. It is the husband who, tired of being stretched continually on the rack of good behaviour, exerts himself to secure freedom by submitting to the yoke of matrimony. It is to be observed that he, on his part, does not feel obliged to remain with the lady a moment longer than he pleases, whether he is married to her or not. This relaxation from legal restraint and conventional usage is recognised by the law, which gives a status to the "reputed wife" only a little lower than that of the "legal wife."

Before we condemn the negroes for this failure to reach our high standard in civilisation we must reflect that they have only left the forests of Africa at the outside 400 years—most of them have been with us a much shorter time—and that the *permission* to marry was only recently granted to them. It is unreasonable to expect negroes in three generations to assimilate the manners and customs which it has taken us thirty generations to form. It is true that our actual lives are not always in accordance with the high principles which we profess, but the point is

that we have arrived at that stage in civilisation where these high principles are professed. The negro has not. When we arrive at the stage where high principles are invariably followed, the millennium will have arrived, and the conditions of life as we now know them will have ceased to be. The point that I wish to emphasise is that we must not expect from negroes the same manner of life that we expect from Europeans.

A hundred years ago, as we have seen, the world woke up to the fact that negroes were men and not cattle, and that they had the same hopes of eternal life that we had: that the Redemption of Jesus Christ was as important to them as it was to us; and from this now undenied fact it was deduced they deserved the same political privileges as ours. But the world did not find this deduction as easy of assimilation as the principle from which it was deduced. Some people even objected to their being granted souls. But the granting of a soul, being a more remote transaction, was more easily concurred in than the granting of a vote. A seat in Heaven did not jar so harshly on our feelings as a seat in the House of Assembly. Even the seat in the House of God was grudgingly given, and placed—where it still is—well at the back of the church. Since those days, however, emancipation has continued its course, and the seat in the House of Assembly has been given also, and the negro maintains that he is perfectly fit to fill it. Arguing from the particular to the general, he points with reasonable exultation to the achievements of individuals of his race, which, if they were common amongst it, would justify his argument that political power can be entrusted as safely to blacks as to whites. He points to the admitted failure of one amongst a thousand whites, and compares his folly and his wrongdoings with the virtuous prudence of one black brother amongst half-

a-dozen. He receives your reluctant admission of the justice of his comparison, and expects you to admit, in consequence, the deduction that he makes from it, that all black men are equal to all white men. Your refusal to do so is a further proof to him that you share the deplorable prejudice entertained by the whites against the blacks. It is a misfortune that neither in our commercial nor in our governmental representatives do we always show to our West Indian fellow-subjects the most favourable types of our race. In the present uninteresting condition of the West Indies this is, perhaps, unavoidable; but when Africa has been filled up, and Canada and Australia no longer call for more capital, the world will remember that the West Indies and the Spanish Main are still the richest countries in the world, and will return thither. Then, no doubt, if England still exists as an empire, as much care will be exercised in the choice of West Indian governors as is now used in the appointments to Australia or South Africa. The West Indies, at present, are in the position of a poor relation; we cannot pretend that we do not see them as we pass them in the street, but they can be of no service to us, and we regret their existence, for our dignity requires that they should be kept out of the bankruptcy court, so we throw them an occasional dole, and we ask them to come in after dinner on any specially big family festivity like the Jubilee, but that is about as far as we care to go. There are amongst us, however, some who have theories, and who are thereby led to the conclusion that the black people are increasing and the whites diminishing, and that the time is not far distant when the West Indies will be one big black Republic or set of Republics. Others fear that the hurricanes that periodically visit these islands, and the disaster that has overtaken the sugar industry, are a danger to the black people whom we have placed where they are,

and for whose safety and well-being we are therefore responsible. To these two sets of theorists, both of which cannot be correct in their forecast, the West Indies are still of interest.

That the blacks *are* increasing, though it is generally asserted they are, is to my mind exceedingly doubtful, and, *if* they are, it does not necessarily follow that they will continue to increase. In 1834 there were 83,176 slaves for whom compensation was given at the emancipation. Did that include children? There are now about 105,000 black persons, a very small increase considering the circumstances. Doctors in the West Indies seem to incline to the opinion that they have reached that point in national life when, whatever the number of births, the vitality of those born is low. They seem to suffer greatly from consumption. Amongst the soldiers five die of this disease to one of any other. They also die of yellow fever and of malaria, which last they get in the cold weather, not, as the whites do, in the latter months of the hot weather. It is to be noted that in their own country, unfettered by the clothes and other restraints of civilisation, they are much more free from these diseases than are the Europeans; it is only when they have lived a few generations in civilised countries that they are affected. It is suggested that the tight uniform of the soldiers increases their liability to consumption, which begins at the base of the lungs; but I believe the civilian blacks are just as liable to it as the soldiers, and their clothing is loose enough. The civilians are accustomed to sleep, ten or fifteen together, in a small hut ten feet square, with every aperture carefully shut and closed with rags to keep out the fresh air, and their consumption has been attributed to this cause. But it cannot be this that affects the soldiers, sleeping as they do in airy, well-ventilated barracks, and I am

rather inclined to look to their sudden transplantation from Africa for the cause of the lessened vitality amongst the blacks. Naturalists say that man is the only animal that can live in all parts of the world without changing his looks or his nature. Sheep transplanted to the West Indies lose their wool in a generation or two, English potatoes become sweet in a couple of years, but the descendants of Cromwell's deported prisoners, who never mixed with the black people, are still fishing on the coast of Barbados. The people, it is true, are many of them scrofulous now, but I imagine that is from the continual intermarriage of four centuries. The negro, however, is so infinitely below the European in the scale of humanity, that it is quite possible he has not the distinctly human quality of adaptability to varying climates. I say this with the greatest deference to that part of the missionary world which stays at home, whose cry that the negro is a man and a brother I can accept only in its Pickwickian sense. Whether he has or has not as perfect a soul as the white man I do not know, and I should imagine it would be an extremely difficult thing to prove or to disprove; nor, perhaps, is it of great importance to the present purpose; but that, as a man, he is physically inferior to Europeans can be seen in the records of any West Indian hospital. This being so, there does not appear to be any need to fear his overrunning the West Indies. I am more inclined to fear that he will die out altogether. It must not be forgotten that the experiment of leaving him to shift for himself is a new one. Even in Barbados there are plenty of men living who were born slaves, and there are very few black men whose parents were not slaves. Now the slave had by no means such a bad time of it as people in England imagine. "Uncle Tom's Cabin," from which we got our ideas of slavery, pictured one side of it in a masterly way, and attained

the object for which it was written. I read the book as a boy, and cried over it. I took it up the other day, and finding negroes depicted with strong family affection, I put it down again. Negroes have no family affection. On the morning after the hurricane in September 1898 some negroes, passing by a heap of fallen huts, found a crowd at work on it, and the proprietor sitting on a log smoking. "Whar's your wife, Gustus?" they asked. The smoker pointed with his pipe to the ruins. "Dere, the roof have fall on she; dey still diggin' she out." A nurse, who was remarkably gentle and kind to her white mistress's children, used to ask, very occasionally, for leave to go and see her old mother. Once finding she had not asked for leave for a long time, her mistress said, "How's your mother, Margaret? Don't you want to go and see her?" The old woman burst into a laugh and said, "Why, she in bed now. She don't know nobody. She no good now." And a coachman, who went to attend to his dying mother, returned after a week disgusted, and *complained* that "she won't dead, so I come back." But it was in his family affections that it was thought the slave was hardest hit. The slave had to work, but his owner had to maintain him, and give him clothes and shelter when he was ill and when he was old. The free labourer is free to change his employers, but if work is scarce he is also free to starve: nor is he of such value to his temporary master. The negroes still work in gangs under an overseer with a whip, though the whip is more a badge of office than a weapon. The place of the whip, however, has been taken by the police court, and that weapon is employed in a manner and to an extent that, to any one but a negro, would be galling in the extreme. Slavery had its bad points, but I am doubtful whether, from the slave's point of view, they were not fully compensated for by its good points. It was the

masters who suffered. Slave labour was much more expensive than free labour, and he suffered morally in the degrading influence that absolute authority over his fellow-creatures always has upon men. Some aspects of this degradation have already been mentioned. The imported slave, on the other hand, had been in nine cases out of ten (in spite of Longfellow) a slave in his own country; and slavery in his own country, besides the usual troubles attendant on being the property of some one else, implied this further inconvenience, that he was liable to be roasted or boiled, or impaled, or buried alive, or anything else that suited his master's fancy. He would certainly not be fed when he was old or useless. It was no degradation to him and his womenkind, in his eyes, to be sold at public auction; he was used to it. He did not feel the separation from his wife and family any more than a dog does. His women probably felt the separation from their *young* children in much the same way, and for the same time, that a cow does when her calf is taken from her. The slaves bred on a plantation had never known any other existence, and, according to the universal law, were content with their lot. The imported slaves appear to me to have been raised, rather than lowered, by their transplantation into the West Indies. The owners were the losers by the transaction. Probably nothing in the history of the world illustrates better Gibbon's saying that a conquering race always assimilates the vices of the conquered than the degradation of the slave-owners by their own slaves.

Now the slaves are free, and they have to compete for existence with their former masters. It remains to be seen what success they will have. I, certainly, am not one of those who believe that the white race is played out in the West Indies, still less that the blacks are ready to take our place, or indeed to assist us in any way but as hewers of wood and drawers of water,

and that for even these purposes they are becoming in every generation less fit seems evident.

What our duty to these black people may be is the second question that is agitating the minds of some of us. It seems to me to depend a good deal upon whether our fathers did them any harm by bringing them over to the West Indies, and whether, if our fathers did wrong them, we are liable to provide compensation. That they have as great a claim on the protection of the Empire as their fellow-subjects is, of course, obvious, but some well-meaning people seem to believe that they have a greater claim on our assistance than their fellow-subjects have. The negro has not advanced far in morality beyond the condition of his savage fathers, and his physical health has deteriorated, but his condition seems still to be better than it used to be in Africa; he is certainly happy enough, if that is any criterion, so it is difficult to understand how any compensation can be claimed for him, or what form it should take if it could. If I supported the claim that he deserves special protection from us, it would only be on the plea that he is as fully entitled to citizenship as we are (by our own voluntary act), but is in every way so greatly inferior to us that, as men, we must consider his infirmities and be gentle to him, as we are to our own women and children. But if the negro insists upon being treated as an equal, let him take his chance.

THE BRITISH EMPIRE OF TO-DAY AND TO-MORROW

By Sir C. E. HOWARD VINCENT, K.C.M.G., C.B., M.P.

The only condition precedent to our subject of the Empire of to-morrow is that those of to-day should recognise their duty, not to themselves alone, but to those who will come after them. What is the heritage to which we have succeeded? Whether it be surveyed by its territorial extent, by the numbers of its peoples, by the diversity of its climates, by the magnitude of its commerce, by the liberty and loyalty of its inhabitants, nothing that has ever been in the past, nothing that appears possible in the future, can in any way compare to it. Greece and Rome were insignificant in comparison, Spain and the Netherlands were as nothing by the side of the Britain of to-day. The Cæsars were as careless of to-morrow as the Court of Madrid. Our chance is now. The occasion is ripe. The fruit is ready to our hand. We grasp it, and leave for to-morrow an Empire in the homogeneous strength of which that of to-day shall pale and which, self-sustaining, self-supporting, shall eclipse all the world and be Mistress of the Land as well as, now, Mistress of the Sea.

Ere we see what needs to be done to accomplish this end—an end there is none worthy to bear the name of Englishman who will not sacrifice everything to attain—let us briefly look at the Empire of to-day. It is a study which all may indulge in with advantage, which it is the bounden duty of every father of

a family, every manager of a school, to inculcate on all within their spheres of influence. The classics are being fast displaced in education by the modern school, and Greek play and Latin verse are yielding to French colloquial style and German composition. This is something to be thankful for. But many a boy and girl leaves the British schoolroom with but hazy ideas of the lands they were born to share with the Queen's subjects. On the walls of every schoolroom should hang Keith Johnson's map of the Empire, so that it may become impressed on young eyes and young hearts.

See the three million square miles in British North America, stretching from the Atlantic to the Pacific through endless forest, through mountains of precious ores, and yet with a virgin wheat land, destined for the granary of Britain—a territory larger than the United States, with people, the bravest and the most loyal on the face of the earth.

See the three million square miles in Australasia, teeming with gold and coal, with unequalled pastures for the meat supply of the old land, with every advantage, natural or artificial, the ingenuity of man can imagine or devise.

See the vast territories on the East and West and in the South of Africa. Shall we be turned aside by a chapter of accidents, by the headlong impetuosity of one man, by the obstinacy and hostility of another, by the difficulties of an hour, from recognising all that the future has in store for that vast region?

See the Empire of India, nineteen hundred miles in length, as much in breadth, and ever increasing its lateral frontiers. The five hundred allied princes, their three hundred millions of people, disagreeing among themselves, with religion against religion, race against race, but united in affection and loyal obedience to the Imperial Crown set on the head of Victoria Empress.

See the islands, the fortified posts, the coaling stations in every sea. We need not the stirring words of the American Statesman to fill us with pride and admiration at possessions so matchless—and this whether the survey be of the beautiful West Indian Oceana set in the Caribbean Sea, or of the continents and territories in the Old World and the New.

We see the whole connected with each other and the Mother Country, if not always by fortress, like Gibraltar holding the key of the Mediterranean, like Aden holding the key of the Red Sea, like Singapore and Hong Kong in the Indian Ocean and China Sea, at least by coaling stations holding the reserves of fuel without which neither France nor Germany, neither Holland nor Spain, can reach their oversea possessions.

Small wonder that any Empire such as this should excite the envy and the admiration of the world. But is it in such state that we of to-day can leave things as they are. Should not we strive every nerve to increase and improve mutual trade, to perfect defences, to make the Empire more independent, a greater power than now in peace and in war? It is our duty to act while we may, to strike while the iron is hot in the fashioning of the Empire of to-morrow.

First as to defence. The United Kingdom, the Mother Country, finds the sea defences for the whole, save that of the ports in Australasia and India. The land defences are provided locally, save that in any emergency the reinforcement by Imperial troops is essential. Some have sought to place this matter of defence upon a mere pecuniary basis. A league indeed exists to impress upon the British Public that they should call on the Colonies to pay for the protection afforded in colonial waters, in the same way that India pays for the English army of defence within the Indian frontier. This view may have something to commend itself upon a strict commercial basis, but it

is too narrow, savours too much of self-interest, to serve as a foundation upon which to build a greater Empire. Far better would it be for us to choose or to recommend the very best officers available for the organisation of colonial land and sea forces, and to make all the armies of the Empire, and all the vessels of war equipped by colonial governments, as uniform and efficient as possible, and to take care that no punctilious etiquette, that no divided authority, should serve the future enemies of England, by neglect of the smallest precaution to keep inviolate and secure not alone the territory of the Empire, but also the trade routes which constitute its life.

But cannot more be done than this? Most assuredly yes. It is true that the United Empire Trade League has not been afraid to seize the nettle. It had its origin in the emphatic declaration of the most eminent representatives of the Empire at the first Colonial Conference in 1887. Victoria and Cape Colony, South Australia and Natal, New Zealand and Queensland were all equally eloquent, equally convinced that the closer union of the Empire must be sought in trade, and in trade alone. Efforts failing to convince the Council of the Imperial Federation League a new organisation became essential, and its strength was soon demonstrated in the speedy demise of its elder sister. Lord Salisbury invited the League "to go forth to fight." It obeyed. Town after town, constituency after constituency in Great Britain, in Canada, and to some extent in Australia and South Africa too, was assailed and carried. The Dominion Government in 1894 convened a Colonial Conference at Ottawa. The result left nothing to be desired. There was great enthusiasm and absolute unanimity upon the main question, "That any provisions in existing treaties between Great Britain and any foreign Power which prevent the self-governing dependencies of the Empire

from entering into agreements with each other or with Great Britain should be removed."

This has been done. On August 1, 1898, the treaties with Belgium and Germany came to an end. That day British goods entered Canada at one-fourth reduction in the duties on foreign goods, and in the first year their sale was increased 22 per cent.

And now what do we find? Not only that all men's minds within the Empire have been directed to the position of the Empire by the menacing attitude of foreign Powers, by the near approach of war not from one quarter but from many, but also by the outbreak of war within the Empire.

The question is now the centre pivot of practical politics. A considerable motive power has been the perceptive and statesman mind of Mr. Secretary Chamberlain. A great party and capable leaders are working heart and soul together. The troops of Canada and Australasia are fighting by the side of those of Great Britain, vexed only to be limited as to numbers and the extent of the freely furnished.

But, nevertheless, there is the Empire of to-day, immense in population, in extent, in trade, in wealth, in loyalty, and in liberty, but, save as regards the noble Dominion of Canada, with no permanent union between its widely scattered areas, save that of affection for the One Sovereign, and the feeling of kinship; with no organised system of mutual trading, or of mutual defence able to sustain itself in peace or in war, the superfluities of the one part able to supply the deficiencies of another, but offering, save in Canada, no greater advantages to the British people who founded it, than to foreigners who opposed its creation and are envious of its progress.

The Empire of to-morrow should see all this welded into a homogeneous and systematised whole, the British people utilising to the full for their own benefit and

advantage the advantages ready to their hand, the Colonies feeding the Mother Country, the Mother Country enjoying in return a trading advantage in the Colonies.

Now, separation, independence, means what? a pang of regret for a day, but little more.

Then it would mean the loss of the greatest and most material interests.

Sentiment is good, but interest is better. Thus may an United Empire "be organised, one may almost say created," to use Mr. Chamberlain's words, "greater and more potent for the peace and civilisation of the world than any that history has ever known."

This is the task of the United Empire Trade League. Heads are wanted, hands are wanted, in every town, in every village, in every hamlet, in every mansion, in every cottage of the Empire. We call upon to-day to work for to-morrow—to realise a dream if you like, but a dream of which no man need be ashamed, to

> "Unite the Empire, make it stand compact,
> Shoulder to shoulder, let its members feel
> The touch of British brotherhood; and act
> As one great nation—strong and true as steel."

THE BRITISH NAVY

By J. CORNELIUS WHEELER

There is nothing more extraordinary in the history of great nations than the apathy and ignorance which existed until a few years ago in this country upon all things connected with the history and position of the British navy. We had a huge empire, and we did not seem to be aware of it. We had vast colonial possessions, and if we thought of them at all, it was merely coupled with the wish that the day should dawn when we could finally get rid of them. The marvellous elasticity and magnitude of our commerce did indeed thrill the average Briton with a certain amount of patriotic pride, because it enabled him to count up his money-bags and contemplate his material prosperity. We sang "Britannia Rules the Waves," and imagined that it was a law of Nature, forgetful of the fact that it depended upon our ships, our guns, our coaling stations, our coal supplies, our armour, our men, and the spirit that actuated them from the quarter-deck to the forecastle.

Fifteen years ago the fleet was less than half its present strength, and Lord Northbrook, at that time First Lord of the Admiralty, speaking in the House of Lords, declared that if he had another million of money to spend on the navy he should not know what to do with it, and within a month of that time he asked for five millions!

There is a story told of another First Lord who was asked by some Member of Parliament of an

inquiring turn of mind whether certain guns which had been ordered some years before for the defence of Singapore had ever been sent out there. The minister knew perfectly well that they were lying in the dockyard at Sheerness, and, according to the way which they have in the House of Commons when a minister is asked inconvenient questions, he requested notice of it. He went to his office the next day and ordered these guns to be put upon lighters in the Thames, and that night, from his seat on the Treasury Bench, replying to the question in the presence of the representatives of the people, and through them speaking to the nation, whose best interests were committed to his care, he stated that the guns were *on their way* to Singapore! Everybody was perfectly contented, for did not Britannia rule the waves?

No doubt the state of affairs which made that kind of thing possible has by this time passed away, but it was only owing to the action of a few individuals and of an enterprising newspaper or two, who looked beyond the House of Commons and the Board of Admiralty to the outside public, that a sounder and a saner line of policy is now adopted by whatever government may be in power at the time. So soon as public interest in these questions begins to flag, so soon will the Treasury once more bear down the requirements of the nation; and so long as there are ministers who will endeavour to make up for their deficiency in one department by economies at the expense of the fleet, so long it is essential, if we are to continue our existence as a great, world-wide empire, that we must see to it that far and above all questions of party politics and all the issues upon which so many an election has turned, and will continue to turn, lies the supremacy of the British fleet and the safety of the British race.

We have lately seen an extraordinary manifestation

of the best side of the imperialist idea, not in any way aggressive, and in no manner endeavouring to threaten the interests of other nations; but the whole of the English people has been suddenly roused to the idea of what it is that the courage and energy of their ancestors have won for them, and the meaning of the splendid possibilities that lie in front of us. No incident in the Diamond Jubilee celebrations more closely touched the popular imagination than the spectacle of armed men, representatives of the soldiers of the Queen in the lands from which they came, hurrying by every route on British ships across the connecting link—the ocean—in order to lay their tribute of loyalty at the feet of their sovereign in the very central city of the empire.

"I have to-day received the offer of a British ironclad from the hands of a British colony," were the words uttered by Lord Goschen at a club in London one night in that famous June, and they are words that ought to be engraved in letters of gold "plain for all folk to see," as the most epoch-making announcement that a minister has ever yet been privileged to pronounce. It is probable that there are Kaisers and Czars who would give many a Pomeranian grenadier for a colony that can mean so great an increase in the offensive and defensive resources of an empire. It is incidents of this kind, which are being repeated from time to time with ever-increasing emphasis, that show us that the English people have at last appreciated what the influence of sea power means to them and the part that it is going to enable them to play in the future development of the race, which of all others is destined to be the predominant race in both hemispheres.

Now foreign nations are following very closely (and have for a long time past) the efforts made by this country to put itself in such a position that it will

be able to defend its interests in case of war; and the foreign service papers from time to time are good enough to tell us what is the plan of campaign by which it is probable that we shall be brought most quickly to our knees. It is recognised that to attack us in the open, and to bear us down by sheer force in battle, is not a policy which is likely to lead to success, and a school of naval strategists has arisen whose idea is to build fast cruisers with an enormous coal capacity, which shall prey upon our commerce, and in that way force us to terms; and they even confer an additional obligation upon us, do some of these gentlemen, because they tell us what are the terms which they will be good enough to grant when, having beaten us, we beg for peace upon our knees.

A French paper, called *Essai de Stratégie*, after stating that there are no laws of war but those of the strongest, and that generosity is only cowardice, feebleness, or folly, lays down the French campaign as follows: (1) Raid the Bristol Channel, the Channel, and the Thames with fast cruisers; (2) Destroy English shipping in the Mediterranean; (3) Plunder, burn, and sink English shipping on the distant seas; (4) Bombard at night defenceless towns, such as Brighton or Hastings. Since we wish it, they tell us, their cruisers, their gunboats and their torpedo boats shall burn our towns.

Plus d'Angleterre gives the terms upon which we shall be able to purchase peace: Every English warship afloat, or on the stocks, to be surrendered to France. Not more than fifty warships to be maintained by us in the future. Our army not to exceed 50,000 men. An indemnity of £560,000,000 to be paid. Dover to be surrendered to France in perpetuity. The Channel Isles, Gibraltar, Malta, Cyprus, Sierra Leone, the Gold Coast, the Cape, Mauritius, the Seychelles, Amirantes and Chagos, Aden, Perim, Soco-

tra, Ceylon, Hong Kong, New Guinea, New Zealand, Tasmania, Fiji, Vancouver, British Guiana, the British West Indies, Quebec and Newfoundland to be ceded to France. Egypt to be evacuated. The Egyptian Antiquities and Elgin Marbles in the British Museum to be given up to France. It is added that Russia had made herself mistress of the best part of India whilst we were thus fighting for our lives, and that Ireland had become an independent republic under the protection of France. When the terms were read out at the Guildhall "there followed the deep silence of the grave, there were tears in the eyes of the English." And well there might be.

You may say that these terms are preposterous, and that it is impossible that we should be reduced to such straits, but at any rate, whether that be so or no, the fact remains, that these are only some of the vast territories that we have to defend, and if no terms so humiliating have ever before been made to a conquered people, it is only that never before in the history of the world has any nation had so much to lose.

You will recollect that navies nowadays are divided practically into four classes. There is the ironclad, or battleship of various ranks, upon the efficiency of which the pitched battles at sea will depend. There are the cruisers, of various classes, which are meant to protect trading ships on the high seas, and to take the place of the frigate of bygone days. There is the torpedo boat, which is designed to destroy indiscriminately either battleships or cruisers whenever it can come up to them; and there is the English antidote to the torpedo boat, called the "torpedo boat destroyer," whose purpose it is to chase the torpedo boats and overtake them, for which purpose they are of extraordinary speed.

The total number of torpedo boat destroyers is

now 113. Forty-two have trial speeds of twenty-six to twenty-seven knots, and the whole of the 113 now have water-tube boilers of the small tube, or Express type. Of the thirty-knot vessels fifty-eight have been delivered. Five destroyers have done over thirty knots on their trial speeds, the *Viper*, fitted with the Parsons' steam turbine, attaining $33\frac{3}{4}$ knots,[1] combined with an entire absence of vibration.

The Naval Estimates for 1901–2 provide for five submarine vessels of the *Holland* type, and this is the first time in the history of the English navy that any attempt has been made by the Admiralty to seriously consider the question of submarine boats. The French navy have thirty-seven submarine boats, built and building.

The efficiency of a fleet to a very large extent depends upon the amount of time that it can keep at sea, and that is a question of its coal capacity, although speed is also of the utmost importance. In the old days a fleet could remain at sea almost indefinitely. Nelson, for instance, was two years outside Toulon harbour watching the French fleet; and although it is true that at the end of that time some of his ships were scarcely seaworthy, still they managed to keep afloat and to prove of very great service when the need arose, because all that they required from the shore was supplies of food and ammunition, which were obtained by despatching ships from time to time to get them. In fact, Trafalgar was brought on by Nelson despatching half-a-dozen of his ships to obtain food supplies and repairs which were absolutely essential and could not be done at sea, and the French Admiral Villeneuve took advantage of this as the most favourable time to come out of harbour and meet the English admiral. Fleets will act very differently in the

[1] This vessel was totally wrecked off the Channel Islands in the naval manœuvres of 1901.

future. You have read of the *Powerful* consuming something like 12,000 tons of coal on her way to China. Well, the *Powerful*, with her sister ship the *Terrible*, has a greater coal capacity than any other ship in the world. They, both of them, carry 3000 tons in their bunkers; but even that prevents them going for any length of time away from their coaling stations wherever they may be, and severely restricts their usefulness in time of war. Luckily the best coaling stations all over the world are in our hands; and if we were at war with any other nation, by refusing to sell that essential commodity to them, we could make it impossible for many of them ever to get back to their native land at all. And in this way the task of the British navy is very considerably simplified, because by watching the entrance to the enemies' harbours we know perfectly well that we are bound to come up with their fleets sooner or later, and we should not have to spend months of weary watching looking out for their ships as Nelson had to do in that historic but heart-breaking chase which only ended in the sublime triumph of the Nile itself.

When the Kaiser, at that time not on very good terms with the English people, sent out the mailed fist, in the shape of the *Gefion*, to vindicate his dignity in China, it was only by a frequent resort to English coaling stations and English dockyards that the ship managed to get to her destination at all. So you will see, should a foreign country be at war with us the seas would be closed to an enemy who had not coaling stations and dockyards at convenient points.

In foreign navies you find the *Rossia* and *Rurik*, which are Russian ships with a coal capacity of 2500 tons. The *Columbia* and *Minneapolis* in the United States navy, the *Chateau Renault* and the *Guichau* in the French navy are of the same type, but none of

them have such large coal capacities as the *Powerful* or the *Terrible*, and therefore their usefulness is greatly diminished. In the wars of the future, the nation which is able to stay at sea the longest, and which has well-fortified harbours and coaling stations at the strategic points of the world, will have an enormous advantage when the fighting begins. Not only have we got coaling stations at strategic points, but we also have docks and ports in strength and in importance infinitely greater than those of any other nation, with the exception of France in the Mediterranean. In the Mediterranean, the French have their splendid series of harbours along the coast. They have great harbours at Tunis, and others along their North African possessions, in many of which their fleets can lie in safety. We have, it is true, Gibraltar with two docks, which takes in the biggest ironclad afloat: and in a few years time we shall have four there. Our next large dock is at Malta, a thousand miles away from Gibraltar, and the nearest home port is Devonport, which is farther still, where two ships of the largest class only can be docked.

It is in that sea and off the coast of Spain that many of the great battles of the past have been fought, and where, in any European Naval War, a pitched battle for the supremacy of the seas will probably be lost or won. We know what happened after Trafalgar. Scarcely any of the prizes that were taken were retained, because in the gale that sprang up immediately after the battle they went to the bottom; and if this is the case with a wooden ship, how much more likely is it to be the case with the far more expensive ironclads of the present day. When one reflects that convenient harbours into which to run the injured vessels after an engagement may mean the salvation of half-a-dozen great ironclads, which cost something like a million of money each, it is clear

that no more important problem faces the Board of Admiralty than this; and even if it costs large sums of money to secure it, it will be money well spent, and as vital to the success of a great war as proper hospital accommodation and a medical staff would be to an army. We were told not long ago that the *Polyphemus* was leaking badly when she put in at Devonport, but there was no available dock there for her, and she was accordingly sent up Channel in a gale of wind to Portsmouth. Providentially she arrived safely at her destination, but it emphasises the point which I am endeavouring to make, that to subject ships that have just come out of action to a long sea voyage, perhaps in bad weather, before they can arrive at places where the repairs can be effected which are essential to keep them afloat, is folly so pronounced as to have no words to adequately describe it.

I stated just now that it is probable that the fate of England will one day be decided in the Mediterranean. It is a great trade route; one of the greatest in the world, a highway to the "gorgeous East." Gibraltar, Malta, and Alexandria are three vital links in the chain that holds the Empire together. Its importance has been recognised by every European statesman for two hundred years and more, and that is why of your small army you have some 9000 men at Malta and 5000 or 6000 at Gibraltar.

We have endeavoured for over a hundred years to keep Russian fleets from coming into the Mediterranean down the Bosphorus. It was one of the provisions of the treaty after the Crimean War which the Russians broke without a protest from this country when France was fighting Prussia in 1870. There is an intimate alliance between France and Russia at the present day, and at one end of that narrow sea we are exposed to the attack of the Russian fleet, with its base in the Black Sea, at the

other end of it the French fleet, with all the great natural advantages I have mentioned to you.

Take a map in your hand and look then how easy it would be for either of these two allied Powers, neither of which is very friendly to this country, to cut the line of your communications by falling on a British fleet cruising in the Mediterranean, anywhere from Gibraltar to Alexandria; to attack them with the certain knowledge that if the attack was successful an irreparable blow would have been struck at our supremacy on the seas, and our connection with the outlying portions of our empire.

It is known that the admiral in command in the Mediterranean and his second in command have both of them, during this year, in the strongest "Anglo-Saxon at their disposal," called the attention of the Admiralty to the fact that our position during the last two or three years in that part of the world has altered, and altered for the worse, and we are not strong enough to face a combined Franco-Russian attack; and when the question was raised in the House of Commons neither the First Lord (Selborne) nor the Secretary of the Admiralty, Mr. Arnold Forster, could deny that we were woefully short in torpedo-boat destroyers—the Government were going to send some more there directly they were built; and that the percentage of battleships which the Admiralty themselves laid down as being the minimum had not been maintained, but that it was owing to the engineers' strike of a few years ago which had delayed the completion of a number of our first-class battleships.

Years ago it was discovered that a breakwater at Malta was essential to the security of the fleet to protect it from an enemy's torpedo attack. There is no breakwater at Malta at this moment, although there is a French torpedo station at Bizerta, 210 miles away.

The recent manœuvres have emphasised the fact that cruisers are as essential to a fleet to-day as they were when Nelson uttered his historic cry for more frigates. The cruisers are not being supplied because the Admiralty won't spend the money. Indeed the *Vulcan*, which was fitted as a repairing ship and sent to the Mediterranean in that capacity, has had to be used as a cruiser in order to make up for the deficiency. No adequate provision has been made for the first essentials of sufficient fighting, namely, telescopic sites, gyroscopes, smokeless powder for the 13.5-inch guns, armoured piercing shells, breech-loading field guns, wireless telegraphy, and when these matters were publicly debated in the House of Commons not one of the statements I have just made was disputed by Lord Selborne, who began his speech by stating that he had not been in office long enough to have earned the confidence of the country! It will be a fatal day for this country if the electorate ever has confidence in either the Secretary for War or the first Lord of the Admiralty, because the experience of many years teaches us that it is only by the nation keeping awake and compelling attention to these matters that you are ever likely to have a fleet or an army which the nation can rely upon to do the work which one day they may be called upon to do.

It is a commonplace of English strategy that, immediately upon the declaration of war, the work of the English fleet will be to search for the enemy and to fight him on the high seas wherever he can come up with him; and in the leading article in *The Standard*—a newspaper which is supposed to be to some extent representative of the views of the Government, as it probably is to a large section of public opinion—on the morning after the debate in the House of Lords, when Lord Selborne made his annual statement, we were told that it did not matter if, at the moment, the Mediterranean fleet

was inferior to the enemy's, because they could easily go into harbour under the shelter of British forts and wait for reinforcements to arrive. If an English fleet ever had to do that, the supremacy of the seas would be gone and a large portion of our over sea trade would be handed over to the ravages of the enemy. It is for the public—it is for the men who, after all, control ministries in this country to see to it that the Mediterranean fleet is the structure upon which our empire rests, and that the admiral in command of it immediately war is declared, instead of sneaking about in harbours in the hope that reinforcements may elude the enemy's fleets and pick him up, shall be able to strike the first blow—to strike it at once and to strike it home.

There is another very serious question, and that is the condition of the Naval Reserve and the number of foreigners in our Mercantile Marine. In 1876, according to Mr. Clark Hall's return, we had 16,511 enrolled apprentices in the Mercantile Marine. In 1896 there were only 7280, and only 1535 enrolled in that year at all, which means that there was a decrease of 9231 in twenty years. Now we have 1605 boys at sea, and there are 65,090 officers and seamen in the Mercantile Marine. In the Navy Estimates of 1897 and 1898 provision is made for 62,087 petty officers and men. For this 6000 boys must be annually trained, and at least 10,000 ought to enter the Merchant Service annually, instead of the 1535 enrolled in 1896. In 1887, 15 per cent. of the crews in the merchant service were foreigners. In 1897 it was 18.46 per cent., which is double what it was thirty years ago. Of these 30 per cent. are sailors alone. We have 47,884 seamen in our home and foreign sailing and steam vessels, and deducting 14,316 who are foreigners, this leaves us with only 33,568 who are of British nationality. Deducting this latter

figure from the 47,884, leaves us with only 16,000 men to draw upon and carry on our trade after allowing 24,000 to the Naval Reserve. (These figures do not include the fishing population.) In the last five years there has been a decrease of 5558 British seamen coupled with an increase of 3562 foreign seamen in the Mercantile Marine. We have this alarming and distressing fact, that as the number of the Britishers goes down the number of the foreigners goes up—men who come from Sweden, Germany, Norway, and the United States, manning the ships on which our safety in the long run depends, and doing the work which of all other work should be done by British muscle, pluck, and endurance. Many remedies have been suggested to cope with this very serious evil. Sir Edward Reed's Manning Committee favoured training ships, and in this Lord Brassey and Sir John Hay concur. It has been suggested, on the other hand, that we should have apprentices in selected vessels or training ships, upon which boys could be drafted from the Board Schools, and this would cost the country £250,000 per annum for the next ten years; but whatever be the remedy and whatever be the expense, it is a question which will have to be faced and have to be dealt with unless the efficiency of the Navy and of the Mercantile Marine, from which we get our reserve, is to be very gravely impaired.

The value of sailing ships is recognised in every foreign navy, and as an encouragement to their employment in the Mercantile Marine, in which to rear their reserves of men, subsidies are paid to the owners of sailing ships on a liberal scale. The North German Lloyd receives £250,000 a year from the German Government, and the Messageries Maritimes £125,000 from the French Government. As a result, the construction of sailing ships in those countries showed

considerable progress at a time when sailing vessels were disappearing altogether from beneath the British Flag. As all the authorities will tell you that sailing ships are the only real nurseries for seamen, it would probably be found not antagonistic to the interests of the shareholders in our great steamship companies if they would follow the example of the North German Lloyd and fit up a training ship with an experienced officer of the Royal Navy to conduct the school work, embracing all branches of a practical nautical education. To the great service lines, such as the Peninsular and Oriental, the White Star, the British India or the Union Companies, it would be a small matter to equip a training ship under their own flag, following the lead of their foreign rivals, and thus seize the opportunity of carrying on the training of officers and seamen on a scale commensurate with the great fleet which foreign nations have compelled us to build during the last few years. In the session of 1898 the Government introduced a clause into the Merchant Shipping Act of that year providing for a reduction of the Light dues in favour of the owners of ships carrying apprentices, but the scheme failed because the inducements held out were inadequate. The amount refunded in respect of Light dues to owners of ships carrying boy sailors during the year from 1st April 1899 to 1st April 1900 was £681, 8s. 10d. only.

Lord Selborne stated in the annual Naval Statement submitted to Parliament in March 1901, that negotiations for the establishment of a branch of the Royal Naval Reserve in the North American Colonies have been proceeded with during the past year, and fifty seamen from Newfoundland have been embarked in his Majesty's ships on the station for six months' training. The question of the part, that probably will, and certainly ought to, be played in the defence of the Empire by the far distant portions of it, is outside the

subject we have to discuss to-day, but no scheme of naval or military defence can be considered adequate which does not provide that the resources of the Empire all over the world shall be drawn upon as the occasion may require, and each unit of the heterogeneous mass of men called the Imperial Forces shall know where his duties call him to stand in the event of war.

I should like to give you the figures showing the number of men on whom we depend to man our fleet. At the beginning of the last century, when our population was relatively small and our commerce insignificant as compared with what it is to-day, Parliament voted 120,000 seamen and marines for the fleet; in 1885 the numbers were 61,000; in 1895, 88,000, or an increase of 27,000 in ten years. The total number of officers, seamen, boys, coastguards and marines proposed for the year 1901–2 is 118,635, being an increase of 3745 upon last year.

Let us now turn from this branch of the subject and look at the position we occupy from being an island.

It is a very charming idea, that of being "set in the silvery sea." It probably would have spared us from many a European entanglement had it not been for our national characteristic of insisting on taking a hand whenever there was any fighting to be done, but it has its drawbacks as well. As a nation, we live by making finished articles and carrying them over the seas, and this is a perfectly sound position so long as the finished article can be exchanged for food and other raw material. I say for food, because, finding we possess large quantities of coal and iron, we turn our attention to manufacturing rather than growing corn. Free trade sacrificed the farmer and gave us wool and cotton at the cheapest possible prices, and, in addition to sacrificing the farmer, it was a bonus to

the shipping world, insomuch as food makes but one voyage whereas materials make two—imported in the raw state and exported as the finished article. We import cotton, wool, flax, silk, hemp, leather and wood, and if these importations were stopped from any cause whatever, 5,000,000 heads of families would be affected in this country. Now we can gather some idea of what this stoppage means by recollecting the effect of the cotton famine in Lancashire in 1862. It is reckoned that it cost the nation sixty-six millions of money, half of which is represented by the wages that otherwise the working-classes would have earned and one-tenth of it the profit of the shopkeepers. Pauperism in Lancashire went up 140 per cent., but it was only one trade that was affected, and the rest of England came to the support of the cotton trade. What would have been the position if every industry had been in a similar plight; if the raw material of every trade had ceased to flow into the country, not because of a famine, but because the enemies' fleets were sufficiently strong upon the seas to say that none of these things should be allowed to be imported into England at all? Whether the raw material is stopped because it does not grow for twelve months, or whether it is stopped because it is intercepted before it reaches English shores, will matter not in the least to the classes who depend upon free importations for their existence, and will be equally disastrous to the nation the moment this country ceases to be so predominant at sea as to keep the ocean highways open.

But there is another very important way of looking at this question, and that is the question of the foreign food we import. In 1895 only one person out of every five in these islands ate English bread: the rest of them had to feed on wheat that was imported into the country. Our chief food imports for that year were: grain and flour, £48,200,000; dead

meat, £22,700,000; sugar, £19,100,000; butter, £16,500,000; tea, £9,800,000; animals, £9,000,000; fruit and hops, £6,270,000; cheese, £5,500,000. In the year 1800 we practically fed ourselves, at any rate to the extent of nineteen-twentieths of our requirements. But in 1795 the harvest failed. A bounty was put on imported corn of 16s. to 20s. a quarter. The quartern loaf was up to 1s. 10d. In 1812 it was 1s. 8d. for months together at a time when wages in the north were only 30s. a week, the famous Luddite Riots being to a large extent the consequence; but in 1795 and 1812 we were able to feed ourselves, and our supremacy at sea was unquestioned. A nation dependent upon food which it cannot obtain, dependent upon manufactures which have ceased to exist, let its patriotism be what it may, would be incapable of continuing a war for a week. We can imagine what would be the position in this country under such circumstances to-day.

It is the close, let us suppose, of our second month of war. The fleet has been neglected, and has been overwhelmed, unready and unprepared. We have been beaten twice at sea, and our enemies have established no accidental superiority, but a permanent and overwhelming one. The telegraph cables are severed; these islands are in darkness, under a heavy cloud of woe. Invasion is in the air; our armies are mustering in the south. We are cut off from the world, and can only fitfully perceive what is happening. Our liners have been captured or sunk on the high seas; our ocean tramps are in the enemies' hands; British trade is dead, killed by the wholesale ravages of the hostile cruisers. Our ports are insulted, or held up to ransom; when news reaches us from India it is to the effect that the enemy is before our troops, a native insurrection behind. Malta has fallen, and our outlying possessions are passing from our hands. Food

is contraband and may not be imported. Amid the jeers of Europe "the nation of shopkeepers" is writhing in its death agony.

And what of the internal, of the social position? Consols have fallen to near 30; our vast investments in India have been lost: trade no longer exists, and every industry but shipbuilding is paralysed. The woollen mills of Yorkshire are running no longer; the cotton mills of Lancashire are silent; wages are falling fast, as they fell in our last great war, and concurrently the price of every kind of provision is rising. The railways have no traffic to carry, for nothing is being produced, and they are dismissing their employees. Banks and companies are failing daily. The restricted income of the wealthy is restricting in its turn the profits of the shopkeeper and the wages of the working man.

The east end of London is clamouring for bread and peace at any price. The working-men of the north are starving, as they starved in the cotton famine of 1862. Then it was only the supply of cotton which was cut off: food could at least be freely imported. To-morrow, if we are beaten at sea, we shall have neither raw materials nor food, and our sufferings will be multiplied fifty-fold. Our dockyards, private and public—if, indeed, they have been spared by the hostile fleets—will, it is true, be full of ships. The ministry will have endeavoured to calm public alarm and to allay the want of food by tabular statements proving that we shall have two hundred new ships in two years' time. And we shall be crushed in a fortnight! The ships building will go to swell our enemies' total. All our enormous resources, all our great wealth will be useless, if we have not that staying power which is needful to carry us safely through the first six months of war, and the strength required to take the offensive, directly it has been declared.

This picture may be perhaps highly coloured, but there is no man who will deny that behind it all lie strong and undeniable facts, the contemplation of which, forgotten or overlooked as they were for many years, has caused men of all parties in the state to agree that, let the sacrifices be what they may, the only thing that stands between it and England is a fleet powerful enough to keep the enemy from our doors and the great trade routes as safe as an English highway. In truth, history does not show another instance of a nation so supremely dependent upon the supremacy of the seas as we are. Other nations may suffer and be beaten and other capitals may be occupied by foreign enemies, and after they have paid the price of defeat they can begin to recoup themselves. But England, as Lord Beaconsfield once said, "England cannot begin again."

At the beginning of the century, in spite of the undisputed supremacy which Trafalgar had gained for us, our shipping suffered very severely. There were many commercial failures, and the Treasury gave grants of £5,000,000 of money by way of assistance. In 1805 the Rochefort squadron took four ships of war and forty-two merchantmen in five months, and nearly one hundred French privateers were swarming in the Channel. In the great war, the French took 11,000 ships, worth £200,000,000 of money, which worked out at 555 ships per annum on an average, being equal to a tax of 2½ per cent. on our trade; and this is a point which is very often lost sight of, viz., the enormous losses sustained by our Mercantile Marine in the days when the enemies' fleets were comparatively impotent. The same risks will attend the Mercantile Marine to-day in spite of the fact that the English navy possesses far more commerce-protecting cruisers than any other. All we can hope to do is to reduce this loss to a minimum, so that the inducements

shall be as little as possible to transfer any part of the English trade to neutral bottoms, because the experience of the past shows us that trade once transferred to another flag very seldom comes back again, and of this the history of the United States is one of the most striking instances.

But sea power is of importance from the strategic point of view as well. We were able to do what all the great armies of the Continent failed to do in the Napoleon wars, because we were unbeaten at sea. Our base was the ocean, and whatever might be our fortunes on land, we had only to retire to our base and the enemy could not touch us. It is true we were beaten in the Corunna campaign. We retired to our ships and chose our own time to make another descent upon the land, and had we been beaten a dozen times, we could always withdraw behind our lines, and after having recruited our strength, land again. Captain Mahan says in his great naval work, referring to the fleet with which Lord Nelson blockaded Toulon, "Those weather-beaten ships on which the Grande Armée never looked stood between it and the dominion of the world." We have lately had questions of great moment in dispute in Africa with France and with Germany. What could either of these great nations do if they found themselves at war with us? They could send no reinforcements of men, guns, supplies, ammunition, or stores of any sort to any of their colonies. They could not attack any of our Colonial possessions, because so long as we had an unbeaten fleet at sea, they would not dare to risk the existence of an army by putting it on board ship until that fleet was disposed of. I remember once talking about the British occupation of Egypt with Mr. Spencer Wilkinson, who is a high authority on naval strategy, and I asked him whether he did not think that our locking up

some 5000 British troops in Egypt would be a source of weakness to us in a great war, because an enemy might slip in an army and land it there, to whom we should be bound to capitulate? He answered—and this is the true answer—that they would not dare to do anything of the kind, because we should absolutely cut off the invading army from their base and their supplies, and they in turn would be forced to capitulate to us. It was the great mistake which Napoleon made over a hundred years ago. He sent an army to Egypt, and forty centuries looked down upon his prowess; but they also looked down upon his escape from the country the best way he could, because there was an unbeaten British fleet in the Mediterranean. We had an instance of this in the late war between Japan and China. There you saw Japan after first crumpling up the miserable Chinese fleet, in which every principle I have here been inculcating had been ignored, landing their army at will at any part of the Chinese coast which they saw fit, and proving the enormous strategic advantage which lies with any nation who is stronger at sea than its opponents; and when I hear of the nations of Europe rushing in mad haste to create colonial empires in any unappropriated part of the world, raising forces in the New World to redress the balance of the Old, I cannot help thinking, whether that empire be in Siam or in Africa or in China, or wherever it may be, they are possessions which are only held on sufferance, and which must inevitably go to swell the final triumph of the nation stronger than themselves at sea with whom they engage in a conflict, although the beaten Power may have an army of 2,000,000 of men at home, who have not had the chance of firing a shot in the campaign. These possessions are held, therefore, by the sufferance of the stronger naval Power, and are the best guarantees of peace that you could desire.

We now have annually in London a celebration of the man whose name will stand for all time as the embodiment of sea power, and of all that it means to this Empire, and to whom we owe a debt which we can never repay, and there has been some hostile criticism directed against the fact that that celebration also appears to hurt the feelings of a great naval Power with whom we are, and always wish to be, at peace. It is true, that if we celebrated every victory life would be one long carnival. One day is Trafalgar, the next is Agincourt and Balaclava, but Trafalgar stands apart from all the victories on our scroll of fame, and represents not merely a triumph over an enemy, but the triumph of what is essential to our existence. Germany celebrates Sedan, not because Napoleon III. surrendered so much as because it symbolises United Germany. America celebrates Washington, not so much because he beat the English, but because he stands for the United States, and for all that made them possible. The French have lately been celebrating Joan of Arc, not so much because she beat the English, but because through her genius and inspiration she finally freed the national soil from the foot of a foreign invader; and what Sedan is to Germany, and Washington is to the United States, and Joan of Arc is to France, Trafalgar is to this people. It meant liberty to us and to Europe. It meant a colonial empire; it meant that the great ocean trade routes should be British highways. It rendered possible that progress and advancement which have raised us to the position we occupy to-day. Unless I have sadly misread the history of my country, when our possessions in America were small and weak and struggling, the French had a very considerable colony there. I dare say you remember that story of General Wolfe at Quebec, which I always think the most touch-

ing in our history. Rowing down the St. Lawrence River with muffled oars, we are told that he recited, in the still night air, Gray's "Elegy in a Country Churchyard":

> "The boast of heraldry, the pomp of power,
>   And all that beauty, all that wealth e'er gave,
> Awaits alike the inevitable hour,
>   The paths of glory lead but to the grave,"

and when he came to those words he turned to a young aide-de-camp and said he would rather have written that poem than take Quebec upon the morrow. He little knew the path he was taking that night was to lead to his own grave, but the great fact for us to remember is that the victory he won at Quebec meant that for all time, as far as human eye can see, it should be the English language, English institutions, English laws, the English faith that should be supreme from one end of that continent to the other.

And so it was in Asia. The French had a great colonial empire there when we occupied only a few miles of country on the sea-border, and clerks of the old East India Company coming down from their high desks, and forced by circumstances to be generals, fought and overthrew the best marshals of France, and added to the English possessions what is now called the brightest jewel in the Queen's crown. But all these things were possible only because we had won the supremacy of the seas.[1]

History has a way of repeating itself, although the struggles of the future appear to be shifting to another continent. I am convinced that this generation is prepared to do in the twentieth century for their grandsons in Africa what our grandfathers in the eighteenth

[1] Since this has been passing through the press the Boer War has been fought, and still further emphasises the importance of sea power to us, because it is the fleet that has kept the high road to Africa safe for the passage of the British army.

century did for us in Asia and in America. And because the Navy League tries to bring home these truths to the people there are those who see in them only something provocative to other nations. If I want to contemplate the lives and be inspired by the examples of the heroes of the past, it is probable I should not go to Trafalgar Square on a day which had been set apart purposely to draw a London crowd there. I would rather go to the Minster in the west, or to your great cathedral in this City of London, where over ninety years ago,

> "To the sound of muffled drums,
> To thee, the greatest sailor comes.
> . . . . . .
> Where the sound of those he fought for,
> And the feet for those he wrought for,
> Echo round his bones for evermore."

But however this may be, the life of Lord Nelson is now the most priceless national possession. "Thank God, I have done my duty," was all he said as the seventeenth ship struck its colours to him in succession; and he died, knowing he had won that consummate victory that has already given us an unbroken peace of over ninety years upon the ocean, by virtue of which the commerce of England is to-day carried into all lands, and her flag flies supreme on every sea in every quarter of the globe.

NAVAL BASES AND COALING STATIONS

By C. H. CROFTS

"These stations I hold to be vital to us in time of war. If you allow your ships to be deprived of coal they will lie useless on the water. In the old days the wooden ships might be repaired by the ships' carpenters after a general action; but your iron ships must go to places where there are docks, and means by which they can be properly repaired. At the principal of these coaling stations there are those facilities which would enable the refitting to be undertaken. But it is perfectly necessary to defend those places, and if you leave them exposed, you leave them to be taken possession of by the enemy. If you have no place at which your ships can adequately refit and recoal, you must double or treble your ships, and they may be perfectly useless. Therefore, it is for the Government to determine what the number of those different stations should be, and then adequately to provide for their defence. Upon that question depends not only the keeping afloat of her Majesty's navy, but the whole maintenance of the trade of this country; and, inasmuch as the life of this country is commerce, our national existence itself may be said to depend on the number of our well-defended stations."—Lord Carnarvon: Speech in the House of Lords.

In estimating the value of the various coaling stations and naval bases scattered over the British Empire, two points of view from which the question should be considered have been confused in the minds of some of the writers on this important subject.

The result of this confusion has been that certain deductions have been drawn as to the character and extent of the protection necessary for these stations which are not warranted by the teachings of history, and are in some cases illogical.

This twofold point of view arises from the double duty that our fleet would have to perform in time of war.

The first duty of our navy is to seek out and destroy if possible the enemy's fleet, for it must never be forgotten that *our frontier is not our own coast-line but that of the enemy.* This definition of our frontier, though its truth was vaguely recognised by some of our great sea captains of early days, notably Lord Hawke, as seen in his determined blockade of Brest, followed by the important battle of Quiberon Bay, did not become a cardinal point in naval strategy until the times of Lord St. Vincent and of Nelson.

It is to-day recognised as a correct definition by our naval strategists, but, of course, it must not be taken to refer to times of peace. If carried to its logical conclusion it would amount to stating that the existence of any fleet but our own on the high seas was an invasion of our territory; and though it has been so stated by some with whom the wish may be father to the thought, it is asking too much to expect that no other fleet but ours should be at liberty to use the great waterways of the globe. The theory applies only to the time of war; when we are in a state of openly declared hostility with another maritime nation we should, if in sufficient strength, blockade that enemy's fleet; and if that fleet escaped from our blockading squadron, then, and then only, can the existence of this fleet on the high seas be regarded as an "invasion of our territory."

By "blockade" is meant military blockade—the blockade of warships by warships. Civil or commercial blockade, though a military operation, is sanctioned by law, and is hardly germane to the subject. Military blockade is sanctioned only by force. Even in this latter sense, however, one can differentiate between three different kinds of blockade.

Strictly speaking, the blockade of a port means the prevention both of ingress or egress of any ships to or from that port; but both *masking* and *observing* as well as this *sealing-up* of fleets are included in the term, and hence confusion arises. Instances will occur to all readers of naval history in which the blockade can clearly be classified under one or other of the above heads.

For an exhaustive discussion on "blockade," students are referred to Admiral Colomb's essay, in which he instances Nelson's blockade of Corsica (1794) as an example of *sealing-up*; his blockade of Cadiz (1805) as *masking*; and Collingwood's blockade of the same port before Nelson's arrival as *observing*.[1]

In order that all our maritime interests may be properly protected, our fleet will have to attempt the blockade of the hostile squadrons in their own ports, using the word in its strictest sense. Whether we are strong enough to do so is more than questionable. The introduction of steam, and the invention of torpedo-boats, submarine craft, and other weapons of defensive warfare, render it extremely improbable that an effective blockade (*i.e. sealing-up*) can be maintained. The experiences of the Americans at Santiago confirm this opinion. Even before the improvement of the submarine, it was considered that "under the altered conditions which steam and the development of attack by locomotive torpedoes have introduced into naval warfare, it will not be found practicable to maintain an effective blockade of an enemy's squadron in strongly-fortified ports, without the blockading battleships being in the proportion of *at least five to three*, to allow sufficient margin for casualties."[2]

Such a proportion of ships we do not possess when

[1] "Blockade: Under Existing Conditions of Warfare." Admiral Colomb. 1887.

[2] Government Report, 1888.

our navy is compared to the combination of the next two most powerful European navies, the standard of comparison which has been accepted by our statesmen.

One can, therefore, in the future, expect that blockade will consist in *masking*, or possibly only in *observing*, in either of which cases some of the enemy's cruisers are bound to create enormous havoc in our sea-borne trade. That is only another mode of stating that our command of the sea is not assured in the event of war.

Nelson won for us the sovereignty of the seas, though we had at earlier periods of our history both claimed this sovereignty, and had indeed for longer or shorter periods certainly established it. This sovereignty is our birthright, and to maintain it at all costs is our duty and privilege. The destruction of the enemy's navy will be the first duty of our fleet on the outbreak of war with any naval Power, or combination of Powers, that think themselves strong enough to dispute this supremacy on the oceans. Consequently the destruction of the enemy's fleet is the best possible protection for our sea-borne trade, and for the continuance of our food supply. Any attempt to transport the enemy's troops would thus be rendered impracticable, and our communications with all parts of our Empire would be safeguarded. It is clear, then, that in every possible war in which Great Britain could be engaged, the primary function of the British Navy is to attack, and, if possible, to destroy the organised naval forces of the enemy.[1]

Taking this as the first duty of the fleet, our various naval coaling stations are bases of support to the fighting line. As such they should be so strongly

[1] For detailed information on the "Command of the Sea, and its vital necessity to Great Britain," consult the works of Spenser Wilkinson, Admiral Colomb, Captain Mahan, Sir Charles Dilke, Sir George Clarke, H. W. Wilson, and other naval writers.

fortified and so fully provided with granaries and other sources of food supply, that it would be impossible for an enemy, even in great force, to capture them or to do much material damage to them. Further, they should be fully equipped with dockyards and the various machinery for refitting battered vessels, and should have large stores of ammunition and spare guns. But this fortification of bases should be kept within strictly defined limits. There should be only a few of such chief bases, fewer than we possess at this moment, and these should be assumed to be impregnable, self-supporting, and independent, or nearly so, of our fleet. There are always a few false policies current in reference to our needs in the matter of Imperial defence, and one false policy that often gains many adherents is the multiplication of these so-called fortified naval bases. The craze for fixed defences occurs in cycles, and will always do so. It appeals to the first natural instinct, namely, that of self-preservation, and not to the noble idea that certain men and certain places must be sacrificed in order that the whole may be preserved. The only idea the ignorant have of Imperial defence is to lock up troops in isolated forts, forgetting that if the enemy once obtains command of the sea the forts must fall in the end. As has been said, a few bases which are valuable strategic points should be most strongly fortified, but only a few, and these must be completely self-supporting in every way, capable of resisting a determined siege for months if not for years. But another equally important duty of our navy on an outbreak of war with a great naval Power, will be to protect our commerce until such time as the enemy's cruisers are driven off the seas. And not only our commerce, but our coal. On this we are dependent for our motive power. Most of the coal stored at our various bases has to be carried across the seas from the home

coalfields, so that it must be efficiently guarded, not only in store but also in transit. This will be accomplished either by the convoy system or by the patrol system.[1]

According to the former system our merchant-ships will be gathered together in certain ports whence they will steam for their destination under the protection of a squadron sufficiently strong to shield them from the attacks of the enemy's cruisers. This squadron will not leave them till they are safe in port. According to the latter system squadrons of British warships will be assigned definite spheres of action, and will escort the merchant-ships through their own sphere until the next patrol ground is reached.

From this point of view our foreign naval bases become simply ports of call for the protecting battle-ships and for the merchant-ships under their escort, and will not play the same rôle in a war that they would when considered as bases to which big fighting fleets may repair after an important action at sea. These ports should be stocked with ammunition, spare guns, and other material, but should not contain such large supplies of coal or other naval necessaries as would induce the enemy's fleet to risk bringing on a general action when attacking them, nor should they contain any material of so great value that their loss would be an irreparable one to our naval strength.

It is difficult to state what amount of protection such stations require without running the risk of appearing unduly dogmatic. The fortifications should, at all events, be such as could be adequately manned by a small garrison, and their armament should be sufficient to drive off an attack from two or three cruisers that might attempt a raid.[2] It would not be necessary to

[1] *Vide* Mahan's "Influence of Sea Power in the French Revolution."

[2] For technical discussion of this point see Brassey's "Naval Annual," 1899.

have heavy armour-piercing guns, as these stations would not be expected to sink battleships, but only to protect themselves against capture by a landing party or by attacking cruisers.

From these preliminary remarks it follows that naval bases and coaling stations should be divided into two distinct classes: 1st, *Primary bases;* by which we mean bases fully equipped and rendered practically impregnable. All our home dockyards, and a few of our foreign bases, such as Malta, Gibraltar, Hong Kong, Singapore, and Esquimalt, should answer this description, but unfortunately *at the present time cannot be said fully so to do.* 2nd, *Secondary bases;* these, though useful to our fleet, should not be so valuable as to render their capture an irreparable loss to ourselves or a very great advantage to the enemy.

It has been often taken for granted that the more bases an empire has, the stronger its position will be. This is not the truth. The value of our naval bases is very much overestimated by casual critics, and the unnecessary multiplication of such bases is really a source of weakness. Any such station, if it is unnecessary, causes useless expenditure, complicates the question of storage in time of peace, and may become dangerous in time of war. The disadvantages of weak naval bases were well illustrated in the late Spanish-American war. Both at Manilla and at Santiago de Cuba the harbours proved traps to the Spanish fleet, and the capture of Cavite, with its equipment of machine shops and its supply of stores, meant additional strength to the Americans, and a corresponding loss to the Spaniards.[1]

It is quite clear from this war, and indeed a study of previous naval history teaches us the same, that the mere existence of naval bases, whether adequately fortified or not, and whatever their situation and

[1] See H. W. Wilson's "Downfall of Spain."

equipment may be, will never convert a weak navy into a strong one. On the other hand they may be a serious disadvantage to the more powerful fleet, inasmuch as its commander may consider it his duty to protect such places from raids when his true policy would be to seek the enemy at some other point, *e.g.* the necessity of relieving Gibraltar in 1780, 1781, and 1782. Further, it is quite possible that warlike operations may be brought on at some place on the oceans which is so distant from any of our bases that they will be of no use. Under these circumstances it is quite possible that a British squadron may have to take action in waters so far removed from all existing bases that it will be found advantageous to establish a new temporary base rather than to attempt to utilise any existing one. The fact is, that these naval bases are often matters more of convenience in time of peace than of necessity in time of war; and their great value when the naval Powers are at peace is very apt to engender an exaggerated view of their importance to our fleets when hostilities have actually begun.

We are told, for instance, that after a naval battle our ships could take shelter and repair their injuries at such places as Hong Kong, Esquimalt, &c. This is extremely doubtful. In the old days of muzzle-loaders, especially before the rifled muzzle-loaders came in, and when ships were built almost entirely of wood, and had no machinery in the modern sense of the term, ships could repair almost anywhere if wood could be bought. But nowadays the destruction wrought by the 12-inch breech-loader, and by the 6-inch quick-firer, is such that after a severe naval action none of these bases, with the doubtful exception of Malta,[1] could repair the battered hulls in reasonable time, nor would it be possible to equip our

[1] Even Malta would be unable to repair heavy damage.

bases with all that is necessary to repair such a wreck as was the *Belleisle* after her treatment by the *Majestic*, without such enormous expenditure that it would be preferable to spend the money on additional ships. But regarded as ports of call for cruisers guarding convoys of merchantmen, or as bases for the protecting squadrons under the patrol system, a supply of well-situated coaling stations is of immense importance. For from this point of view they are no longer a convenience, but a necessity. If we do not possess a sufficient number of such places at the outbreak of war, we shall either have to make them, or else take them from our enemies if they possess any. Having made them, or having taken them, their protection must be arranged for, and that is really the whole question. The lines on which they should be protected have already been indicated, but there are two more points that deserve passing notice. These are their proximity to the main home bases of a possible enemy, and the strength of that enemy's offensive forces likely to be exerted against them. It would not be difficult for a Power weak at sea but strong on land to fit out an expedition to attack and destroy a base situated within a few hours steaming distance of its own base without running any great risk. This would not be attempted if there was any danger of being caught, owing to the distance of the object of attack. As a case in point, it would be comparatively easy for Germany to attempt a raid on Sheerness, Chatham, and Woolwich, whereas an attack on Hong Kong or Esquimalt would not be dreamt of. Indeed, it is openly said that one of the first objects of a certain continental naval Power would be a raid on some of our home dockyards. These, then, should first of all be rendered safe from an attack, and the obsolete forts and the antiquated armaments of certain home

dockyards should be put in order and brought up to date without delay.

With our Channel Fleet watching the entrance to the Mediterranean, as it probably would have to do in the case of war, our *so-called Reserve Fleet*[1] would be utterly incapable of dealing with the squadrons that could be assembled by our friends across the Channel at places within a few hours steam of our great southern dockyards and arsenals. Enormous damage could be done in a very short time, and the aggressors could get back safe before the Channel Fleet could come up. The home bases must therefore be rendered impregnable, even to the attack of a fleet, so that there may be no anxiety on this account.

Important as our permanent fixed naval bases are, whether primary or secondary, it must not be forgotten that temporary bases would in war time become of great use. By this term is meant not only actual ports which might be occupied, or towns on the seaboard where, owing to the nature of the commerce or industries of the place, it would be advantageous to establish a station during the continuance of hostilities, but rather smooth-water anchorages, which should be seized and held against the enemy, and whither the accessory ships of a fleet should be sent. We ought to have a much better equipment of colliers, supplying ships, repairing ships, and factory ships, which, if properly organised, would form a *mobile base*, if the term is permissible. There has been but little effort made of late years to provide or organise such a necessary addition to a fleet like our own, owing partly to the self-satisfied apathy of the public, and partly to the want of energetic and thorough men in official posi-

[1] For justification of "so-called" one need only study the composition of this squadron, and the scattered positions of the stations of its component parts.

tions. But there is no doubt that it would be of immense value to us to have a good supply of such ships, which would enable an admiral to use to the fullest extent a smooth-water anchorage as a temporary base when it has been seized or occupied. We can never tell beforehand what points it may be necessary in war to occupy as naval bases, and the mere provision of fixed places to which ships will be forced to go for supply and repair is only a one-eyed policy, which may result in much wasted expenditure. Let these fixed bases be provided by all means, but let us also lose no time in creating a "*mobile base.*"[1]

Garrisons.—Hardly less important than the fortification and the armament of our naval bases is the question of the garrisons. At present the Admiralty is responsible for the security of the water area, while the War Office is responsible for the security of the port which constitutes the naval base of that water area. This system of dual control gives rise to many anomalies. A great amount of interesting information on this point is to be found in the writings of various service critics, of which perhaps the most exhaustive is Sir John Colomb's letter to the President of the Defence Committee of the Cabinet.[2] The advantages of one department supplying the fleet and the garrison at a distant base are so obvious that the point need not be laboured here. Since the Admiralty is responsible for securing freedom of water transit to and from any naval base, it is responsible for the garrisons being provided with stores, ammunition, and other things necessary to preserve the efficiency of that garrison. Failure to do this would render the garrison useless. If, therefore, the Admiralty are bound to maintain the communications

[1] *Vide* Admiral Colomb's "Naval Warfare."

[2] "Army Organisation in Relation to Naval Necessities." A letter to the Duke of Devonshire by Sir John Colomb, K.C.M.G., M.P. 1898.

of the garrison, it may well be asked why the Admiralty should not take over the whole responsibility instead of sharing it with the War Office. Such places as Malta, Gibraltar, Hong Kong, and some others are of course to be regarded as something more than naval bases. They are not only coaling stations and places of repair for the fleet, they are outposts of the Empire in the broadest sense, and as such should have large army garrisons; but all those bases which are merely naval stations should have their garrisons provided by the Admiralty while the great outposts should, in addition to their military garrisons, have their local defences provided to some extent by the navy. The reorganisation of the Royal Marines for this purpose would simplify matters considerably, and would not necessitate service on land of the seamen themselves. Further, the provision of submarine mines, which is from its nature a branch of defence more closely connected with the Royal Navy than with the Army, should be undertaken by the Admiralty.

If, however, the objections to Sir John Colomb's suggestion that the Admiralty should be responsible for the manning and provisioning of the coaling bases are insuperable, which is not the case, would it not be possible to come to some arrangement by which the War Office should obtain for its Royal Regiment of Artillery some training on board our battleships as naval gunners? The guns of position with which our fortified bases, such as Gibraltar and Singapore, are armed, are similar to the heavy ordnance of our first-class battleships, and it might be extremely useful to be able to draft a few garrison gunners into the ships in case of need.

The difficulty arising from the difference in the type of gun, the method of mounting, and the drill in connection with bringing the gun its ammunition and so on would be comparatively slight.

The chief obstacle probably would lie in the fact that our garrison gunners are at present not seamen, by which is meant that if put on battleships to work the guns in rough weather they would probably be incapacitated by sea-sickness. If the officers and men of the garrison artillery could be given a slight additional payment as an inducement to them to serve a certain number of weeks every year on battleships at sea, the men who availed themselves of this opportunity could be drafted if necessary on to the ships. The duties of this valuable branch of the service are apt to become monotonous. Shut up for years in some desolate spot like Aden, it is only natural to suppose that they would welcome the change that a fortnight's cruise would bring; and as the main object of the cruise would be to give them sea legs and a sea stomach, the training could be taken on board any kind of ship, and not necessarily one armed with the guns that they would have to manipulate. To such highly-trained scientific men as our garrison artillery, officers and men, are, there would be but slight difficulties to overcome in the actual manipulation of the guns; what they want in order to become efficient seamen gunners is the experience and training of sea life.

The details of the idea, the amount of extra pay if any, the time of sea service, are beyond the scope of this paper, but the idea is thrown out as a possible solution of a real difficulty.

Steam Communication and Telegraphs.—Before passing on to discuss separately, but very briefly, the existing state of the defences of our most important stations, there are two minor points connected with the general question that are not usually made sufficiently clear to the average person.

The first is the want of regular and quick steam communication with some of the smaller naval bases. Even Malta, whose importance can hardly be over-

estimated, is not in frequent and regular direct communication by steam with the chief city of the Empire. Certain boats of the P. & O. stop there, but the intervals between the calls are long, and the greater portion of the traffic is in the hands of an Italian company. The mail naturally comes overland to the south of Italy, then crosses the Straits of Messina to Sicily, and after traversing that island is brought by an Austrian company's boat to Valetta. But there are many islands belonging to this Empire which are shut off from all communication with England for months and even years. It is hardly germane to the subject to discuss the communications of such places as Nightingale Island or Inaccessible Island. But take the case of the Falkland Islands. The population of these islands is entirely British, and lives by sheep-farming and seafaring industries. Some few years ago an attempt was made to export meat to the United Kingdom. This was for a time successful, but in the past year the trade has been interrupted owing to the falling off of the number of British ships calling at Stanley. In 1898 forty-six vessels of 62,131 tons called at the port, but only five of these were steamers flying the red ensign. In 1899 only one British steamer made the port, and she put in for repairs, being in a disabled condition.

German enterprise, backed up by subsidies from a Government that fosters the industries of the country it rules, has driven British trade out of many a foreign town, and the attack on our sea-borne trade is now being actively carried on. The great liners from Hamburg and Bremen are supplemented by smaller steamers that are successfully competing for ocean traffic to out-of-the-way places like the Falklands, just as the liners are emptying the P. & O. passenger ships. In addition to this lack of steam communication with the home country, we have also to deplore

the isolated state of some of our outposts with regard to cable communication. The telegraph system may be not inaptly compared to the nervous system of the human body. The British Empire, regarded as a corporate entity, has its railway and steamships communication corresponding to the arterial system, while the nerves are represented by the telegraphic cables.

It is essential that the most outlying places of the Empire should be in telegraphic communication with the brain, just as they should be in steamship communication with the heart. But there is many an isolated outpost which will be first informed of an outbreak of war between Great Britain and some Continental naval Power by a cruiser of that Power appearing in the harbour and demanding the speedy delivery of the coal stored there, and the surrender of its forts. Cases in point are Brunei, Sarawak, British Honduras, Fiji, nearly all the Pacific Islands over which British protection has been declared at one time or another, and the Falkland Islands.

Leaving the general discussion of the subject, and coming to the naval bases and coaling stations of the Empire as they now exist, a selection must be made, as it is impossible in this article to treat of all coaling stations used by British ships. The following table deals with the chief bases, but is not intended to be a complete list of stations owned by Great Britain. There are also many stations, such as Rio de Janeiro, where there are coaling-sheds and docks owned by the British Admiralty (*Cobras Island*), though part of a foreign country. Further instances are Shanghai and Cape de Verde Islands, at both of which the Admiralty own coaling-sheds, and Coquimbo, where they have a coal-hulk (*The Liffey*). There are also a large number of coaling stations where the coal is the property of private firms, and where only merchant-ships coal as a rule, *e.g.* Rio de la Plata, St. Louis, Gaboon, Caldera,

Las Palmas, a complete list of which can be found in Lloyd's Register of Shipping.

Principal British Coaling Stations and Bases.

On the *Mediterranean Station* the chief naval bases are Gibraltar and Malta, while Port Said is used for coaling purposes.

On the *North American and West Indian Station* the chief are:—St. Johns (Newfoundland), Halifax (Nova Scotia), Bermuda (Bermudas), Port Royal (Jamaica), Port Castries (St. Lucia, in the Windward Islands), Port of Spain (Trinidad), St. John (Antigua). Tobago Island, in the West Indies, is also used for this purpose.

On the *South American Station* the only British possession is the group of the Falkland Islands and South Georgia, in the former of which is situated Port Stanley.

Use is made of the coaling facilities at Rio de la Plata and Rio Janeiro.

On the *West Coast of Africa and the Cape of Good Hope Station* are Sierra Leone, Cape Coast Castle, Cape Town and Simons Bay, and the islands of Ascension and St. Helena.

On the *Pacific Station* is Esquimalt on Vancouver Island, and Coquimbo on Chilian territory.

On the *East Indian Station* are Aden, Bombay, Colombo, Trincomalee, Port Louis (Mauritius), Zanzibar, and Port Victoria or Mahé, the largest of the Seychelles Islands.

On the *Australian Station* are Sydney, Melbourne, Albany, Hobart (Tasmania), Wellington, Auckland and Christchurch (New Zealand), and Suva, the capital of the Fiji Islands, situated on the south coast of Vita Levu, the chief island of the group.

Some of these are so important that we will give further details, taking them alphabetically :—

Aden.

Aden is a most valuable coaling station on the highway to the East, and occupies a position of great importance in naval strategy. On the land side it is well defended, and the fortifications built in the last twenty years are probably strong enough to beat off any hostile vessel that is likely to appear in the Red Sea. The harbour has been much improved lately by dredging operations, which are being continued. The government of Aden, which includes the islands of Perim and Socotra, is carried on by the Political Resident, who is subject to the government of Bombay. It is also garrisoned from India.

Bermuda.

A full description of this naval station will be found in the third volume of the series. Being situated behind a barrier of coral reefs, through which access can only be gained by the passage of the Narrows, this station is as well protected as any base in the Empire. The passage is fortified with a series of casemated batteries, whose guns, though not of the heaviest or of the most modern character, are probably sufficient to guard the entrance. There are over 2000 regulars for the defence of the island, all of whom would be wanted to man the extensive fortifications. The position of Bermuda, being about midway between the cruising grounds of the northern and southern divisions of our squadron in those waters, renders it one of the most convenient of our stations. It is connected by telegraph with Halifax and Jamaica.

GIBRALTAR.

This naval base is of great strategetic importance owing to the commanding position it occupies. Under the Naval Works Bill, both its strength and its usefulness are being largely increased. The existing mole is being considerably extended, and a new detached one is being built. A deep harbour of 260 acres is thus being formed, and 50 acres of the foreshore and water area are being reclaimed to make the new dockyard. A new coal store is also in process of erection. There are to be three new docks, one 850 feet, one 550 feet, and one 450 feet, and the arrangements are such that merchant-ships will be able to load and unload alongside piers at the water port end of the new harbour.

The necessity of increasing the usefulness of Gibraltar is very urgent, and is partly caused by the fact that our needs in the Mediterranean have outgrown the capacity of Malta.

Gibraltar is often described as commanding the entrance to the Mediterranean. This phrase is somewhat misleading, and does not mean that the guns mounted in the fort command the Straits of Gibraltar, so that no ship could pass without coming under fire. The real meaning is that Gibraltar is so situated that it is a safe base where a fleet may lie in harbour, and whence it may emerge to guard the Straits.

In the same way, Malta cannot be said to "command" the route to India, but to afford our fleet the opportunity of commanding it.

It may be permissible here to point out that the large increase now being made in the accommodation of Gibraltar and Malta ought to be supplemented by the creation of a fresh naval base at Alexandria. It is of the utmost importance that the Mediterranean Fleet should be free to act without having any undefended important position such as Alexandria to protect, and

that place ought to be made self-supporting strategetically without delay.

As England, however, is only occupying Egypt for temporary purposes, it may be impossible to undertake such measures, but the gradual development of Bizerta as a great French naval base renders it imperative that we should make greater efforts to strengthen our stations in the Mediterranean, and should considerably augment our fleet in those waters.

Hong Kong.

This great centre of British commerce with China and Japan has been fully described in the first volume of the series, in which Dr. J. Cantlie gives most interesting information on the value to us of this first-class military and naval station, as it was in the year 1896. Recent extensions of the colony, however, necessitate a slight addition to his description. As a naval station and arsenal for the supply of our ships in the East, Hong Kong had become utterly unsafe, owing to the increased effectiveness of modern artillery. Its two weakest points were that the island and harbour are completely dominated by the hills on the mainland, which run along the whole of the northern boundary, and that the sea to the south and west is full of islands, mountainous in character, affording shelter in innumerable bays and creeks for an enemy's vessels. In addition to these drawbacks the island itself has no defences to the south, and the greater portion of the coast-line is easily accessible for troops and guns. In 1898 China leased to Great Britain 376 square miles of additional territory, known as the Kowloon extension, consisting of the mainland up to an imaginary line drawn from Deep Bay to Mirs Bay, and the island of Lantao. This extension undoubtedly strengthens our position, but those qualified to judge still regard a

further extension as necessary, both for the safety of Hong Kong itself and for the security of the sources of supply for the garrison that guards this important base. The existing fortifications are not only insufficient in extent, but are inadequate in character for the defence of the colony. Their armament consists partly of muzzle-loading guns, of which there are over a dozen, while the movable armament of the colony consists chiefly of eighteen muzzle-loaders. Under the Naval Works Bill provision is made for an extension of the defensive works of the colony, and also for a new dock, as well as for the improvement of the existing dockyard accommodation. Unfortunately, improvements are often decided on in such matters but are not carried out till too late. Two 64-pounders on one of the islands adjoining Hong Kong were dismounted in 1898 with the intention of putting breech-loaders in their place, but the new guns have not been mounted to this day (November 1900).

At present Victoria could be knocked to pieces, the docks on which large sums have been spent could be destroyed, and the coal and other supplies could be burned without hope of effective resistance, if attacked by a small squadron of ships of war.

Malta.

The port of Malta is the chief base and port of call in the Mediterranean. The grand harbour, where the Mediterranean fleet is often to be seen at anchor, is surrounded by rocky shores that rise abruptly from the water, thus enabling ships of great draught to approach close alongside. This rocky amphitheatre is surmounted by enormous stone forts whose walls are immensely thick, the chief being Fort St. Elmo, Ricasoli, and St. Angelo. There are numerous detached batteries, and the island is con-

sidered almost impregnable, though there are many muzzle-loaders that ought to be replaced by more modern ordnance. Though the harbour is large and well provided with side creeks, suitable for repairing and coaling purposes, the requirements of our fleet are such that the accommodation is insufficient. An addition is to be made to the four existing docks by the construction of a large double dock, which will necessitate the removal of an immense quantity of rock, since the shore rises so abruptly. Apart from the fortifications of Valetta there are many other well-fortified positions at other points on the island, so that an enemy would find it difficult to effect a landing should he wish to attack Valetta from the land side. About 10,000 troops are usually stationed at Malta. The weak spot in Malta is to be found in the fact that the island is not self-supporting. The whole island is one enormous sterile rock, which at first sight appears entirely destitute of vegetation, since the stone walls hide all the fields and gardens from view. The inhabitants, however, by dint of great industry have succeeded in converting a fair proportion of the total area into fertile well-cultivated land; but as the population is nearly 200,000, and the demand for food owing to the calls made by ships is very great, the corn produced on the island is insufficient for the needs of the population. Thus there is danger of the place being starved into submission. There are huge underground granaries, but the supply of corn and other food stuffs is not kept at a sufficiently generous standard to maintain the population for any length of time if the islands were suddenly cut off from their sources of supply. There is, indeed, at the time of writing, good cause to believe that the supply of food and stores generally has been recently allowed to fall too low. With whom does the responsibility for this rest?

Singapore.

The town of Singapore, situated on the southern shore of the island of the same name, is the seat of government of the Straits Settlements, and is one of the great centres of the world's commerce.

The island is twenty-six miles long by fourteen wide, and is separated from the southern extremity of the Malay Peninsula by a strait about three-quarters of a mile wide. The situation of this port renders it readily accessible to the trade of Europe, China, Australia, and India, so that its commercial importance is considerable. Nearly 10,000 merchant-vessels are cleared annually, and there are always immense stores of coal kept both for her Majesty's navy and for the great liners. The port is very well supplied with docks, which are owned by private companies, and all necessary arrangements for effecting repairs are in good order. The harbour has been strongly fortified in the last few years, and the forts have been supplied with modern heavy and medium artillery, and a system of submarine mines has been completed. These defensive measures were carried out at the expense of the colony, the Imperial Government providing the guns and ammunition. As to the garrison, there are two separate colonial forces, one being an armed police force of about two thousand officers and men, and the other a volunteer battery of artillery about one hundred strong. In addition to these local forces there is one battalion of infantry, two batteries of the Royal Regiment of Artillery, some fortress engineers, and a company of Malay submarine miners.

St. Helena and Ascension Island.

These two islands are perhaps the best known of any of the isolated islands in the world, and, as such,

need no historical or topographical description. Of great importance as ports of call in the days before the overland route to India and the opening of the Suez Canal, their strategic value has largely diminished. But if in time of war the Suez Canal were to be blocked or rendered in any way useless for our ships both these islands would become of considerable value to us.

Ascension Island has recently been strongly fortified, and is being connected by the Eastern Telegraph Company with the Cape, St. Helena, and Sierra Leone. It is entirely under the control of the Admiralty, being rated on the books as a man-of-war, and is used as a coaling, victualling, and store, depôt for her Majesty's ships. There is also an excellent sanatorium for sailors at an altitude of nearly 3000 feet.

St. Helena has also been recently fortified, and it is intended to make it a regular coaling station and to build a sanatorium there as well. At present the coal supply is far too short at both these stations, as enormous demands would be made on both depôts in time of war both by her Majesty's ships and merchant-vessels.

Wei-Hai-Wei.

This lately-acquired base is situated on the south side of the Gulf of Pe-chi-li, distant about 115 miles from Port Arthur on the north-west, and about the same from the German port of Kiao-Chau on the south-west. It is in the Chinese province of Shantung, near the extremity of the promontory of that name, and has mountainous country immediately behind it. The harbour is formed by a shallow bay, which is sheltered by the island of Liu-Kung, about 1½ miles long, rising to a height of 500 feet. The entrance to the harbour on the west of this island is only three-quarters of a mile

in breadth, the entrance on the east is 2¼ miles broad at the narrowest part. This entrance has the island of Tih-Tao right in the centre. The greater part of the harbour is shallow, the depth being from three to four fathoms. The territory was leased to Great Britain in July 1898, for as long a period as Russia shall remain in possession of Port Arthur, and comprises in addition to the port and islands in the bay, a belt of land ten miles broad all along the bay. As a naval base it is not to be compared to Port Arthur at present, inasmuch as the latter is already fully equipped with a large dock, workshops, and strong fortifications. Wei-Hai-Wei, on the other hand, has none of these things, though there is a coaling jetty on Liu-Kung, and a large portion of the harbour has been dredged and buoys laid down. Indeed, its possession is a very questionable advantage to the Empire so long as only half-hearted measures are taken to develop its resources. On the other hand, with a considerable expenditure, it could be made into an invaluable base in the case of war with either of the two Powers whose fleets are most in evidence in those northern waters. Its position, standing as it does in comparative proximity to Russia's only ice-free naval harbour, would render it most valuable to us, more especially as we are dependent on the goodwill of the Japanese for coaling, docking, and repairing as soon as our fleet steams north of Hong Kong.

A breakwater enclosing a large basin in which ships could be secure from torpedo-boat attack should be constructed immediately, and at the same time the island of Liu-Kung should be strongly fortified with guns of sufficient power to command the range of hills that surround the harbour. This would render it impossible for an enemy attacking on the mainland to get heavy guns in position on the hills. A dry dock capable of receiving our biggest ships, well-protected coal and ammunition stores, should also be constructed.

By means of a cable laid down to connect the place with Hong Kong, and some torpedo-boat destroyers stationed there in troublous times, we should convert this white elephant into a most valuable naval base, which would be a great benefit to the navy instead of a hindrance to it. If it is worth our while to employ our ships north of the Yang-tze-Kiang, then it is worth our while to spend three or four millions on making Wei-Hai-Wei self-supporting and an additional source of strength; on the other hand, if we do not mean to equip it properly it would be better to retire and hand it over to Japan. Our present policy seems to be to hold it with a few native troops under some British officers until a war shall break out in those waters, and then, when that occurs, we shall find ourselves obliged either to sacrifice our men and money and damage our prestige by leaving it to its fate, or to hamper ourselves by expending some of the strength of our mobile forces in relieving another Ladysmith.

It is therefore clear that though our coaling stations and naval bases can be defended to a certain extent by local fortification, yet their real defence is the existence of a supreme British navy. The naval question lies at the base of all principles that concern either the defence of the Empire as a whole or the particular subject with which we are now dealing. The maintenance of our communications all over the globe is our primary condition of life as a nation, *and it is on the navy, and on the navy alone, that we must depend to satisfy this condition.*[1] Supremacy at sea cannot be obtained merely by defensive action. Our navy must act on the offensive; it must compel the enemy to a fleet action; it must hunt down their commerce-destroyers, and must provide convoys or patrols to protect our own merchant-ships. It would therefore be a waste of money to do

[1] "We have no defence, or hope of defence, excepting in our fleet." The Duke of Wellington, 1847.

more than protect our stations locally against isolated attacks of occasional enemies. The money should rather be spent on the offensive strength of our fighting line. And lastly, while fully admitting the convenience, nay, even in some cases the necessity, of well-situated coaling stations and other naval bases, it would be a fatal error to suppose that they in themselves, however numerous and however strongly fortified, could ever convert an inefficient and numerically weak navy into one sufficiently strong to guard the Empire of the seas.

With these remarks we must leave this very interesting subject, once more stating that these naval bases and coaling stations do not in themselves form an element of strength, nor can any number of them, however great, make up for the defects of an inferior navy. It is only when they are strong enough, though unsupported, to resist attack, and when the navy even without them is unquestionably superior to the enemy's navy, that they become supremely valuable and useful in a scheme of Imperial defence.

No naval student can agree with the doctrine enunciated by Captain Stone, "That the possession of naval arsenals, dockyards, and coaling stations must practically decide the question of naval supremacy."[1] On the contrary, the true theory of defence is to be found in the following extract from Admiral Colomb's essays, which succinctly sums up the question before us: "So long as we clearly understand that our fixed local defences are subordinate to, and assistant to, maintained lines of communication, and that purely naval force is never to be absent long enough to permit communication to be cut, we shall not allow much waste of money on what is not of the essence of Imperial defence. But if we suppose that local fixed

[1] Paper read at the United States Institute by Captain Stone, January 1889.

defences will relieve the navy of any part of its historically defensive character, and assume that fixed defences are a real substitute for naval defence, and will either strengthen the navy for purely offensive warfare or enable us to maintain a less complete fleet, then it should seem that we are not reading at all, or not reading aright, the teachings of naval history."[1]

[1] "Essays on Naval Defence." By Vice-Admiral P. H. Colomb.

THE BRITISH ARMY

By Captain H. R. BEDDOES

For convenience the reign of Charles I. may be taken as the point from which to trace the evolution of the army to its present condition. When he ascended the throne, every citizen was compelled to bear arms in his county force or trained bands; in addition landowners had a further obligation to personal service in the king's wars, or in some cases to provide means of subsistence for his forces. During this reign there were continual disputes between the King and the Houses of Parliament as to the authority of the Crown to punish offences by soldiers; and they steadily declined to grant him the powers which by an order of both Houses, dated 8th September 1642, were entrusted to the Earl of Essex for the maintenance of discipline in the Parliamentary Army.

It may be noticed as a curious circumstance that in the ordinance under which the Parliamentary Army was raised, sergeant-majors appear to rank after lieutenant-colonels and before captains. Another point which is well worthy of grave consideration is the undoubted fact that the officers in the Parliamentary Army were drawn from an extremely low social scale, and in consequence of their poverty steadily opposed all efforts to disband them. On the other hand the officers of the Royal Army could and did forbear their claims to pay on disbandment, in marked contrast to the rebel officers, who were entirely dependent on their salaries.

The control by the Houses of Parliament over the forces of the Crown is so greatly maintained by their power to vote or refuse supplies that, if this did not exist, to all practical purposes their influence would be nil. Their authority is greatly increased by their right to insist that sums voted are spent as ordered and not as other items.

At first the amount necessary for the pay, equipment, &c., of regiments was handed over to the commanding-officer, who was supposed to maintain the establishment ordered by the Crown. If this was done the system worked admirably, but in practice was found unsatisfactory and liable to fraud. The other charges, which are inseparable from military expenditure, were classed under the head of extraordinaries, and were made by the Paymaster-General under the authority of the Commander-in-Chief. The Paymaster-General, being a Parliamentary officer, would not recognise a military officer's warrant as an adequate discharge, and had to apply for further powers.

The expense of the army being defrayed by Parliament did not mean that the amounts were to be spent as the Commander-in-Chief might think fit, but that the Crown through the Cabinet was responsible for the correct disbursements. This is clearly shown by the reports of the Commons with regard to the action of William III. and the Duke of Marlborough, whose irregular expenditures were continually being noticed. The Commons further maintained the right of auditing the public accounts by members of their own House, or else by individuals nominated by themselves.

The first acts of the Parliamentary Commissioners appointed on the accession of Queen Anne were to inquire into Lord Ranelagh, the Paymaster-General's account. They found him guilty of misapplying

several sums of public money, and he was expelled from the House.

Subsequent inquiries discovered that the system, however bad as applied to the Queen's own troops, was infinitely worse amongst the foreign subsidised forces. They appear never to have been mustered while pay, &c., was drawn for regiments which were non-existent. It is hardly to be wondered at that the National Debt, under this system of auditing the public accounts, rose from rather more than sixteen millions to something over fifty-four millions.

The interest and influence of Parliament gradually sank, until in 1778 Lord North opposed the printing of the accounts for the financial year 1778–79. A storm arose which the Ministry was unable to resist, and commissioners for auditing the public accounts were appointed, but the Commons lost the right of auditing by their own members or by their own nominees. Lord North announced that the names of the commissioners would be selected by himself.

The report, which was furnished about four years later, found, as might reasonably be expected, great waste was taking place, the officers of the commissariat and other departments acting in a dual capacity and owning the waggons, &c., which they hired for the public use, the private interests being directly opposed to their public duties. The committee reported that the best security to the public would be to entrust the expenditure to civil servants not under the orders of the War Office, but directly under the Treasury.

After the adoption of this report it was found the control of Extraordinaries was by no means complete, and it was left to the Reform Government of 1834 to originate a plan for laying before Parliament an estimate of the whole proposed military expenditure.

Gradually the financial control became absolutely vested in the Treasury, with the result that the War

Office instead of being an independent department of the public service answerable to the Treasury merely for the correctness of its disbursements, eventually became entirely subordinate, and with financial Treasury experts rested the final decision for the expenditure necessary on military grounds.

The course of events has from time to time given rise to grave doubts as to the wisdom of this result.

The distrust of the army as a profession, which is still unfortunately found among the class from which recruits are drawn, dates from this period, and is due to the harsh treatment which was then prevalent, and the knowledge that neither the soldier nor the Crown received fair treatment from those through whom payments were made. "The pay was small, punishments severe, and service abroad was equal to transportation. In addition, the national feeling was as strongly against the army as it was in favour of the navy and militia." The term of enlistment was for life, but subject to frequent modifications. Under Queen Anne a three years' term was usual, and in special circumstances two years.

The severe strain caused by the wars of the French Revolution was met by special Acts which allowed men to pass from the militia into the regular army, contrary to the previous regulations. In 1797, fifteen thousand had volunteered. The area of service was limited to Europe, and a bounty of ten guineas was given. The threatened invasion of England by Napoleon was met by several Acts for the better defence of the kingdom, the principal of which was Mr. Pitt's Additional Forces Act, establishing second battalions to regiments abroad. The drain caused by the war is clearly shown by the variation in the standard of height for the recruit. In 1802 it was five feet seven inches, and in 1813 was five feet, and men were admitted up to forty years of age. At Waterloo it is

usually admitted that our soldiers compared unfavourably with those of the allies, and that they were, in fact, little more than boys. This fact should at least have some weight with those who rail at the youthful appearance of the recruit in the present day.

At the peace, the army entered upon a period of neglect, when everything was starved with a view to economy. This lasted until the Crimean War in 1854.

In the early part of last century, and until 1879, the law for the punishment of breaches of discipline and kindred offences was contained in a variety of Acts, the principal of which was the Mutiny Act. This led to considerable confusion, to obviate which in 1879 the various powers were concentrated into one Act, that did not become effective until brought into action by an Army Annual Act, which had to be passed every year. In 1881 this Act, generally known under the name of the Army Discipline Act, was repealed, and a fresh one enacted containing several amendments, and it is under this Act that the army is at present governed. Like the former, it is brought into force by an Army Annual Act, by which also any sections that become unnecessary are repealed or fresh ones introduced.

The present conditions under which discipline is maintained, and the terrible severity formerly considered requisite, are conspicuously shown by comparison with the scale of punishment in force now and formerly. Then flogging was resorted to for offences which would at the present day be adequately met by light imprisonment. Sentences of 2000 lashes were legal, but were unable to prevent the crime of desertion. In 1825 a man received as many as 1200 lashes, and the sentence was then not completed.

Before passing on to the various branches of the service, it will be well to give a short account of the

War Office. It is the great directing department containing the heads of the various sections and supervising the routine throughout the Empire. "The Army Book of the British Empire" terms it "the focus of the military administration." The head of the War Office is the Secretary of State, who is responsible to the Crown for the efficiency of the forces, to the Treasury for the correct method of expenditure, and to Parliament that he maintains a correct force, that the estimates are correctly prepared, and, again, that the sums voted are spent in accordance with the votes. The chief divisions of the War Office are command, pay, and supply. These departments in an embryonic stage may be traced at an early period of our history, but in times of peace were almost dormant. The first department which appears to have been permanently established was the Board of Ordnance, commenced in the Tower during 1455. The necessity for arms, &c., at the outbreak of war made some previous preparation necessary, and the Board of Ordnance was entrusted with these duties, which they continued to exercise until 1855, exactly four hundred years from their inauguration. In addition, the engineers and artillery were under their control.

The Crimean War found the army administration in a state of complete confusion. When Lord Panmure was appointed Secretary of War, his first efforts were directed to concentrating the entire direction of the military forces in one office. Previously the Treasury had been responsible for the commissariat, and the Home Office for the yeomanry and militia. He then abolished the Board of Ordnance.

In 1870 Mr. Cardwell distributed the various duties among three departments, and this lasted until 1888, when, by an Order in Council, the whole was reduced into two divisions—(1) The Commander-in-

Chief, responsible for everything connected with the efficiency of the force; (2) the Financial Secretary, under whose charge is everything relating to production, and all arrangements relating to expenditure. At present the result is, therefore, that there are two departments—the military under the Commander-in-Chief, and the civil under the Financial Secretary, with the Secretary of State, to whom both are answerable. These two subdivisions are mutually dependent upon one another. The Commander-in-Chief is responsible for the personnel of the army, that it is fed, clothed, properly commanded and stationed at suitable spots, and prepared for any eventuality. He has also the right of testing all stores as supplied by the other department. The Financial Secretary is answerable for contracts and that all expenses are defrayed. He also checks the accounts to be submitted to Parliament, and sees that the principles sanctioned by the Treasury and ordered by the royal warrant are adhered to in all expenditure.

The military side of the War Office is again subdivided into ten main departments, each usually with a staff officer at the head, who is responsible to the Adjutant-General for the efficient working of his division. The civil side, presided over by the Financial Secretary, is subdivided into five main divisions. As this is the side which usually attracts the most interest, it may be well to enter into its arrangements with some little detail. The duties of the military side being entirely concentrated on the administration of military details hardly appeals in the same way to the general public. The five great divisions are the finance, contracts, clothing, ordnance, control. The finance is under the Accountant-General, who in the absence of the Financial Secretary signs for him. This branch is divided again into fourteen divisions, and is by far the largest in the War Office.

The Accountant-General is the adviser of the Financial Secretary on all matters relating to finance. He prepares the account for submission to the Houses of Parliament, and deals with every branch of expenditure throughout the service. The army pay department, although distinctly an executive function, is also under his control, but will probably be transferred to the military side in course of time.

The Contracts division is under the Director-General of Contracts, who is responsible for purchases and sales, and supervises such, which are from their nature best made locally. He is also to some extent a check on the Ordnance division, as he compares and reports upon the cost of articles manufactured by it as compared with the same articles if obtained from the public.

The Clothing department is under the Director-General of Clothing, who is answerable that adequate supplies are maintained not only for the forces on the active list, but also for such as may be required by the volunteers, &c., and for all troops that would be required on mobilisation. The adequate and economical working of the clothing factory is also under his charge, and all articles bought from the public have to be to a standard fixed by him.

The Director-General of the Ordnance Factories is the adviser of the Financial Secretary on all questions of manufacture. All warlike stores not provided by contract are made under his direction. One of the main principles upon which the factories are conducted is that they must be self-supporting.

The question of Government factories has been a subject of much discussion, their opponents maintaining that the public should be relied upon to supply all stores, upon the principle that the demand would always compel an adequate supply by the competition amongst the various firms. The answer is that, grant-

ing this to be the case in time of peace, it is hardly reasonable to suppose that private enterprise can be expected to maintain in idleness enough capital sunk in buildings and machinery to cope with the enormous output which would be necessary immediately a declaration of war was made. Further, the Government factories afford an excellent standard by which to compute the prices to be paid for articles obtained by contract. The present arrangement is that the Government factories supply about one-third of the warlike stores required, while the remainder is obtained by public tender. This proportion, however, entails the employment by the Crown of nearly 15,000 men.

The Central division is practically the channel through which the Secretary of State obtains any information on any subject that requires elucidation, and notably the means by which he is enabled to answer the numerous questions asked in the Houses of Parliament. Through this division is carried on the correspondence, &c., upon matters which affect the various other departments of State, and there is hardly one with which the War Office is not in almost continuous communication.

Questions of military interest which trench upon other State affairs, if they rise beyond matters of mere detail, are referred to either one or both of the two great standing committees—the Defence Committee, or the Colonial Defence Committee.

The former—necessarily most cursory—sketch of the civil side of the War Office has, it is hoped, given some idea how the department is worked. The exigencies of space prevent the military side being treated in even such slight detail, but the different branches of the forces will be treated as fully as possible, and the duties of the military side may be considered to be their maintenance and harmonious combination.

Diagram on Administration of the Army to show the Distribution of the Various Branches of the War Office.

- THE SOVEREIGN.
  - Secretary of State for War.
    - Permanent Under-Secretary of State. Central Office.
      - Parliamentary work of Warrant Officers. Printing, supplies of stationery, and Army forms.
      - Editing all regulations. Initiations of new rules.
      - Officers' decorations. Correspondence with Colonial subjects and G. O. C. in the field.
      - General Registry. Letters received, registered, and distributed.
    - Commander-in-Chief.
      - Military Secretary.
      - Mobilisation Defence.
      - Military Intelligence.
      - Adjutant-General.
        - N.-C. Officers' Mess.
        - Recruiting.
        - Auxiliary Forces.
        - Discipline.
        - R. A.
        - R. E.
        - Inspector-General Cavalry.
      - Quartermaster-General.
        - Army Service Corps, administration of.
        - Army Pay Department, administration of.
        - Remounts.
        - Supplies.
        - Transport.
        - Barracks.
      - Inspector-General of Fortifications.
        - Imperial Defence Loan, 1890.
        - Barrack Buildings.
        - Fortifications.
      - Director-General Ordnance.
        - Manufacturing Department.
        - Ordnance Committee.
        - Clothing Equipment.
        - Warlike Stores.
      - Director-General Medical Services.
      - Chaplain-General.
      - Director-General Army Veterinary Department.
    - Financial Secretary.
      - Accountant-General.
      - Director of Contracts.
      - Director of Clothing.
      - Manufacturing Departments. Financial Control.

The Militia is the constitutional force for the defence of the kingdom. By Statute 1285, every freeman between fifteen and sixty years of age was obliged to be provided with armour, but, except "upon the coming of strange enemies into the realm," was protected from leaving his county. The authority was vested in lords-lieutenant appointed by the Crown, and although altered under Queen Mary, was revived during the following reign, and at the time of the Spanish Armada they were recognised as the legal military heads of the various counties. After the Restoration the Militia was placed on a constitutional basis. It was then laid down that "the sole supreme command and disposition of the Militia, and of all forces by land and sea, is, and by the laws of England ever was, the undoubted right of the Crown." The offences of militiamen were to be punished by the civil magistrate. Trained bands, except in the city of London, were abolished, and the lord-lieutenant, under the authority of Parliament, became in his county an officer of the highest rank. The Militia was carefully fostered by Parliament as a counterpoise to the army; the Crown, having no power to reduce its numbers, could only exert influence through the lords-lieutenants or their deputies, who were always men of position and rank in their respective counties.

The Volunteers have for some time been very prominently before the public. In 1803 a very large force was raised, but disappeared after Waterloo. As now constituted the force may be assumed to have originated in 1859, and was due to the violent language used by the French press after the attempt by Orsini upon the life of Napoleon III.

The discipline of the force is provided for by an Act passed in 1863 for ordinary purposes and under normal conditions. When working with regular troops or embodied for active service, the Army Act applies

to volunteers with the same effect as to the regular forces. The regulations dealing with the training of the volunteers are as lenient as they can possibly be, and perhaps err somewhat on that side, but it must be recollected that a very considerable proportion of those enrolled render themselves much more than merely efficient. It is very doubtful whether a higher minimum standard would have any real effect in raising the efficiency of the force.

The more serious question is, how the instruction which is absolutely necessary in working in large bodies can be more thoroughly imparted. At present opportunities are rare for corps to operate in combination, and until this can be arranged the training cannot be considered otherwise than as incomplete. Another very serious drawback from which the volunteers suffer is the dearth of officers. They are very little less than one-third of their strength deficient, and the tendency is for the proportion rather to increase than lessen. The cause of this condition is somewhat complex, but the principal reason is the expenses, which are unavoidable in many corps. A more stringent supervision by commanding-officers over their corps' expenditure would doubtless to a great extent remedy this state of affairs, which at the present day is a very serious drawback to the efficiency of the whole force.

Crime, in the military sense of the term, is very rare. Commanding - officers have very considerable powers with which to deal with it *when arising*. Their great difficulty is to deal with those members who join on the spur of a momentary zeal, and whose ardour, having evaporated, fail to make themselves efficient. All he can do is to dismiss the offender, which, unless he has a number of recruits anxious to be enrolled, means a reduction in the strength of his command. The fear that if occasion arose when the services of the volunteers became necessary, resigna-

tions would become numerous is probably groundless, and in any case is of no consequence, as the force when called out would be then under the Army Act, and no one able to resign without permission. Every efficient volunteer earns annually for his corps £1, 18s., and officers who have passed certain examinations very much larger amounts.

The question of finance is one of the great difficulties which a corps has to meet, and the Government grant can hardly be considered as sufficiently generous. It is certainly to be hoped that volunteering will in the near future be more popular than at present, and it is difficult to see why all able-bodied men should not be compelled to serve in their local force. It would cause little or no dislocation in the labour market, and the enormous advantage of such an immense body of men to some extent acquainted with drill and discipline can hardly be over-estimated.

Infantry is undoubtedly the backbone of all modern armies, and although the prestige of the cavalry allows it to assume a position which is hardly justified by its real importance, it is universally admitted that, since the introduction of gunpowder it occupies the second instead of the most prominent place among the various arms.

It cannot be too strongly impressed that the various branches of the service exist merely to assist the infantry in delivering a crushing blow, and that however brilliant the subsidiary arms may be, a force without good infantry offers but slight real danger to any foe well equipped in this respect.

The infantry of our army is organised upon what is called the territorial system. It must not be assumed because a regiment is called after a certain county that the regular battalions when at home are quartered in their own localities. From the position of barrack accommodation and the exigencies of the

service this has been found not practicable, but as a rule it may be noted that on return from a term of foreign service a battalion is stationed as near as possible to its own district.

In order to give a general idea of the three arms a short sketch will be given of each, tracing the infantry from its lowest tactical unit, the company, to the brigade or largest which has no portion of the other arms with it. Then, in the same way the artillery will be dealt with from battery to brigade division and cavalry from squadron to cavalry brigade. Beyond these are Divisions, which is the smallest unit in which all three arms work together as a tactical unit, and army corps, which is the biggest unit recognised.

In all cases the various arms are assumed to be on war footing.

The infantry consists of Line, Militia and Volunteer Guards, and Rifle Battalions.

Guards battalions	10
Line and Rifle battalions	157
Total	167

Each battalion consists of eight companies and two depôt companies.

Company of Infantry—War Strength.

	Officers.	Sergeants.	Buglers.	Rank and File.	Total.
Major or Captain .	1	...	...	...	1
Subalterns	2	...	...	...	2
Sergeants	.	5	. .	...	5
Buglers	..	...	2	...	2
Rank and file . . .	..	...	..	106	106
Total . . .	3	5	2	106	116

The next higher unit in Infantry is the battalion, as given on next page.

War Strength of a Battalion.

Ranks.	Officers.	Warrant Officer.	Sergeants.	Buglers.	Rank and File.	Total.
Lieutenant-Colonel . . .	1	...	...	...	...	1
Major (second in command) .	1	...	...	...	...	1
Adjutant	1	...	...	...	...	1
Quartermaster	1	...	...	...	...	1
Medical officer	1	...	...	...	...	1
Sergeant-major	...	1	...	...	...	1
Sergeants	...	...	10	...	...	10
Machine-gun detachment . .	...	...	1	...	3	4
Pioneers	...	...	...	...	10	10
Band	...	...	...	...	21	21
Drivers and waggon-men . .	...	...	...	...	23	23
Orderlies, batmen, and servants	...	...	...	...	8	8
Total battalion staff . . .	5	1	11	...	65	82
Eight companies	24	...	40	16	848	928
Total battalion in the field .	29	1	51	16	913	1,010
Left at base	1	...	3	...	98	102
Total embarked	30	1	54	16	1,011	1,112

The Infantry Brigade is as follows:—

Detail.	Officers.	Warrant Officers and Men.	Total.	Horses.	Machine Guns.	Maltese Carts.	Carts.	G. S. Waggons.	Ambulance.	Total Carriages.
Staff	3	24	27	11	...	...	...	1	...	1
Four battalions . .	116	2,924	4,040	168	4	4	20	16	...	44
Supply column . .	5	116	121	110	...	...	4	19	...	23
Bearer company . .	3	94	97	56	...	...	5	...	10	15[1]
Field hospital . . .	5	56	61	28	...	...	2	4	...	6[1]
Total with field force	132	4,214	4,346	373	4	4	31	40	10	89
Total left at base . .	4	426	430	...	...	...	...	...	...	...

[1] Numbers include personnel of Army Service Corps.

This is the largest body of Infantry without the addition of the other arms. Treating Artillery in the same manner, there are:—

Horse Artillery, of		28 batteries.
Field ,, ...		151 ,,
Garrison mountain batteries	10	114 ,,
Mountain batteries	104	
Total		293 ,,

The war strength of a battery is as follows:—

War Strength of Batteries.

Ranks.	12-Pounder R. H. A.	15-Pounder Field.	5-in. Howitzer.	Mountain.[1]	Remarks.
Officers	5	5	5	5	[1] The mountain battery has in addition 110 muleteers, 1 per ordnance mule (second line), 1 per 3 baggage mule, and 5 per cent. to spare.
Sergeants	8	8	8	8	
Artificers	10	9	9	10	
Trumpeters	2	2	2	2	
Corporals	6	6	6	6	
Bombardiers	6	6	9	6	
Gunners	74	76	85	90	
Drivers	68	59	71	57	
Total all ranks	179	171	195	184	
Horses	191	131	156	18	
Mules	...	...	...	208	
Guns	6	6	6	Not detailed	
Ammunition waggons	6	6	9		
Forge	1	1	1		
Ammunition and store	2	2	1		
Store, waggons, and limbers	1	1	1		

Two Garrison Artillery companies in war strength number 199 of all ranks.

The next higher unit for artillery is the Brigade Division, and for the R.H.A. is as follows:—

A Brigade Division of Horse Artillery in the Field.

	Officers.	Warrant Officer.	Sergeants.	Other Ranks.	Total.	Horses.
Staff	4	1	3	11	19	20
Two R.H.A. batteries	10	...	16	332	358	382
Total	14	1	19	343	377	402

Transport, 10 carts.

The Brigade Division for Field Artillery consists of three batteries instead of two as in above.

The details for cavalry are, for the squadron, as follows:—

The Squadron—War Strength.

Major	1	Officers	6
Captain	1		
Subalterns	4		
Squadron Sergeant-major	1	Sergeants and Staff-Sergeants	10
,, Q.-M.-sergeant	1		
Sergeants	8		
Farrier-sergeant	1	Artificers	6
Corporal shoeing-smith	1		
Shoeing-smiths	3		
Saddler	1		
Trumpeters	2	Trumpeters	2
Corporals	8	Rank and file	136
Privates	108		
Drivers	4		
Batmen	12		
Cooks	2		
Waggon-men	2		
Total all ranks	160		

Horses—

Private	18
Public riding	134
,, pack	1
,, draught	8
Total	161

Transport—

1 G. S. waggon (4-horse) baggage.
1 ,, ,, ,, supplies.

Total, 2 vehicles.

After the squadron the next higher unit is the regiment, and that is composed as under:—

Regiment of Cavalry Establishment.

Ranks.	Officers.	Warrant Officers.	Sergeants.	Artificers.	Trumpeters.	Rank and File.	Total.	Horses. Private.	Horses. Public. Riding.	Horses. Public. Draught.	Horses. Public. Pack.	Horses. Total.
Regimental staff	7	1	5	4	...	34	51	17	12	24	...	53
Three service squadrons	18	...	30	18	6	408	480	54	402	24	3	483
Total in field	25	1	35	22	6	442	531	71	414	48	3	536
Left at base	1	...	3	...	...	50	54	...	...	...	...	...
Total embarked	26	1	38	22	6	492	585	71	414	48	3	536
Reserve squadron at home	8	1	17	7	4	275	312	21	199	2	...	222
Total on mobilisation	34	2	55	29	10	767	897	92	613	50	3	758

Still a step higher in the organisation of cavalry is the Cavalry Brigade, which is given below. Strictly speaking, it is not purely cavalry, as both artillery and mounted infantry form part of its establishment, but they are so entirely subservient, and only intended to support the cavalry, that this unit is justly considered as purely cavalry.

The Cavalry Brigade.

	Officers.	W. O. and N. C. O. and Men.	Total.	Horses.	Vehicles. Guns.	Machine Guns.	Other Vehicles	Total.	Remarks.
Staff	4	19	23	22	...	...	1	1	
Three cavalry regiments.	75	1,518	1,593	1,608	...	3	39	42	
One battalion R.H.A. .	6	176	182	195	6	...	11	17	
Ammunition column .	4	106	110	105	...	...	18	18	
Two companies M.I. . .	12	294	306	310	...	2	9	11	Has a machine-gun action; two machine-guns.
Supply column.	5	120	125	124	...	...	26	26	1st line of supply column.
Bearer company	3	94	97	56	...	...	15	15	1st line of assistance; among vehicles are ten ambulances.
Field hospital .	5	56	61	28	...	...	6	6	2nd line of assistance.
Total with field force . .	114	2,383	2,497	2,448	6	5	124	136	
Total left at base . .	3	242	245	...	...	...	...	...	

Having dealt with the previous units composed entirely of one arm, the next step is the smallest unit in which they are all combined, and this is the Division, with the following establishment:—

The Infantry Division.

Detail.	Officers.	Warrant Officer and Men.	Total all Ranks.	Horses.	Guns. 15-Pounders.	Ammunition Waggons.	Machine Guns.	S. A. A. Carts.	Other Vehicles.	Total Carriages.
Staff	12	55	67	46	...	...	...	...	2	2
Two infantry brigades .	264	8,428	8,692	746	...	...	8	32	128	128
One squadron cavalry .	6	154	160	161	...	...	...	...	2	2
One brigade division field artillery . .	19	511	530	409	18	18	...	...	14	50
Ammunition column .	5	201	206	236	...	...	...	12	29	41
Regimental staff division Engineers . .	2	5	7	4	...	...	...	...	...	...
One field company Royal Engineers . .	7	205	212	63	...	...	...	...	11	11[1]
Supply column . . .	6	93	99	87	...	...	...	...	16	16
Field hospital . . .	5	56	61	28	...	...	...	...	6	6
Total with field hospital .	326	9,708	10,034	1,780	18	18	8	44	218	306
Total left at base . .	9	963	972	...	...	...	...	...	...	...

[1] Carries 2 pontoons, 3 superstructures, 420 lbs. gun cotton.

Having dealt with the Division, only one other unit remains, and that is the Army Corps, as below. When a force in the field consists of more than one Army Corps it is considered as composed of the number of Army Corps it contains, and would be described as an army of two or three Army Corps, as the case might be.

In the details enumerated on p. 224 will be seen Corps Artillery, which is as follows:—

Corps Artillery.

One brigade division R.H.A. of two batteries . . . . } Three brigade divisions Field Artillery of three batteries each . }	11
Total with Army Corps	20

The necessary transport for a battalion is carried in eleven carts, requiring, with spare men and horses, sixteen drivers and thirty-two horses and two pack animals each with a driver.

The Army Corps.

	Officers.	Warrant Officers and Men.	Total all Ranks.	Horses.	Guns.	Machine Guns.	Total Vehicles.	Remarks.
Staff	34	137	171	123	...	...	7	
Three infantry divisions	978	29,124	30,102	5,340	54	24	918	
One cavalry regiment	25	506	531	536	...	1	14	
H.2, one cavalry regiment	7	44	51	53	...	1	8	
Corps artillery	60	1,639	1,699	1,531	48	...	180	
Ammunition park	20	672	692	848	...	...	119	
Regimental staff R.E.	2	6	8	6	...	...	1	
One pontoon troop	5	208	213	186	...	...	28	Carries 16 pontoons and 4 trestles.
One telegraph division	6	238	244	169	...	...	30	Carries 13 miles air line and 8 miles cable (reserves of both at base).
One balloon section	3	51	54	42	...	...	8	Carries 2 balloons.
One field company	7	205	212	63	...	...	11	Carries 2 pontoons, 3 superstructures, 420 lbs. gun cotton and technical tools.
One field park	1	44	45	49	...	...	11	Carries 660 lbs. gun cotton, means of printing and lithographing and technical tools.
One railway company	5	153	158	12	...	...	1	
One battalion	29	981	1,010	42	...	1	11	
Supply column	6	145	151	174	...	...	38	First line of supply. Carries 2 days' rations for men and 1 day's forage for horses.
Supply park	9	531	540	749	...	...	...	Carries 3 days' supply for whole army corps.
Field bakery	5	312	317	196	...	...	10	In 8 sections. Each section has ten ovens.
Field hospital	5	56	61	28	...	...	6	100 beds.
Total with field force	1,207	35,052	36,259	10,147	102	27	1,401	
Total left at base	37	3,299	3,336	...	...	...	...	

Throughout the service the term of enlistment is, as a rule, for twelve years, of which seven are with the colours if at home, and eight if abroad, the remainder being in the first-class reserve.

In addition to this, in time of war or great national emergency, men can be retained with the colours for a further period of twelve months. As a rule, after five years' colour-service, should a man desire to return to civil life, there is no difficulty in his transfer to the Reserve for the remainder of his term.

Although cavalry have long ceased to occupy the pre-eminent position they held in the Middle Ages, it would be a fatal error to underrate their importance in modern warfare. The main duties which fall to their lot are the searching out of the opposing force and maintaining a continuous contact with it when found, and at the same time forming a network round their own army behind which it can move in comparative safety, secure in the knowledge that no enemy can attack without ample warning being received from the vedettes.

Until the early part of the eighteenth century the artillery and engineers were in one body, when the Duke of Marlborough, in 1716, formed two companies for the special purpose of working guns. Even at the present day their duties to some extent overlap, as the engineers are in charge of the submarine defences.

Upon the Army Service Corps devolves the duty of supplying the army with all requisites both during peace and in war time. The immense labour this entails is perhaps best realised by considering that an army in the field of 100,000 men contains more individuals than the entire population of either York or Doncaster.

In addition to these various portions of the army there are several others of less apparent importance, but which are necessary if the whole is to form an

effective fighting machine. Amongst these the Royal Army Medical Corps is the most conspicuous; then the Ordnance Store, Judge, Advocate-General's, Chaplains', Pay, and Veterinary Departments.

To supply the constant drain which must of necessity occur immediately a force takes the field there is the Reserve, and behind that again the Militia Reserve. That these together are insufficient for the purpose is evident from the number of volunteers who have had to be enlisted during the South African War. The preceding is necessarily a most cursory sketch of the army, but space does not permit a further expansion. The war has shown up certain weaknesses and deficiencies in our military requirements, and it is a question of most serious public moment what would have been the result if our enemy had been a first-class European Power. Where would the necessary men have been found? The Navy is presumably adequate to protect our shores and commerce, but without the efficient co-operation of land forces loses a vast portion of its power. In our early history every free man had to be armed, and it is difficult to realise any reason why all able-bodied men within certain ages should not be called upon to join the volunteers and make themselves efficient for home defence, so that in the event of a European war the regular army might be relieved from the care of the Kingdom and at the same time supplied with a vast source of trained men, many of whom would doubtless be prepared to temporarily join any force in the field.

The principal authorities consulted have been "Military Forces of the Crown" (Clode), "The Army Book of the British Empire," and "Notes on Organisation and Equipment" (Lieut.-Colonel Brunker).

THE LAWS OF THE EMPIRE;

MORE ESPECIALLY IN THEIR RELATION TO NATIVES OF THE UNITED KINGDOM GOING TO THE BRITISH DOMINIONS BEYOND THE SEAS

By FREDERICK H. M. CORBET

(Barrister-at-Law; M. Council Soc. Comparative Legislation; M. Council British Empire League, &c. &c.)

THIS article is intended to present merely a rough outline of the subject it treats of, for limitations of time and space forbid any more ambitious undertaking. It is written for the information of the "mere layman" only; and it is little more than an attempt to state in a short and popular form the result of some of the learned disquisitions contained in well-known publications, such as Clark's "Colonial Law," Burge's "Commentaries on Colonial and Foreign Laws," Lewis' "Government of Dependencies" (in Lucas' excellent edition), Tarring's "Law Relating to the Colonies" and the "Journal of Comparative Legislation."

Throughout this article a liberal use of the legal lore enshrined in these works will be made, and many an abridged quotation and paraphrase from them will be given. For all of these a grateful acknowledgment now in general terms must suffice, as it would be impossible, without a multitude of notes, to give chapter and verse in each instance.

The average native of the British Isles—if he is not aware of the difference between English and Scottish law at his very doors—when contemplating a visit to,

or a prolonged residence in, any portion of that vastly greater Britain which lies beyond the seas, might reasonably flatter himself that he can go from one part of the Empire to another without alteration in his legal relations with his fellow-subjects. This, however, is not the case, for wherever he may go he will find himself subject to fresh laws, more or less different from those of the place he left. The varieties are almost infinite in number. Not only are the systems of jurisprudence of five nationalities — the Dutch, English, French, Sicilian, and Spanish—in force in different parts of the British Dominions, and applicable to him, but the stage of development attained by any particular system at the time of its introduction into different places may vary. Thus in Quebec the old French law, the Coutume de Paris, is the foundation of the present jurisprudence, whilst in Mauritius it is the Code Napoleon. Added to this, the King in Council, occasionally, and some sixty separate Legislatures, year by year, are at work piling up Orders and Statutes upon every conceivable subject, almost all these enactments being in some respects peculiar and adapted to local circumstances.

For our present purpose the British Dominions beyond the seas may be divided into

(*A*) Those acquired by occupancy.

(*B*) Those acquired by cession or conquest.

The distinction will be seen to be one of the greatest practical importance.

The first class comprises those countries which, being entirely unpeopled, or peopled only by savage tribes not constituting a State, are occupied by British subjects, and become incorporated into the Empire rather through the enterprise of individuals than by the deliberate action of the Government.

With regard to colonies of this type, the general principle is that where an uninhabited country is

discovered and planted by English subjects, all the English laws then in being are immediately there in force. But this must be understood with many and great restrictions. Such colonists carry with them only so much of the English law as is applicable to their own situation and the conditions of an infant colony; for instance, the general rules of inheritance and of protection from personal injuries. The artificial refinements and distinctions incident to the property of a great and commercial people, the laws of police and revenue—such especially as are enforced by penalties—the mode of maintenance of the established clergy, the jurisdiction of spiritual courts, and a multitude of other provisions, are neither necessary nor convenient for them, and therefore are not in force. It has been tersely said: Let an Englishman go where he will, he carries as much of law and liberty with him as the nature of things will bear.

This view was succinctly expressed in the following solemn declaration made by the Legislature of the Bahamas in the preamble to a local Act, passed in the year 1799:—

"The common law of England is the best birthright of Englishmen and their descendants."

Thus Lord Kingsdown observed in 1863 (*Advocate General of Bengal* v. *Ranee Surnomoye Dossee*), that when Englishmen establish themselves in an uninhabited or barbarous country, they carry with them not only the laws, but the sovereignty of their own State; and those who live amongst them and become members of their community become also partakers of, and subject to, the same laws.

Recent examples of the creation of Colonies by the action of private persons are to be found in the history of the Chartered Companies operating in Africa and the Pacific.

In Colonies acquired by occupancy the intro-

duction of the law in force here is almost a matter of course, the majority of the inhabitants, or, at any rate, the most powerful and civilised portion, having been born and bred in the United Kingdom. It is, perhaps, an unconscious acknowledgment of the position of the "predominant partner," and it certainly is curious, even where the bulk of the new settlers are Scots or Irish, that one does not hear of any claim by them to be governed by the law of their native land, and that English law is accepted without a murmur.

But, even so, we are still far from uniformity. The Colonies acquired by occupancy, having been settled at various times, differ greatly among themselves with regard to the amount of English statute law in force there.

Lord Mansfield laid it down, in 1769 (*Rex* v. *Vaughan*), that no Act of Parliament made after a Colony is planted is construed to extend to it without express words showing the intention of the Legislature to be that it should apply.

Lord Blackburn remarked, in 1885 (*The Lauderdale Peerage*), that "When the province of New York was founded by the English settlers who went out there, those English settlers carried with them all the immunities and privileges and laws of England. The Englishmen in a province which had been so settled were as free Englishmen, with as much privilege, as those that remained in England. It is true that it is only the law of England as it was at that time which such settlers carry with them; subsequent legislation in England altering the law does not affect their rights unless it is expressly made to extend to the province or the colony."

The date of the settlement, in almost all cases, thus determines the time after which the statutes passed in the Mother Country, except where specially so provided, cease to be applicable to the Colony; and these

dates range over a period of more than two hundred years, from 1624, as regards Barbados, to 1889, as regards British New Guinea.

The second class of Colonies to be considered are those obtained by conquest or cession; and there the laws in force at the time of the change of Government are maintained until they are altered by competent authority. This matter has been the subject of some discussion, and it is interesting to trace the development of judicial opinion thereon.

The rule was broadly laid down in *Calvin's Case*, in 1609, by Lord Chancellor Ellesmere and twelve Judges, that, if a king come to a Christian kingdom by conquest, seeing that he hath *vitæ et necis potestatem*, he may at his pleasure alter and change the laws of that kingdom; but until he doth make an alteration of those laws, the ancient laws of that kingdom remain. But if a Christian king should conquer a kingdom of an infidel, and bring it under his subjection, there, *ipso facto*, the laws of the infidel are abrogated, for that they be not only against Christianity, but against the laws of God and nature contained in the Decalogue, and in that case, until certain laws be established amongst them, the king by himself, and such judges as he shall appoint, shall judge them and their causes according to natural equity, in such sort as kings in ancient times did with their kingdoms before any certain municipal laws were given.

In 1693, Sir John Holt, Chief Justice (*Blankard* v. *Galdy*), observed that, where it was said in *Calvin's Case* that the laws of a conquered heathen country do immediately cease, that may be true of laws for religion, but it seems otherwise of laws touching the government; and that in such cases, where the laws are rejected or silent, the conquered country shall be governed according to the rule of natural equity.

The Lords of the Privy Council, as Sir Thomas

Sewell, Master of the Rolls, stated in 1722 (2 *Peere Williams*, p. 75), have determined that, where the King of England conquers a country, there the conqueror, by saving the lives of the people conquered, gains a right and property in such people; in consequence of which he may impose upon them what laws he pleases. But until such laws are given by the conquering prince, the laws and customs of the conquered country shall hold place, unless where these are contrary to our religion, or enact anything that is *malum in se*, or are silent; for in all such cases the laws of the conquering country shall prevail.

The opinion of Lord Mansfield, as expressed in 1774 in a famous judgment (*Campbell* v. *Hall*), was that the laws of a conquered country continue in force until they are altered by the conqueror; and he speaks of "the absurd exception as to Pagans mentioned in *Calvin's Case*."

The views of Lord Ellenborough, as indicated in the course of the trial of a Colonial Governor in 1810 (*Rex* v. *Picton*), seem to have been in accordance with the opinion just quoted, and he was much impressed with the practical difficulty of deciding according to the tests proposed, what portion of the law of a conquered country was in force, and what not.

Lord Stowell, on the other hand, when a question of the kind came before him in 1821 (*Ruding* v. *Smith*), said that, even with respect to the ancient inhabitants, no small portion of the ancient law is unavoidably superseded by the revolution of government that has taken place. The allegiance of the subjects, and all the law that relates to it, must undergo alterations adapted to the change. The laws which prevailed in the conquered territory may be harsh and oppressive in the extreme—may contain institutions abhorrent to the feelings and opinions and habits of the conquerors, and can be but imperfectly understood; and that they

should all of them instantaneously attach and continue obligatory upon them, was a proposition which he thought a professor of general law would be inclined to consider cautiously before it could be universally accepted. The case which Lord Stowell had to deal with, however, was one of an exceptional character, where the proposition referred to, if strictly enforced, would have worked injustice.

Mr. Clark (*Colonial Law*, 1834, p. 4), after referring to some of these decisions, said that the doubt thrown upon the somewhat sweeping terms of the doctrine as stated in *Calvin's Case* might be justified not only on principles of reason, but even by the practice of the English Government. If unchristian or immoral institutions were *ipso facto* abrogated, then it would have been out of the power of the English to have tolerated them even for a moment. Yet they had done so in their East Indian possessions in the case of the Suttee and the barbarous rite of Juggernaut. The immoral or unchristian nature of such customs afforded a reason for abrogating them, but then such abrogation must be the effect of the declared will of the conqueror, and could not take place as of course and unavoidably on the instant of the conquest.

Lord Stowell's objections are met by the modern theory of territorial rather than personal application of laws. Lord Mansfield, indeed, had already held in 1774 (*Campbell* v. *Hall*) that "the law and legislative government of every dominion equally affects all persons and all property within the limits thereof; and is the rule of decision for all questions which arise there. Whoever purchases, lives, or sues there, puts himself under the law of the place. An Englishman in Ireland, Minorca, the Isle of Man, or the plantations, has no privilege distinct from the natives."

It is well that this should be so, and that both under the common law, in the case of conquered

Colonies, and by express provision, in the case of ceded Colonies, the pre-existing laws should remain in force. It is sufficient that they can be altered and amended subsequently by special legislation as occasion may arise. To endeavour at the outset to force a new system of law upon a conquered people, or upon one which has (probably unwillingly) come under the dominion of the British Crown by virtue of a treaty or capitulation, would tend to create grave dissatisfaction and seriously aggravate the difficulties of absorbing an alien population into the Empire. The less disturbance of pre-existing laws, the less difficulty in accepting a foreign government. And the advantage of the system of territorial jurisdiction is seen not only in the case of the newly-conquered or ceded population, but also in that of the alien who finds himself in British territory. He becomes temporarily a subject of the Crown; bound by, subject to, and entitled to the protection of, the local law, on the same footing as if he were a British subject.

The maintenance of the systems of law which were found in force in certain of the Colonies, has had another and an inestimable advantage for the Empire at large, in that it has helped us to understand and appreciate the greatest of the legacies left to us by Imperial Rome—the Civil Law—and has forced us to learn something of the defects of our Common Law, and to see our deficiencies as legislators.

English law may still be described in the words of Lord Tennyson as

> "The lawless science of our law,
> That codeless myriad of precedent,
> That wilderness of single instances."

It may be said that the determination of any given question frequently turns upon a reconciliation of, or a compromise between, the sometimes contradictory

and generally inconsistent views of Mr. Justice A. and Mr. Justice B. on particular facts; never exactly the same as, but bearing some analogy to, the facts involved in the question. It is given only to the most gifted of mortals to discover the juristic notions—the principles of justice—underlying these decisions. One is bound to suppose they are there; but the word "principle" seldom occurs. The learned judges expend themselves upon the difficulties thrown in their path by their predecessors. Or they stumble after some great judge who, rising above the petty details of the case before him, has, with rare courage, taken upon himself the neglected functions of the legislator, and has laid down a rule of general application, or formulated a wide legal proposition. There is often no authority on which one can rely, and to the ordinary lay mortal it is all sheer chaos. The practitioner breathes a sigh of relief when he finds that in some past generation, provided it is not too remote, some eminent lawyer and man of genius, like Lord Mansfield, or Baron Parke, having broken through the trammels of precedents or extracted something tangible from them, has enunciated a principle of law. But his sense of confidence may prove a treacherous lure if he takes his case to the House of Lords, where the decisions even of great Chief Justices and Lord Chancellors are sometimes overruled or explained away—"distinguished" is the polite term for the latter process.[1]

It is true, of course, that immense strides have been made in the last hundred years in the reform of English law, and that a few branches of it have been admirably codified, but as a system (Heaven save the mark!) it is still far from satisfactory to the least

[1] The Lord Chief Justice of England made some weighty observations on the danger of paying too much regard to precedents and too little to principles in a speech delivered at Glasgow in August 1901, when this article was already in type.

exacting of critics. And one shudders to think how little removed we are in point of time from the barbarous criminal law of the first part of the nineteenth century, or the desperately stupid state of affairs so vividly described by Dickens, when Law and Equity were administered by different and antagonistic courts!

That much still remains to be done is well illustrated by recent judicial statistics, which show that in a large percentage of the cases carried from the Court of Appeal to the House of Lords, the judgments appealed against were reversed. With the vicissitudes which beset the earlier stages of litigation in the English Courts, and with the interesting (and costly) differences of opinion on points of law among counsel, between them and the judges, and among the judges themselves, many people have been privileged to become familiar from personal experience. They need no statistics beyond those contained in their cheque books to enable them to realise "the glorious uncertainty of the law."

How different is the picture drawn by Sir Henry de Villiers ("Journal of Comparative Legislation," 1901, p. 1) of the state of affairs where the Roman-Dutch law is in force. "Every practising lawyer in South Africa knows . . . that he possesses in the jurisprudence of Rome, which had been silently transferred into the Dutch law before its introduction at the Cape, a treasure-house of principles to assist and guide him where other recognised authorities fail him. A difference of opinion among judges in the South African Courts upon disputed questions of law is of rare occurrence, and the number of appeals from the Cape Supreme Court to the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council bears a very small proportion to the appeals from other Colonies where the English Common Law prevails."

Roman law being the basis of the jurisprudence

of some of our most important Colonies, including those in South Africa, it is worth while to consider a few opinions of men qualified to pronounce upon it. The contrast with English law is not soothing to one's national pride, but we must reconcile ourselves to the fact that the British do not shine as law-makers.

The historian Gibbon ("Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire") begins his famous chapter on Roman Law with the following eloquent passage:—

"The vain titles of the victories of Justinian are crumbled into dust; but the name of the legislator is inscribed on a fair and everlasting monument. Under his reign, and by his care, the civil jurisprudence was digested in the immortal works of the *Code*, the *Pandects*, and the *Institutes;* the public reason of the Romans has been silently or studiously transfused into the domestic institutions of Europe; and the laws of Justinian still command the respect or obedience of independent nations."

A learned lawyer of the seventeenth century, Sir Robert Wiseman ("The Law of Laws," 1686), speaking of the Civil Law, observes:—"Anything that is irrational, unnatural, absurd, partial, unjust, immodest, ignoble, treacherous, or unfaithful, that law abhorreth; and . . . it is the more perfect image and representation of nature, and of the equity and reason nature prescribes to human actions, that was ever yet presented or set forth to the world in a law."

Mr. Burge ("Colonial and Foreign Laws," 1838) says:—"The observation of a jurist, '*Servatur ubique jus Romanum non ratione imperii sed rationis imperio,*'[1] expresses the authority which the jurists of Holland, France, and the other States of Europe ascribe to it."

Sir Nicolas Tindal, Chief Justice, in 1843 (*Acton* v. *Blundell*) declared:—"The Roman Law forms no rule

[1] Roman law has been everywhere preserved not by reason of authority, but by the authority of reason.

binding in itself on the subjects of these realms" (*i.e.* except in Scotland and in certain colonies); "but in deciding a case upon principle, where no direct authority can be cited from our books, it affords no small evidence of the soundness of the conclusion at which we have arrived if it prove to be supported by that law—the fruit of the researches of the most learned men, the collective wisdom of ages, and the groundwork of the municipal law of most of the countries of Europe."

Lord Mackenzie ("Roman Law," 7th ed. 1898) tells us that "in the cultivation of law the Romans carried off the palm from all nations of antiquity" (p. 33). He speaks of "the excellence of their private law, the value of which is acknowledged by the most eminent English jurists" (p. 46). He says that "the Roman law not only possesses a universal scientific value which it can never lose, but preserves also indirectly a practical value, in this sense, that it forms the basis of the new civil codes of different States, besides furnishing an inexhaustible store of general principles for the decision of questions constantly occurring in daily practice which are not settled by statute, precedent, or usage" (p. 48). And he refers to the famous Roman lawyers who built up the Civil Law, "as the great lights of jurisprudence for all time" (p. 17).

Sir Robert Phillimore has this appreciation in his "Commentaries upon International Law" (3rd ed. 1879):—

"And to all nations, whatsoever and wheresoever, this law presents the unbiassed judgment of the calmest reason, tempered by equity, and rendered perfect, humanly speaking, by the most careful and patient industry that has ever been practically applied to the affairs of civilised man (p. 34). . . . Besides the actual compilations of Roman Law, the Commentaries

upon them—for the like reason of their comprehensiveness, impartiality, wisdom, and enlarged equity—are of great use and constant service in elucidating the rules of justice" (p. 36).

It is evident from what has been said that natives of the United Kingdom going to the British Dominions beyond the seas will find there either English law, more or less modified by local enactments, or else some system of jurisprudence based on the Roman Civil Law, and therefore in nowise inferior.

In the following rough list the British Dominions have been grouped according to the laws in force there with which the European immigrant is concerned. In many cases there are, of course, indigenous laws and customs as well, but these are applicable to the original inhabitants only, and need not be considered here.

A.—*Colonies, &c., where Natives of the United Kingdom are under English Law, tentatively showing the dates after which the subsequent Acts of the Imperial Parliament are not applicable unless specially made to apply.*

Antigua	1632 ?
Bahamas	1629
Barbados	1624 ?
Bermuda	1609 ?
British Columbia	November 19, 1858
British Honduras	1888 ?
British New Guinea	1889
Cyprus	December 21, 1878
Dominica	October 7, 1763
Falkland Islands	January 1, 1850
Fiji	January 2, 1875
Gambia	1816 ?
Gibraltar	December 31, 1883
Gold Coast	July 24, 1874
Grenada	January 10, 1784

Hong Kong	April 5, 1843
India	1726?
Jamaica	1655
Labuan	1846
Lagos	July 24, 1874
Manitoba	July 15, 1870
Montserrat	1632?
Nevis	1628?
New Brunswick	1713
Newfoundland	1833
New South Wales	1828
New Zealand	January 14, 1840
Nigeria	1900?
North-West Territories	July 15, 1870
Nova Scotia	1713
Ontario	October 15, 1791
Prince Edward Island	1713
Queensland	1828
St. Christopher	1623?
St. Helena	1651
St. Lucia	Theoretically French law should apply, but in practice English law has been introduced by the judges in most cases. See class B.
St. Vincent	1763
Sierra Leone	1787
South Australia	December 28, 1836
Straits Settlements	1826
Tasmania	1828
Tobago	All "suitable" statutes for the time being in force in England are applicable
Trinidad	English law governs all recent transactions, and Spanish law applies only to some previous to 1847. See class B.

Victoria	1828
Virgin Islands	1672?
Western Australia	1829
Western Pacific (within the jurisdiction of the High Commissioner)	All statutes for the time being in force in England are applicable

B.—*Colonies, &c., where the Roman Civil Law prevails as the basis of the jurisprudence applicable to Natives of the United Kingdom.*

British Bechuanaland	Roman Dutch Law
British Guiana	Roman Dutch Law
Cape of Good Hope	Roman Dutch Law
Ceylon	Roman Dutch Law
Malta	Sicilian Law
Mauritius	French Codes of 1814
Natal	Roman Dutch Law
Orange River Colony	Roman Dutch Law
Quebec	French Law: Coutumes de Paris
Rhodesia	Roman Dutch Law
St. Lucia	French Law: Coutumes de Paris. See also in class A.
Seychelles Islands	French Codes of 1814
Transvaal	Roman Dutch Law
Trinidad	Spanish Law as regards certain transactions before 1847. See also in class A.

[*See* NOTE, p. 237.]

THE RAILWAYS OF GREATER BRITAIN

INTRODUCTION

By R. W. MURRAY

It is gratifying to those who have for many years studied the Imperial question from distant lands to find, that what is called the Imperial idea has at last caught the grip of the people of England. It is well within a quarter of a century that the most eloquent Englishman of his day nearly persuaded the people of the British Isles to shake off all Imperial responsibilities, so as to make Great Britain happy and contented by isolation from the responsibilities of Empire, and to let the people of her isles grow fat and contented on free trade. It was indeed bringing England down somewhat to the level of what Holland is at the present day. The common-sense of Great Britain, however, which is the foundation of the welfare and the strength of these islands, asserted itself. It is to the honour of Lord Rosebery that, before passing an opinion upon colonial questions, he visited the Colonies, and on his return he said he thought that no person was qualified to be a Minister of the Crown unless he had visited the Colonies.

We have now happily come to this stage that whatever may be the opinion respecting domestic legislation, the Imperial connection with England's Colonies and her Dependencies have become a national creed. It is well that it should be so, and I think I shall be able to show you in some degree the heritage

you hold through the self-denying efforts of your missionaries and the bravery of your race.

Of course I am not going to take you through all the elaborate statistics which prove how vast is the railway systems of Greater Britain. For the purpose of my argument I will condense the result of a study of the Blue Books. The National Debt of Great Britain is something just under £650,000,000. The money invested in the railways of Greater Britain, including India, is just under £590,000,000. The mileage of the railways in the United Kingdom is a little over 20,000 miles, and the mileage of Greater Britain, including India, is just over 54,000 miles. Now what does all this mean?

In the first place, you may take it that the expenditure on railways brought to English industries a preponderating amount of profit in their construction. When British workmen will permit it, Great Britain will always supply her Colonies with the material for railway construction, such as sleepers, rails, and carriages. When the workmen of Great Britain are so blind as to give other markets the opportunities of stepping in, Great Britain will lose much of her trade, consequently of her prosperity. Again, in the Colonies and Dependencies it is a happy state of things that nearly all the railways are State railways. This means that the people are the owners of the railways, and are able to bring pressure upon the Government when it is needed in case of neglect of the comfort of the passengers, or anything happens which affects the traffic. It would be a good thing for England if her railways were all State railways; but I suppose there is no statesman who will ever grapple with the great monopolies held by the railway companies of Great Britain, which, after all, do their work exceedingly well, and give such conveniences to the British public in every way.

It is not, however, upon the railway workings of England that I am asked to speak. I only wish to draw comparisons, and the comparisons are not to the disadvantage of the Colonial systems.

We have no strikes in the Colonies. There was one attempted some years back in one of the great Continents, which proudly recognises Great Britain as the Mother Country. The Government at that place utilised the machinery for keeping order, and made the men obey the law, for the law was made by the men; that is to say, they elected their representatives to Parliament and had a free hand in the methods of government which they liked best, and the Government said: "As you have made the laws you must obey them, and we are not going to allow you to be so wanton and so wilful as to injure yourselves individually, as well as the country in which you live."

In respect of the railways of Greater Britain I have indicated to you how great is the payment to English industry by the construction of railways in Greater Britain. Then you have to remember that this large loan is raised in Great Britain, which has been styled, and with good reason, the banking-house of the world. In addition, therefore, to the earnings obtained in the manufacture of railway plant, there are a number of investors who get their profit on Colonial and other loans under the British flag. You will see, therefore, that the interest on £590,000,000 gives to England every year, from an investor's point of view, taking it all round, say at 4 per cent., somewhere about £23,600,000.

I think these figures will speak so strongly themselves that it would be idle, as it would be presumptuous, of me to add anything to them.

Going back to the original text on which I propose to address you, I should like to confine myself for the moment to Africa. Africa, like India and the East,

is a large problem. It can only be solved upon commercial lines well adjusted and fair all round; that is to say, if the Government of the British Isles undertakes responsibilities, it improves the conditions of the peoples it has under its protection and for whose welfare it is responsible. The history of Great Britain shows that its government has never left a country, the future of which it associated itself with, poorer than it found it. We have that fact in a very remarkable degree in the occupation of Egypt, and perhaps in a more remarkable degree in respect of India. As far as the Colonies are concerned they have built up their own destinies, greatly stimulated by the sympathy and support of the mother land. It is very often asserted by those who attempt to rival Great Britain in her commercial relations with the world, that she has been too grasping in her greed for extension of her empire. It might be argued, from the British point of view, that she has been often very neglectful. But whenever she has made mistakes, she has paid for those mistakes with great good temper and much kindness.

Rome flourished by being a military power, and it ceased to exist because the lust of power and the glory of conquest could not last for ever. The stability of the British Empire is based upon its humanitarian consideration and its commercial instincts. You will see how these commercial instincts act through the capital which is employed in the construction of railways in what were once thought sterile as well as barbaric lands. What were once, and not many years ago, described as great deserts in Africa we now find fertile plains. Where there was no water we have found that water is obtainable in the deserts of Egypt at no great depth, as is found everywhere south of the Zambesi. With sunshine and water almost anything can be grown. Just think what will happen in Egypt

when modern work will not only bring about an oasis in the desert, but will, by a system of irrigation, make great stretches of land basking in fertility to the happiness of its people. Africa, which has always been considered a land of mystery, has in a few years sprung to considerable importance in the imagination and the desire of the great governing powers of the earth.

When Stanley went into Africa to find whether Livingstone was alive or dead it was indeed a Dark Continent, which any European Power which had the will or the money might have helped itself to without trouble south of the sources of the Nile. To-day we find great Powers trying to get some footing in Africa as in Asia.

I think in the figures which I gave you at the beginning of my remarks you will see what this scramble for territorial expansion means. It means in a homely expression nothing more nor less than bread and butter, and something more for those who live at home. There is nothing about that to be ashamed of from the point of a national sentiment. If the people at home like to live at home and like to husband the resources earned to the British Isles by its adventurers or whatever else you may call them, they are fairly entitled to all profit which may be earned through their thrift.

In respect of South Africa I know it is popular to abuse the German Government of to-day for its activity and its desire to have Colonies, but it occurs to me that Germany has done great good to England in awakening the British Government and the British people to the fact that South African territory is not so valueless as British statesmen in the past conceived it to be. Let us hope it will be good for Africa as a whole. The genius of finance and the national commercial aptitude which formed the British character

will do for Africa generally what has already been achieved for Egypt.

It is perfectly certain that the French shareholders in the Suez Canal at the bottom of their hearts are delighted at the British occupation of Egypt. It is also a fact that thousands of Germans have gladly lived, and are gladly living, under British rule in South Africa and under the British flag in various parts of the world. It is not German character which colonists object to, but the methods of government of German iron rule.

Now if you will glance at a map of Africa let us see where, how, and by whom the conquest of that land is to be achieved by the aid of railways. You will see that in South Africa the railway is creeping up, or rather it is going very fast ahead, to the great waterway of the Zambesi. You will see that from the north the railway is being pushed ahead with marvellous strides towards the lake regions of Central Africa. On the east of Africa you will see striking into the tropical region opposite Zanzibar a railway to the healthy and productive highlands. On the west coast you have a railway following a bank of the Congo, some 200 miles being already constructed, on its way to the lake regions of Central Africa, where natives have lived through goodness knows how long a period of time, fed, so to say, by the bounteous gifts of Nature that their only conception of life was indolent luxury or cruel and merciless warfare. The adaptability of the native to work is very remarkable. I am speaking precisely of the African native. We find him most amenable to discipline. We have illustrations of that in what has happened on the West Coast of Africa a few months back. We have it in the peaceful settlements of the Cape Colony. We find the fidelity of the native proved to us by the way in which native carriers accompanied Stanley from East to West of Central Africa.

We have the knowledge of the wealth of Africa, of its immense labour capabilities, and of the productiveness of the ground on which labour can be utilised. There is no more wild dream about a railway and lake communication being complete in a very short period from Alexandria to Cape Town, than there was in the dream of the construction of the Suez Canal or the railway through Canada from the Atlantic to the Pacific Ocean. And now that Australian Federation is accomplished, it is hoped intercommunication will grow apace, but it is a pity a common gauge was not agreed upon, before the first line was laid.

In South Africa, as in Canada and elsewhere under the British flag, some very remarkable railway feats have been achieved. From the Cape of Good Hope to Bulawayo the land rises in terraces or plateaus, and when mountain ridges have been climbed long stretches of flat lands exist, so that after the mountain and valleys have been passed railway construction is very easy.

I will now show you how railways are being constructed on the level plains of Africa. There is not much trouble if there is good system in laying down over a mile a day. This has been done on what is called the northern extension of the Cape Railway. It is highly creditable to the military authorities in Egypt that, perhaps seeing what had been accomplished down South, they had surpassed in speed the construction of their railway as compared with the rapid work of the Bechuanaland Railway Company. The process of laying the rails on these level lands is very easy. The material train supplies to the men the rails and the sleepers, one set of men measures the distances at which the sleepers should be placed, when they are placed another set of men lay the rails on the sleepers, another set of men follow on and fasten up the rails to the sleepers, the material train comes over the

newly laid section, and in this way railways are now being made in Africa.

It has been asserted, and reference to returns will prove the truth of the assertion, that railways in South Africa have been undertaken on sound commercial lines—this, notwithstanding the fact of the bravery with which the mountain barriers were assailed. About 100 miles from Cape Town the great wall-like range of mountains which seemed to be placed by Nature to protect the native tribes from the advance of civilisation has been conquered by the skill of engineers. The railway works its way up the mountain side, soaring above fertile valleys through which the Hex River supplied by mountain torrents rushes to the sea, until the summit of the mountain range has been reached, covering a distance of about thirty-six miles from the valley to the summit in two or three hours, an altitude of over 3000 feet.

In the way of mountain scenery, I who have travelled somewhat know of nothing very much more grand than going up by rail these Hex River mountains, especially in the winter season of the year. Then when the days are fine—and there are more fine days than cloudy days in South Africa—the sky is cloudless and the sun shining out of the azure of the heavens lights up the bold ridges of the snow-clad mountains. It is a strange country which the railway traverses after this. To those who do not know, the land might, in the words of Sir George Cathcart, be described as a howling wilderness, yet in the summer-time, when the rains have fallen and the plains are ablaze with gorgeous colouring of wild flowers which carpet the land as far as the eye can reach, nothing more beautiful could well be conceived. Yet this land, so barren-looking in the winter season, is one of the finest sheep-walks in the world. In the valleys comfortable homesteads nestle with fruit-trees and crops in their seasons, indi-

cating what sunshine, soil, and water can do. Then on the coast-lines of East South Africa there is some exquisite scenery. After leaving Port Elizabeth by steamer for some hundreds of miles, when the day is fine and the ship is close to shore, even the coasts of Devon would not seem more beautiful than the land which lies between Port Elizabeth and Natal.

Whilst the main trunk line of railway proceeds direct from Cape Town to the north, we find important harbours along the coast, such as Port Elizabeth, East London, and Natal, by their railways already in existence, aiming not only at reaching the far interior trade, but naturally developing the country through which they pass. In addition to the railways which already exist there are several projected ones, and the one which will proceed from St. John's River mouth through the magnificent forests and the ever grass-clad plains of Pondoland and East Griqualand will charm the tourist as it will enrich the land. This line will join the Natal and Cape Colony systems. Other lines—as the south-coast line, which will bring Cape Town and Port Elizabeth into more direct communication, Kroonstad and Harrismith line in the Orange River Colony, and the Salisbury and Bulawayo line in Rhodesia—are being constructed.

I mention this to show you that South Africa is not devoid of beautiful scenery; indeed, the surroundings of Cape Town are grand. Behind the ports of Port Elizabeth, East London, and Durban, there is country not only beautiful to look at, but of great productiveness, and the traveller may go all the world over in vain to find anything more entrancing than the scenery of St. John's River.

It is well for Englishmen at home to know that in the British Empire there are countries such as this, and I think you will agree with me, that if England had been led astray so as to give up the responsibilities

of Empire and to have lost such lands, she would have fallen away from her very high estate.

There is one remarkable thing about the difficulties which those who honestly strive to grapple with Imperial questions after long study have to face. It is the haste of visitors and others in jumping at conclusions. Some twenty years ago we were told that Australia was going to have a flag of its own and, therefore, was going to sever its connection with the British Empire; Canada, we were told, because of the large leaven of French-born colonists there, would also desire to sever her connection with Great Britain, and as Australia and Canada have both shown by acts and deeds they do not intend to do anything of the sort, that their loyalty to the British flag is as intense as it is with home-staying people, the charge of disloyalty is now being hurled at South Africa. No greater mistake can be made. South Africa is loyal to the British connection, but what it does want is to be left alone to its own domestic legislation; and if there are troublesome questions in the country to solve, they have been created by the ignorance or indifference of British statesmen in the past. It is a very hard task for the statesmen of the present day to clear up past misunderstandings caused by others. But I take upon myself to say, after very long and intimate acquaintance with Africa, that I believe South Africa, as a whole, is as loyal to her Majesty the Queen of England as any of the Colonies or Dependencies of Great Britain. It must be remembered that in South Africa during the last twenty years there has been a great infusion of energy through the marvellous discovery of mineral wealth, and it is well known that in all countries which bound ahead in this manner there are feverish moods, arrogant pretensions, and wild escapades. All this settles down in time to the survival of the fittest.

Railways are not only civilisers, but pacificators;

they mean in barbaric countries the placing at the disposal of the Government means of defence against lawlessness. When the land has emerged from barbarism into a civilised condition it brings what were distant communities into closer communication. Misunderstandings disappear through friendly intercourse. I have always held that railways by bringing people together, which leads so often to matrimony, is the true solution of what is called the South African problem. Probably the same solution is being and will be effected in other parts of the Empire.

The railways of Greater Britain are, therefore, the mainstay of the Empire taken in connection with the steamships which are, by their ever-increasing speed, bringing England in closer and closer communication with not only her colonies but with other parts of the world.

INDIAN RAILWAYS

By A. K. CONNELL

Of all the consequences of the establishment of British rule in India the construction of railways is the most far-reaching. By their means a vast continent with an area of over 1,500,000 square miles, and a population of nearly 290,000,000, or about one-fifth of that of the inhabited world, has within the short period of fifty years been brought within the range of the commercial competition of the Western world. Half a century ago, except in those parts which by being on the coast or adjacent to navigable rivers, India was economically and industrially self-sufficing. Its population fed and clothed itself with home-grown and home-made products, and whatever trade went on beyond the local exchange of village commodities was chiefly internal, and carried on along a few great routes.

Only the most valuable and portable products, such as the finest woven articles, were brought down from the interior, and it was Bengal proper with its great river systems that alone was able to exchange its rice, opium, indigo, silks and muslins. Not only was the country as a whole self-sufficient, but each district of a few square miles, if not each village, provided all that was necessary for the support of its population. *Petite culture* and land industries had from time immemorial been the chief means of employment, and in many parts the revenues were still levied in kind. The surplus grain of a plenteous harvest was stored in pits or in jars against the time of dearth, while the weaver, the worker in metal or clay, and the carpenter depended for their livelihood on the agriculturists whom they supplied with the goods. At the centres of Government or sacred places of religion there were larger industries, but their existence had very little influence on the workaday lives of the great body of the peasantry. An enormous number of more or less self-contained village communities, surrounded by their cultivated acres and uncultivated jungle-land, sending off emigrants to form similar centres of agriculture and industry, village population pressed on subsistence was the ever-prevailing feature of the country. War, famine, and pestilence from time to time disturbed for a while the uniform round of existence, but these calamities made no permanent change in the customary conditions of existence. The development of railway communications has in many ways revolutionised the economic condition of the country, and has seriously affected social relations. India, as a whole, is no longer self-sufficing for the ordinary necessities of existence. Each village in good years raises sufficient food supplies, with the exception of salt; but when cotton goods are in demand they are supplied from external sources, whether those sources of supply are

in manufacturing centres in India, such as Bombay and Calcutta, or outside India, such as Manchester. Salt, which used to be obtained from Indian sources, either in the shape of salt mines or salt pans on the sea-shore, or saline soil to be found in many parts of the continent, is now entirely supplied, owing to salt excise regulations, from Indian or foreign (chiefly English) salt mines. And in exchange for these goods the surplus agricultural produce, such as wheat, rice, seeds, cotton, and opium, is no longer consumed in the agricultural districts or adjacent market towns, but is sent away to quiet trade centres, whence it is transported either for export to foreign countries or for consumption in Indian centres of manufacture. But while the internal and external trade in those and other immemorial products of India has been enormously developed, one new up-country product—tea—has been created by Western enterprise; and without the help of railway transport this enterprise would not probably have reached its present proportions.

This great development of commerce has necessitated and facilitated the introduction of a larger cash medium of exchange. Throughout the length and breadth of India the Government now levies its revenues in the shape not of kind, but cash; land-owners do the same; and rupees at some time or other of the year are a necessity for the Indian cultivator. India from time immemorial has been a great absorber of silver, but during the last fifty years this absorption has been necessarily accelerated by the extension of the cash nexus in business. Another symptom of the same change is to be seen in the larger quantity of jewellery worn by the better to do. This has come to be regarded as the easiest savings-bank. Owing to these two economic facts, the direct result of British rule, the currency question has become one of vital importance for the whole population.

According to the latest official returns, the mileage of Indian railways now reaches 21,156 miles. Of these 12,240 miles are standard gauge, 8631 metre, and 318 special. Of these 10,622 miles are State lines worked by companies, 5161 State lines worked by the State, 2588 worked by guaranteed companies, 894 by assisted companies, 2018 by native States, and 73 by foreign States, French and Portuguese. The number of persons employed by the railways were about 283,000, of whom about 4600 were Europeans, 6700 Eurasians, and 272,000 natives. The fuel for the engines is coal, coke, patent fuel, and wood, the respective quantities being 1,280,638, 4344, 1664, and 321,052 tons of the coal. The Indian collieries turn out about 3,800,000 tons in the year, the chief ones being in Bengal; Assam, the Central Provinces, Hyderabad, Burmah, and the Punjab only yielding about 800,000 tons out of the total output. There are about 60,000 colliers.

In order to keep the railways working, stores to the amount of about £1,100,000 are purchased each year in England, and most of the capital for plant has been expended in this country, which has, therefore, reaped an enormous advantage from Indian railways.

The capital outlay on the lines has reached about 259,500,000 Rs., and to this has to be added about 65,000,000 Rs. paid by the Indian Exchequer to meet interest charges not caused by the railways. No interest has been charged on this sum, but it has been paid annually by the Indian taxpayers. The financial result to the Indian taxpayer is to be seen in an annual loss of about 2,000,000 Rs. to 1,300,000 Rs. Some of the lines like the East Indian, which serves Bengal and the North-Western Provinces, and the Rajputana railway, which serve the North-Western Provinces and Rajputana, have paid well; but others like the Madras, the Midland, and the North-Western systems do not

pay their way. They have been built for military and protection (*i.e.* famine) reasons, but they constitute a heavy burden on the Indian Exchequer.

GENERAL AND SOUTH AFRICAN

By the Hon. Sir DAVID TENNANT, K.C.M.G.

(*Agent-General for the Cape of Good Hope; formerly Speaker of the Cape House of Assembly*)

The Romans knew the value as well as the need of good and substantial roads. They were skilled in the science of road-making for the purposes of conquest and for the maintenance of communication between distant portions of the empire.

Proofs of their labours in this respect (as also in the building of the Roman walls) are still visible in some of the countries once held in subjection to the dominion of the Cæsars. These slender traces of ancient roads, which have survived centuries of time and change in Europe, Northern Africa, and Great Britain, are at the present day prized for their historic interest, and are cherished as mementoes of the vastness of Rome's sovereignty.

The system of road-making, early inaugurated by Rome, was, on the decline and fall of the Roman Empire, pursued with vigour and vast improvement by the countries chiefly interested in the construction of roads. Their needs demanded, and their growing prosperity exacted, better and more speedy means of transport and inter-communication.

The wonderful discovery of steam as a motive-power in the traction of carriages for purposes of inland traffic revolutionised the old-established method of transport, and the substitution of iron rails with its locomotive for the gravelled roads achieved an extraordinary degree of success.

We now recognise the fact that railways are the great civilising agency of the age, and also the main arteries which feed and further the development and progress of a country.

The construction of railways in Great Britain is undertaken by private enterprise, through the medium of Railway Companies, who obtain the sanction of Parliament therefor, by means of private bills introduced for that purpose. In nearly all the colonies, more especially in the important self-governing colonies of Greater Britain, each colonial government has committed to it the construction of railways, and in addition thereto the responsibility for their maintenance and working.

A Department of Public Works, or one of railways exclusively, is represented by a responsible Colonial Minister, who controls a system which is at all times subject to Parliamentary supervision. Thus any new line of colonial railway intended to be constructed must receive Parliamentary sanction, and the proposal therefor can only be submitted through a responsible minister. This process, however, does not exclude the right of individuals or companies to apply for Parliamentary powers in the building of railways, but in such cases conditions are imposed which give the Government the option of purchasing the lines on the terms prescribed in the Act. We need not debate the question as to which is the most desirable mode of securing Parliamentary sanction for railway construction, or the reason for a departure by the colonies from the procedure in vogue in the mother country: suffice it to say that the colonies regard their system of ministerial and Parliamentary control as best suited to colonial requirements.

The colonies could not have undertaken the construction of their railways, nor can they now extend the same, without the pecuniary aid of the capitalists of England. The loans so raised for these colonial public works exhibit an indebtedness which binds the

colonies in a closer union to the mother country. In the same way the purchases made for railway material, as well as the employment of skilled labour from England on these railways, form an additional link in this union.

It is, however, a subject of regret that of late, owing to the frequency of strikes in England, and the consequent difficulty of satisfying colonial demands for supplies of railway material, some of the colonies had been compelled to seek for such supplies from foreign countries.

The progress of railways, in India and the colonies, has, since the middle of the present century, been very marked. In India the presidencies, as well as the important portions of that empire, have been brought into closer communication. Canada has, in addition to the many lines in that extensive territory, connected the Pacific and Atlantic Oceans by a grand trunk line running across the Dominion. Australasia (including Tasmania and New Zealand) has brought the different colonies in that region into touch with each other.

And South Africa has, in like manner, secured to its states and colonies a commercial and social intercourse, which, but for railways, would have been impossible of attainment.

We will now dwell more particularly on the South African railways.

Prior to the introduction of the iron road as a means of communication and transport the Cape Colony had its traffic, whether of produce, imported goods, or passengers, carried over and along gravelled as well as sandy roads at considerable cost and delay.

The necessity for easier and more rapid communication was fully recognised by the Cape, when in 1859 the first sod was turned for a railway of some fifty-eight miles in length. This first railway venture having proved a success, an extension of the line was in 1875

determined on in a northerly direction, so as eventually to reach the higher altitudes of the colony up to and beyond its late boundary at the Orange River.

The discovery of the Kimberley diamond fields resulted in a line to that region, and later on the Transvaal gold fields produced a Cape line through the Orange Free State to the Vaal River on the borders of the South African Republic; from thence the latter state built and regulated its own line to the rich gold tracts of Johannesburg and also to Pretoria, with an outlet at Delagoa Bay. A detailed description of the routes to these termini, with the names of places unknown to the multitude, would be uninteresting, and the statistics of cost and other particulars in relation thereto would prove wearisome to most readers. It need only be added that the value of these lines is apparent in the shape of large returns, facility of transport, and social advantages of passenger traffic. The Orange Free State was so assured of the benefits of railway communication that it not only took over by purchase from the Cape Government the line which the latter had built through that state, but it has also added to these benefits by the building of short additional lines radiating from its main or trunk line. The Cape Colony, however, did not rest contented with its northern line. It connected Port Elizabeth with Grahamstown, brought King William's Town and East London into touch with the border districts between the Orange Free State line and the coal fields in the eastern province; and opened up the country to the bewitching influence of a closer union, commercially and socially; and an area, which before was considered difficult of access, or of being travelled through within anything like a reasonable time, and which had its distances calculated by days and weeks, had these latter now subjected by the railway to the magical limitations of hours.

The modest length of 58 miles of railway com-

menced in 1859, had in 1893 increased to 2253 miles, and continued progress is still being made in the extension of new lines, either in connection with existing ones, or as separate ones stretching towards new portions of the colony, for the purpose of opening up its trade and for the development of its great and hidden resources; in fact, a network of railway lines intersects the colony at present.

The impetus to trade and commerce is visible on all sides. The old sluggish team of twenty or more oxen toiling with a heavily-laden waggon up some steep ascent or ploughing the moving sand has made way for the brisk and safer railway train, whilst the locomotive's whistle, heard along the plain or echoed in the mountain gorges, proclaims an era of progress and the advent of greater activity in all the relations of social and commercial life. The dawn of greater physical and mental activity noticeable in those remoter portions of the colony, which heretofore had been almost forcibly excluded from closer intercourse with the more active centres of trade, must be ascribed to the potency of railway communication; whilst the improvement in the condition of the people, materially as well as socially, is to be attributed to the same cause.

Let us now turn to Natal. That territory, once a portion of the Cape, became in 1856 a separate British colony, and within three years thereafter, that is to say, almost as soon as in the older colony, were railways there introduced, the pioneer line being that which connects the port of Durban with Pietermaritzburg. The subsequent extension of a line to the borders of Natal, Transvaal, and the Orange Free State, and another running parallel with the coast, as well as one to the coal fields, are evidences of the progress of this colony. That these lines are paying is evidenced by the fact that extensions thereof continue to be undertaken.

The Orange Free State, next in order of progress in regard to railway extension, permitted, as before stated, under a convention entered into with the Cape Colony, a line from the Cape border to Bloemfontein and thence to the Vaal River, on the Transvaal border; and the success of this undertaking has proved so remunerative, that the purchase of the line from the Cape Colony and the subsequent extension by this state of its internal railway policy has secured for it advantages which it would never have possessed without this railway system.

The Transvaal has not only joined the Orange Free State border line on the Vaal River, as well as the Natal line on the border of that colony, to the principal towns of the republic, but has also secured an outlet in the Indian Ocean by a terminus at Delagoa Bay, whilst a further expansion of its railway system has been continued to the great advantage of trade. The Rhodesian line is the last and not the least important one to be included in this rehearsal of South African lines. From the border of the Cape Colony to Buluwayo the line is completed and worked by and under a special agreement with the Cape Colony. Another line from Beira on the east coast to Salisbury is nearing completion, and this will eventually be extended to Buluwayo; whilst from the last-named place we look for a farther extension to the Zambesi, where the coal fields will, it is said, be powerful adjuncts in the support of a system so pregnant with great results.

May we not confidently hope that Mr. Rhodes' aspiration for a route through Central Africa will eventually find its accomplishment in the all-desired Cape to Cairo line. The Pharaohs of Egypt left the Pyramids as monuments of enduring fame, but these will become secondary objects of interest when once science has accomplished its august task of piercing regions unknown to ancient Egypt, by traversing the Nile from its actual and not its old mythical source to Cairo, and by

bringing the north and south of this large continent into direct communication. The African Continental Telegraph, meanwhile marching with rapid strides, will soon accomplish this desirable object of through communication. The African Continent will no longer deserve the prefix of "Dark," when the electric current flashes news from north to south of it, along its entire length. Light will pierce its darkest part, unexplored regions, the quaint and barbarous names of which are now known only to the few, will become as familiar to us as those of the largest European states; and African aborigines will, with wondering gaze, behold the results produced by the discoveries of science, and learn to appreciate the advantages of civilisation.

Let me summarise the value of the South African railways. A large system embracing many thousands of miles, controlled by six states and colonies (including the Portuguese portion of Delagoa Bay), provides for the advancement and progress of South Africa as a whole by means of their different railways. We rejoice in the existence of the federation of the Dominion of Canada. We hope that Australasia is on the eve of declaring its faith in the establishment of a commonwealth bound together for mutual protection and advancement, and, like Canada, maintaining its unswerving attachment and loyalty to the British Crown. May we not indulge the hope of a United South Africa under obligations and with intentions similar to those of Canada and Australasia? We found this hope on what has already been accomplished. The British dependencies in South Africa and the Orange Free State have already agreed to a Customs Union. All the colonies and states there habitually send delegates to railway conferences, and a South African Postal Union has now existed for two years.

The Cape, Natal, and Rhodesia can—if they have not already done so—form the nucleus of such a federation. We feel assured no promptings of loyalty need be

urged for this course, nor can any reason be suggested against a federation which, while it would ensure incalculable benefits to those embraced within its fold, would, in unmistakable terms, prove to the world at large that the strength of Queen Victoria's Empire is due to the spontaneous determination of her people, in all their component parts, to unite for its consolidation, preservation, and defence.

THE RAILWAYS OF CANADA

By SIDNEY G. B. CORYN

On the confederation of the British North American provinces in 1867, it at once became apparent that the railways of Canada were altogether insufficient for the political needs of the country, or for its colonisation. The eastern provinces of Quebec and Ontario were already largely settled. The Grand Trunk Railway, with its Atlantic termini at Levis (Quebec) and at Portland, Maine, extended westward to Chicago, supplying the great centres of Montreal, Kingston, Toronto, and embracing Buffalo, Detroit, and Toledo in its network of lines. But with the north shore of Lake Superior, with Winnipeg, the Prairie Provinces, the Rocky Mountains and far distant British Columbia, there was no direct railway connection, and without a transcontinental line the confederation of the provinces seemed to be *de jure* only. In the year of the confederation the Canadian Government set to work to supply the deficiency, and to connect by railway the east and the west, the Atlantic and the Pacific.

But in 1881 it became evident that the work of construction could better be carried on by the continuity of private energy than by a government exposed to political vicissitudes, and whose undertakings

were necessarily thrown into the arena of party strife. In this year, with the goodwill and aid of the Government, the Canadian Pacific Railway Company came into existence, taking over those parts of the line already constructed, amounting to nearly 400 miles, other parts still under construction of over 600 miles in extent —which, however, were to be finished by the Government—and making themselves responsible for the completion of the entire line. Work of the most energetic description was immediately inaugurated. Across the prairie, west of Winnipeg, the rails were laid at a rate varying from three to six miles a day. In the mountains, obstacles which with reason had been pronounced insurmountable, gave way before the unremitting attacks of the engineers. On the 7th November 1885, the construction parties from the east and from the west met at Craigellachie, in Eagle Pass, and the completed Canadian Pacific Railway had taken its place in the commerce, the politics, and the social life of the world.

But construction did not stop with the fulfilment of the Government contract. Branch lines were pushed out in every direction. As an immediate result, colonisation proceeded apace. The industrious and the enterprising from all lands were attracted to the enormous stretch of prairie lands in the North-West of Canada. The territories immediately contiguous to the railway rose in value, and, as colonisation extended itself northwards, the branch lines followed, aiding those already there and encouraging others to follow. From Regina a line went north, connecting with Prince Albert and Battleford. Another line north from Calgary opened up the wheat land as far as Edmonton. South of the main line a network of branch lines made available the extraordinary fertility of Southern Manitoba, while the continual discoveries of gold in the mountains have called into existence the lines neces-

sary for their working. At the time of writing, the actual mileage worked by the Canadian Pacific Railway and in course of construction is 7676.

But not content with its victories by land, the Company has laid its hand also upon the sea. Connecting with the railway terminus at Vancouver, a fleet of high-class passenger steamers connects the new world with the old world of China and Japan and with Australasia. The developments of the future are largely obvious, but whatever they may be, they can but tend to make the railway system of Canada ever more and more the highway to the Orient.

The Canadian Pacific Railway may be said to contain within itself examples of almost every kind of engineering work, and to represent a successful conflict with almost every engineering difficulty. In the Selkirk and Rocky Mountains these difficulties reached their culmination, and are sufficiently evident even to the inexperienced eye. Elsewhere the difficulties were none the less real, although not so obvious. To the present day a constant struggle is maintained to counteract the shelving tendency of the subsoil on the north shore of Lake Superior. The long prairie stretch of line, 600 miles long, produces difficulties peculiar to itself, and in part dependent upon the more or less sudden changes of temperature. But when the line reaches the mountain district the most hardened traveller becomes awed at the splendour of the scenery and at the engineering patience and skill which have placed a railway line where a mountain goat could have barely found a passage. For hour after hour the train wends its way through this scenery, and every five minutes its nature changes. At one moment the train is passing along the face of a precipice with 1500 feet of rock above and below. It is running on an artificial road bed, in parts so narrow that the traveller looking down from the car window sees only the

mountain torrent below. Then, again, we are running through miles of snow-sheds, wooden structures of enormous strength, and so designed as to resist the heaviest avalanche. Through ravines and gorges into whose depths the sunlight barely penetrates, skirting the edges of precipices, plunging into the tunnelled mountain sides, winding in and out of valleys, turning back upon parallel track, the line threads its way through the mountain fastnesses, and every hour increases the wonder at a work so stupendous and so successful. Nor does Nature remain quiescent under her subjection. An army of watchers and workers is ever toiling to repair the road bed, the bridges, and the snow-sheds. Every five miles we meet the solitary patrol whose endless duty it is to note and to report every defect and every variation. And as a result of this ceaseless care, the history of the Canadian Pacific Railway has been unmarred by any preventible mishap, and the efficiency of the line stands unsurpassed among the railways of the world.

THE RAILWAY SYSTEMS OF AUSTRALIA

By the Hon. D. W. CARNEGIE

New South Wales.—In considering the railways of Australia it seems natural that one should begin with that of New South Wales, the "Mother Colony of the Australias"—the first turf of which was turned on 3rd July 1850, by the daughter of the then governor, His Excellency Sir Charles Augustus Fitzroy, at Sydney.

The railways of the colony have, so to speak, been put together piecemeal, as the growing wants of the colony increased, otherwise they would have followed different routes.

They consist—all connecting with Sydney—of the

Sydney and Suburban, the Southern Line and its branches to the Victorian border, 868½ miles; the Western Line to Bourke, on the River Darling, and its branches, 879¼ miles; the South Coast Line, 94¼ miles, connecting with Newcastle; the Northern Line and its branches to the Queensland border, 494¼ miles; Sydney to Newcastle, 93 miles; unconnected Northern Branch, 63¾ miles; that is, a total mileage, with other short lines, of 2639¼ miles, constructed at a capital outlay of £32,024,538. The rolling stock, with workshops, &c., is valued at £5,233,865, making a total cost of £14,463 per mile.

These are Government railways, with the English gauge of 4 ft. 8½ in. In addition to these there are private lines. One from Deniliquin to Moama, 45 miles, feeding the Victorian system, on a gauge of 5 ft. 3 in.; another connecting Broken Hill with the South Australian railways, 35¾ miles long, with a 3 ft. gauge. Other extensions are in contemplation, but are all of the "light railway" character. The system is under the control of commissioners: Mr. E. M. G. Eddy, Chief Commissioner, Mr. Charles Oliver and Mr. W. Fehon, to whose foresight and energy the facts are due that the railways of New South Wales are the most efficiently maintained, the best managed, and the most profitable of all the State railways of Australasia. It is said that there are in the United Kingdom no locomotives so powerful as the New South Wales consolidation engines. It is necessary to have such powerful engines, because on most lines the gradients are very steep, varying on 631 miles from 1 in 30 to 1 in 75.

Rates for passengers and goods are much the same as in England. First-class passenger tickets cost from ¾d. to ⅞d. per mile; a parcel of 112 lbs. is carried 50 miles for 1s. 9d.; a ton of hay goes for less than ½d. per mile; a ton of grain or flour for less than ⅝d.

The Government works the railways less for profit to themselves than for the convenience of up-country producers and the public generally. M.P.'s and others are entitled to free passes over all lines.

The accident statistics show that the average of killed and injured per million passengers is 0.1 killed and 3.6 injured, as against 0.1 killed and 1.6 injured in the United Kingdom.

Victoria.—The central portion of this colony is well supplied with a choice network of railways, which branches out in long lines to the more sparsely populated districts east and west. In 1887 there was a total length of 1880 miles open for traffic, the average cost being £11,748 per mile; but up to 1896 the length opened amounted to 3122¼ miles, at a cost per mile of £12,272, the whole of the capital cost being £38,108,151, which includes the value of the rolling stock.

There are 263 passenger engines, 254 goods engines, 1075 passenger vehicles, 8546 goods and other vehicles, and 473 vans, while during the year 1895–96 (the year on which these statements are calculated) 40,993,798 passengers were carried, and the freight amounted to 2,163,722 tons. The total receipts from both sources amounted to £2,401,392, averaging £769 per mile open. The total train miles run reached 8,989,391, giving gross receipts per train mile of a little over 5s. 4d. The net profit for the year amounted to £854,917.

The railways are all laid down on a uniform gauge of 5 ft. 3 in. They are the property of the State, and are managed like the lines of New South Wales by a special board of three commissioners.

The average of killed and injured on the Victorian lines is 0.1 for the former, and 3.2 for the latter per million passengers. Sydney may be reached from

Melbourne in 17¼ hours, a distance of 576¼ miles, an average of 33.4 miles per hour. Many of the gradients on the way are exceedingly steep. At Exeter a height of 2348 feet and at Cullerin 2392 feet is reached. The cost of a journey from Melbourne to Sydney is a little over £4 first and £3 second class—the return fares being a little over £6 first and £4 second class.

South Australia.—In South Australia the first railway opened was that between Adelaide and Port Adelaide in 1856. This was followed by the line between Adelaide and Kapunda in 1857. At first a gauge of 5 ft. 3 in. was adopted, but in 1867 a gauge of 3 ft. 6 in. was also adopted. The broad gauge runs from Adelaide 147¼ miles north to Terowie, and south-east on the road to Melbourne, where at Serviceton, 196¼ miles from Adelaide, it crosses the boundary line. At Serviceton, passengers are notified that the time changes one hour, Victorian time being one hour in advance of South Australian time. A broad gauge line also runs south to Port Victor. With these exceptions, all the lines are of 3 ft. 6 in. gauge.

In all, there are 1722¼ miles of railway open for traffic, 1229¼ being 3 ft. 6 in. gauge, and 493¼ of 5 ft. 3 in. The capital cost on this mileage, reckoned up to 1897, was £12,599,892, an average of £7310 per mile.

The number of passengers carried amounted to 5,799,928, paying £297,026. The freight carried reached 1,146,293 tons.

The average payment per mile for passengers comes out (1896–97) at ·68d. per mile, and the average payment per ton of goods per mile 1.05d.

The rolling stock consists of 153 engines, mostly of English type, with 98 tenders, 186 passenger coaches,

and 30 intercolonial passenger coaches, while of goods and live-stock waggons there are 2278.

The net revenue for 1896–97 was £410,780.

Convenient trains are run to various watering-places and points of interest, as the National Park, Belair, Gawler, termed the "Modern Athens," the Naracoorte Caves, and other points of interest.

Western Australia.—This province had on 30th June 1897, 1361 miles of railway open for traffic. Of these 970 miles are Government lines, and 391 miles of private lines.

The first consist of:—

	Miles.
1. Eastern Railway	453
2. South-Western	165
3. Great Southern	243
4. Northern	109

The private lines are:—

1. The Midland Railway of West Australia, constructed under a concession on the land grant system, the company receiving 12,000 acres for every mile of line constructed. Starting 10 miles out of Perth, it runs 277 miles to Walkaway, where it joins the Government line to Geraldtown.

2. The Denmark Railway, constructed by Messrs. Millar's Karri and Jarrah Forests, Limited, under a special concession, 60 miles in all.

3. Yarloop Railway, constructed by the same company, 16 miles in length.

4. The Upper Darling Range Railway, the property of the Canning Jarrah Timber Company, 35 miles in length. On this line there is a passenger service twice a week, on Wednesdays and Saturdays.

5. The Jarrahdale Railway has a total run of 52 miles, and was constructed by the Jarrahdale Company under a special timber concession agreement.

6. The Quindalup, 14 miles in length, under a special timber concession to H. J. Yelverton.

7. M. C. Davies Company, Limited, has constructed a 20-mile line, also under a timber concession.

These lines, with the exception of the Upper Darling line, are used for timber traffic from the forests to ports and the main lines.

The Government railway returns show a gradual increase in passenger traffic, freightage, and receipts since their first establishment, the percentage of working expense to gross earnings being 49.79 in 1895–96, as against 114.46 in 1890, the net profit in 1895–96 being £265,911.

The rolling stock consists of 214 locomotives, 184 passenger carriages, and 4265 brake-vans and waggons. Most of the lines are single and terminal, and are of a standard gauge of 3 ft. 6 in.

Queensland.—In this colony as in the others the railways are Government property, and are administered by three commissioners; the powers of the Chief Commissioner (who makes a full report quarterly and one annually to the Minister at the head of the Railway Department of the Government) are very considerable, and in fact are limited only by his inability to make contracts outside the colony. The mileage open to traffic in 1896–97 was 2505¾, and was comprised in eight separate systems—

Southern	Railways	and branches	1399¾ miles.
Central	do.	do.	559 ,,
Mackay	do.	and branch	31 ,,
Bowen	do.		48 ,,
Northern	do.		260 ,,
Cairns	do.		47 ,,
Cooktown	do.		67 ,,
Normanton	do.		94 ,,

The gauge adopted is that of 3 ft. 6 in., which in Queensland at least, it has been shown, enabled a greater mileage of line to be constructed at a less cost, and the fares also compare favourably with those of the other colonies, while the freightage rates are, with slight exceptions, more in favour of Queensland than even the passenger rates.

The net revenue, 1896–97, notwithstanding cheap rates, amounted to £495,127.

In conclusion, it may be interesting to make some comparison between the systems in the various colonies. The proposal to federate has been the means of introducing the question of establishing a uniform gauge for the whole of the railways. At present the gauges and the average cost per mile are as under—

Queensland	Gauge,	3 ft. 6 in.	av. cost per mile,	£7028
New South Wales	,,	4 ft. 8½ in.	,,	14,160
Victoria . .	,,	5 ft. 3 in.	,,	12,271
South Australia .	,,	3 ft. 6 in. / 5 ft. 3 in.	,,	7302
West Australia .	,,	3 ft. 6 in.	,,	3847
Tasmania . .	,,	3 ft. 6 in.	,,	8985
New Zealand .	,,	3 ft. 6 in.	,,	7719

It will thus be seen that the question of uniform gauge presents considerable difficulty, and if alterations were made the younger colonies would probably have to adopt that of the older and more populous ones. Though uniformity of gauge would doubtless give great advantages, it must be remembered that in new countries length, not width, gives the greatest benefit.

There are many points I should like to discuss, but I have already overrun the limits assigned. There is, however, one thing I should like to say in conclusion. In connection with State railways no provision is made for writing off capital lost in failures. The capital charge constantly accumulates, and interest upon it is

looked for. If a line built by a private company fails, the shareholders bear the loss once and for all; and if the company is reconstructed on purchase at a nominal price (comparatively) of the assets, interest only has to be paid on the reduced capital.

The average dividends paid by United Kingdom railways is 4 per cent. There can be no doubt this would be reduced considerably if net profits were hampered with the total cost of construction to date.

Of the Australian railways, that of West Australia alone made a net profit over all of 4 per cent. The others made an average loss of 29.5 per cent. This is brought about by the necessity of paying interest on the cost of construction.

Tasmania.—The lines of railway in working in the State of Tasmania are the Launceston and Western Railway, from Launceston to Formby; the Main line, from Hobart to Launceston, and branches from Launceston; the Sorell line, from Bellerive to Sorell; and on the east coast, Strahan to Zeehan; Ringville to North-East Dundas. The total expenditure on the Government line which had been opened for traffic to 1900 was £8189 per mile. The gross revenue earned in 1899 was £193,158, and the working expenses £152,798. The gross revenue for 1899 was more than that of 1898 by £14,978. The profit for the year's work was £40,360, an increase of £3359 over 1898.

New Zealand.—The New Zealand railway system, which connects all the capitals of the provincial districts, affords examples of both State-owned and private lines.

Of the former, there was open for traffic in March 1900, 2104 miles, the cost of construction being £16,703,887, an average per mile of £7939. The

former sum, however, includes over half a million spent on the construction of lines not yet open for traffic on that date.

The cash revenue for the year 1899 to 1900 was £1,623,891, and the expenditure for the same period £1,052,358, leaving a net revenue of £571,583, equal to a rate of £3, 8s. 5d. per cent. on the capital cost—percentage of expenditure to revenue, 64.80. The earnings of some lines, however, ranged as high as £13, 3s. 6d. per cent.

The following table shows at a glance the increase in the nine years 1889 to 1898:—

Year.	Length of Line open for Traffic.	Train Mileage.	Passengers Carried.	Season Tickets Issued.	Goods and Live Stock Carried.
	Miles.	Miles.			Tons.
1889-90 .	1,813	2,868,203	3,376,459	12,311	2,112,734
1898-99 .	2,090	3,968,708	4,955,553	55,027	2,744,441

The private lines of New Zealand consisted, in March 1899, of 167 miles, viz.:—

	Miles.
1. The Wellington-Manawatu Railway .	84
2. The Kaitangata Railway	4
3. The Midland Railway	79

Of the first of these, the Wellington-Manawatu Railway, the cost of construction was £767,665, a rate of £9139 per mile; the revenue for the year ending February 1899, £86,119; and the working expenses, £39,310—a percentage of 45.64 to the revenue.

The Midland Railway of New Zealand cost to construct, £760,000; its revenue for the year ending March 1899 was £20,204; the expenses, £20,000—giving a percentage of 99.99 to the revenue. This railway has lately been taken over by the Government.

COMPARATIVE TABLE OF THE AUSTRALASIAN RAILWAYS, FOR THE YEAR ENDING JUNE 1899.

	Mileage.	Cost.	Gross Earnings.	Working Expenses.	Passengers.	Gauge.	
		£	£	£		Ft.	In.
New South Wales	2,706	37,992,276	3,145,273	1,690,442	24,726,067	4	8½
Queensland .	2,745	18,670,208	1,373,475	784,811	3,716,425	3	6
South Australia .	1,724	12,886,352	1,058,379	617,380	6,171,081	5 3	3 6
Tasmania .	438	3,585,039	178,180	141,179	617,643	3	6
Victoria .	3,143	39,056,451	2,873,729	1,716,441	45,805,043	5 2	3 6
West Australia .	1,355	6,427,370	1,004,620	712,329	5,872,200	3	6
New Zealand	2,090	15,993,903	1,469,665	929,737	4,955,553	3	6

PRODUCTION OF GOLD IN GREATER BRITAIN

ITS INFLUENCE IN THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE BRITISH EMPIRE

By J. W. BROOMHEAD

THE history of the British Empire would be incomplete without any account of the important part played by gold mining and its developments. The progress of Great Britain may be said to be founded on its coal and iron; of Greater Britain on its gold. In the early history of the human race, war and the quest of food scattered the people over the earth; but in later times the quest of gold has considerably promoted and greatly aided in the occupation of vast areas of the globe, by an industrious and enterprising population, mainly of British origin. Over these new regions, covering one-fifth of the globe, the British language, British freedom, law and justice, as well as the inherited colonising energy of the Briton, prevail.

Australasia and British North America had not been previously exploited by ancient miners, as is the case with India and Rhodesia. In the former virgin countries the golden sands, or alluvial gold formed by Nature's mills—the slow but sure action of climatic influences—were already prepared for the hand of man to reap the yellow harvest; and the pick and shovel, tin dish and cradle were all the equipment necessary to win the golden grain. Nature had already sunk the shafts, driven the levels, stoped and

raised the ore, as well as oxidised, crushed, and concentrated it for man, so that it might be found in the most easily recoverable form. Consequently in the early days of virgin countries men frequently made fortunes with little labour; and news of rich finds, including the occasional discovery of a big nugget, reaching the Mother Country, multitudes had their imagination fired with dreams of untold wealth, and made all haste for the new El Dorado. In time these easily treated rich-surface deposits became exhausted; but they had served to bring in a large working population, who with the money so easily gained, in many cases remained, either to exploit the reef formations—the original sources of the alluvial deposits—or, finding land cheap and good, and trade more prosperous than in the old country, to turn their attention to other sources of wealth. Some British possessions were, however, so inaccessible and had to contend with such great difficulties in regard to transport, that even the stimulus of rich alluvial finds was insufficient to overcome the initial difficulties connected with the development of their quartz mines. This was the case in British Columbia, where in the early sixties large quantities of alluvial gold were produced, but natural conditions were at that time so adverse that even rich quartz mines could not be worked at a profit. Now that this section of country has been opened up by the Canadian Pacific Railway with its branches, and smelters have been erected at convenient centres, British Columbia is rapidly coming into prominence as a quartz-mining country of great promise. When it is considered that one of our most richly mineralised colonies, even with the aid of large alluvial deposits, was for thirty years delayed by natural conditions from working quartz mines known to be rich, *from grass roots,* there is no cause for surprise in the lack of progress displayed by such

countries as Rhodesia. The latter, besides having to contend with adverse natural conditions, has at some previous epoch not only been deprived of its alluvials, but also of its oxidised surface ore down to water level. After the alluvials are exhausted, the oxidised surface ores, which are generally free milling, can be inexpensively treated; but to do this it is necessary to erect crushing mills and heavy equipment. In British Columbia the difficulty in getting plant into the heart of the Rocky Mountains was formerly insurmountable, while in the Australian colonies, where transport difficulties were not great, quartz-mining followed closely upon alluvial, and a considerable amount of the money won from the latter was devoted to the equipment of the quartz mines. In time, however, deep shafts have to be sunk, the ore becomes refractory, heavy bodies of water need to be pumped, so that the ground requires either to be rich or worked upon a large scale to yield payable results.

The richest mining area yet found is situated in the centre of the Kalgoorlie district of Western Australia, but its discovery is of so recent a date that it may be said to be merely in its infancy. The most prolific area is the Witwatersrandt district of the Transvaal, whose development is due to British enterprise, and some of the mines situated in British possessions are amongst the most productive in the world. Amongst these may be mentioned the Broken Hill Proprietary Mine, which, from 1885 to end of May 1897, yielded 87,526,567 ounces of silver, 326,060 tons of lead, besides a considerable amount of gold and copper, the total value being £17,133,184 sterling. The Mount Morgan in Queensland has since 1887 returned gold to the value of £6,500,000 sterling, while the Mysore Mine in India has in nine years yielded gold to the value of £2,600,000 sterling. The Waihi Mine in the North Island of New Zealand

may also be mentioned amongst the greatest gold mines of the world. Although it has only yet attained to a comparatively small equipment, developments are of such a nature as to leave no doubt regarding its future. It is, however, to the Transvaal that we must turn for the greatest results of all. The whole area forming the Main Reef series of the Witwatersrandt is actually one mine, which is cut up into a great number of companies, each holding a number of claims. This goldfield in the month of October 1898 produced over 400,000 ounces of gold, or equal to an annual output exceeding £17,000,000 sterling. In 1887 its output was £81,000, and the aggregate output during the past decade approximates £64,000,000. This places it at the head of the list of gold-producing countries. It is estimated that £3,250,000 will be disbursed in dividends by the mining companies in this district during 1898. In 1897 there were over 8000 whites and 5000 natives employed, and over 5,000,000 tons of ore were crushed. In August 1898 the number of natives employed had increased to 81,203.

Reference to the history of the various Colonies forming the British Empire will demonstrate to what a large extent these countries have been indebted to gold-mining for their earlier developments, and in many cases the industry still retains an important position.

During the first half-century preceding the discovery of gold in Australia extremely slow progress was made, the total increase in population during that period not exceeding 85,000, New Zealand and Tasmania included, while the total revenue of the Colony of Victoria was only £304,000, but the discovery of gold in 1851 had a magical effect. From 1852 to 1861 over two million ounces of gold were annually produced by this single colony, and in 1856 Victoria produced over three million ounces of gold. This

great accession of wealth revolutionised the colony, and in the early days immigrants poured into it by thousands weekly from the Mother Country and neighbouring colonies.

Similarly in the history of New Zealand progress was very slow until the large finds of gold in 1861 created a rush. Although gold was discovered in New Zealand nine years earlier, it was not till 1861 that the discoveries assumed important dimensions. The produce of the Otago goldfield alone in 1861–62 amounted to 1,020,000 ounces of gold, having a value of over £4,000,000 sterling, and the total value of gold exported from New Zealand between 1857 and 1897 exceeded £53,000,000 sterling, the bulk of this gold being obtained from alluvials and surface workings. As these are now to all appearance worked out, future developments will have to depend upon deep exploitation of quartz lodes and upon river dredging.

The history of West Australia as a gold-producing country may be said practically to date from the discovery in 1893 of the rich ground subsequently known as Bayley's Reward Claim, and situated in the Coolgardie district. Now, however, interest in the gold-mining industry of the colony is centred mainly in the Kalgoorlie district owing to the great width and the richness of its lodes, which carry sulphide and telluride ores. Recent discoveries of alluvial have also been made, and the geological formation of the country indicates that a heavy denudation has taken place; hence prospecting may be expected to result in the discovery of alluvial deposits of much larger dimensions than any so far encountered.

It has been for years my opinion that large alluvial deposits would be found either *in situ* as the result of recent erosions, or farther afield from the lode formations, as the result of earlier denudations. Discovery of these deposits may be difficult on account of the

superimposed detritus and the obliteration of the ancient river systems.

The total gold production of the various Australasian Colonies, from the first discovery in 1851 to the end of 1897, is shown in the following table:—

	Quantity.	Value.
	Oz.	£
Victoria	61,847,448	247,389,792
New Zealand . .	13,565,552	53,372,634
Queensland . . .	12,006,918	41,749,606
New South Wales	11,982,851	44,488,361
Western Australia	1,642,620	6,241,957
Tasmania . . .	940,659	3,541,625
South Australia .	498,884	1,817,433
Australasia .	102,484,932	£398,601,408

The value of the mineral production of British Columbia increased from $2,608,608 in 1890 to $10,456,268 in 1897, and developments in progress indicate a much greater expansion in the future.

What has already taken place in other colonies will take place in Rhodesia. This territory has laboured under disadvantages of distance from the seaboard, rebellion, raid and rinderpest, as well as having its alluvials and more easily worked surface ores extracted by the ancients; but, with the railway completed to Buluwayo, Rhodesia will figure as a gold producer in time. Upon no other portion of the earth's surface do such extensive old workings exist; but modern mining will have to commence where the ancients were compelled by water to leave off. It cannot be doubted that an enormous quantity of gold must have been extracted from these workings by the ancient miners, whoever they were, otherwise they would not have done so much work with such rudimentary appliances as are found in or about the old shafts over this large

area. Evidence is now forthcoming that gold deposits of a payable nature exist in depths, and the search for gold will play an important part in the opening up of Rhodesia, as it has done in the case of other British colonies.

I understand a new goldfield of considerable promise has recently been located in Ashanti, on the coast of West Africa in British territory. It is situated on the Adansi Mountains, midway between Kumasi and the coast. Mr. E. A. Cade, with a fully-equipped expedition, arrived on the fields on the 1st of January 1898, and to the end of June, with a five-stamp battery, 380 lbs. each, crushed 262 tons for 617 ounces of gold, leaving 11 dwts. per ton in the tailings. The formation consists of banket or conglomerate and quartz lodes, one of which so far averages an ounce per ton over the width of 25 feet. In the smaller reefs richer stone is found. Of this district Mr. Cade says: "You can hardly by chance take up and wash a pan of soil without also getting a show of gold." It is situated on the Hinterland of the Gold Coast, and has extensive ancient workings, from which there is little doubt the gold came which gave the name to this part of the coast.

In 1883 the world's total production of gold fell to £19,000,000, chiefly through the decline in the yield from alluvial.

In 1886 the Witwatersrandt field was discovered, and has since been shown to contain an immense quantity of low-grade ore. The best mining engineers, mine managers, assayers, chemists and metallurgists the world produces have been there employed to discover the most economical method of treating this low-grade ore with results beneficial, not to this field only, but to gold-mining in general. The use of cyanide of potassium as a gold solvent was quickly followed by the discovery of the bromo-cyanide pro-

cess, and the evolution of many mechanical improvements and labour-saving appliances. These advances in the science of gold-getting have not only enabled refractory ores to be profitably treated, but have also enabled a much higher percentage of the gold contents of all classes of ore to be saved at a lower cost. The result has been a large increase in the world's gold production, which now approximates £56,000,000 sterling per annum, or something less than 1s. for each inhabitant of the globe. Of the total production the British Empire, including the Transvaal, which is under British suzerainty, at present produces more than one-half, and its gold-mining industry will in the future be an even more important branch of the national industry than it has been in the past. All our colonies are laying themselves out to give every encouragement to this class of mining, and several have taken extensive space in the mining section of the Greater Britain Exhibition to be held at Earl's Court in 1899. Developments progressing in the Transvaal, Western Australia, the deep leads of Victoria, Queensland, New Zealand, Ontario, Klondyke, British Columbia, and Rhodesia all point to a large increase in gold production in the near future.

In 1897 the United States of America produced gold to the amount of £12,208,600: the Transvaal came second with £11,694,873; Australia third with £10,785,266; and Russia fourth with £4,440,926; while the gold production of the world was in that year £49,199,209. The increase in the yield of the United States over 1896 was only £1,344,000, whereas the Transvaal's increase for that period was more than £3,000,000. In the present year it will be greater than in 1897 by £4,000,000. It may therefore safely be predicted that for some considerable number of years at least the British Empire will continue to yield more gold than all the rest of the world.

Seeing that gold mining will have to deal with deeper workings in the future than it has done in the past, it will be instructive to note the depths at which successful mining is being prosecuted in various parts of the world. In the Bendigo district of Victoria, eighteen mines have found payable gold at a depth of over 1800 feet, while the Shenandoah Mine is working at a depth of 2756 feet, and Lansell at over 3000 feet in depth in the same district, and both are in payable gold. In Charters Towers, in Queensland, payable gold is being obtained at over a depth of 2000 feet, while the deepest mine in New South Wales has only attained a depth of about 1100 feet. The deepest mines in the world are the Przibram, a silver mine in Austria, which has reached a depth of 3900 feet; the Sainte Henriette, a coal mine in Belgium, has also reached a depth of 3900 feet, while the Calumet and Hecla copper mine, on Lake Superior, is working at a depth of 4550 feet. As the chief obstacle to very deep working will arise from increase in temperature, it may be noted that B. H. Brough in 1896 found the mean increase to be 1° Fahr. for every 65 feet in depth, from observations made in forty-seven different mines and deep wells throughout the world. A good many of these observations were made where artificial ventilation did not exist, and it may be assumed that the increase will be less where such exists.

In the Witwatersrandt district of the Transvaal, the leading mining engineers consider it practicable to exploit the banket beds to a depth of 6000 feet. At present very few mines are working at a great depth, but there are a large number approaching a depth of 1000 feet. With the aid of artificial ventilation and improved appliances for controlling heavy bodies of water much greater depth will be attained, and deep-level mining will present no insuperable difficulties to the progress of this important industry.

BRITAIN'S SHARE IN POLAR DISCOVERY

By MILLER CHRISTY, F.L.S.

Part I.—The Search for North-East and North-West Passages

For close upon three centuries, the people of England took a very keen and active, if somewhat intermittent, interest in solving the problem of the existence of a navigable sea-passage from the European to the Chinese seas.

The great object of the search was to discover better trade routes to the vast wealth and treasure of China, India, and Japan, which had been first revealed to Western nations by the overland travels of Marco Polo, a Venetian merchant, at the end of the thirteenth century. Expedition after expedition was sent out, undeterred by the fact that one after another was forced to give up the search as fruitless. Never, in short, was any quest of the kind so long maintained, so often abandoned as altogether hopeless, or so frequently revived with sanguine expectations of success.

Prince Henry of Portugal, known as "The Navigator," sought, in the fifteenth century, what may be called a "South-Eastern Passage." He sent out expeditions to test the possibility of rounding the southern end of Africa, and so to open up a trade route with the Indies and China. By the year 1487, the "Cape Route" was an accomplished fact; but it proved to be very long and very costly.

Columbus, never dreaming of the existence of such

a continent as America, next conceived the idea of searching for a shorter route round the world, directly westward, across the Atlantic; and this was his object when he set out on his epoch-making voyage which resulted in the discovery of America. As he himself expressed it, his aim was "to reach the East by sailing West." Columbus, on sighting land, believed himself nearing the eastern coast of Asia. He had failed in his avowed object, the discovery of a western sea-route to China, but had achieved the discovery of America—certainly the greatest event in the world's history.

But this vast continent, the tremendous extent of which was realised but slowly, blocked the way to the riches of Eastern Asia. It was found to stretch in unbroken line almost from Pole to Pole. Ferdinand Magellan was the first to get round the southern extremity in 1520; but this "South-West Passage" (as it may be called) proved even longer than the older "South-East Passage" round the Cape. Obviously, a passage westward round the northern end of the new continent—a "North-West Passage," if such there were—would be shorter and present greater advantages.

Up to this time, the search had been maintained mainly by the Portuguese and Spaniards; but, in the endeavour to find a northern passage, England came to the front, and the search for passages, both by the North-East and the North-West, was undertaken and carried on mainly by Englishmen.

In 1553, an expedition under Sir Hugh Willoughby and Sir Richard Chancellor sailed from English shores. The route by which they hoped to reach the East was between Greenland and the northern coast of Asia; but the ice of the Polar seas proved impenetrable, and Willoughby himself perished in the attempt.

The North-Eastern Route having thus proved disastrous, attention was directed to the North-Western; and,

in 1576, there commenced that long series of expeditions—about seventy-five in all—which were sent out between the years 1576 and 1859.

This first systematic English attempt to discover a "North-West Passage" was made in the year above named under Sir Martin Frobisher. He discovered the inlet on the north-east coast of North America, which still bears his name. In two succeeding years, he revisited the same region for the purpose of bringing home certain ore which he believed to be rich in gold, but which proved to be of no value.

After an interval of about seven years, Captain John Davis spent three successive summers exploring what we know as Davis Strait, but his confidence that the Strait would prove to be the hoped-for passage was ill-placed. On his return to England in 1587, the threatened invasion of England by the Spanish Armada prevented, for a time, any further thought of Arctic exploration.

In the early part of the seventeenth century the search was renewed, and, during the first thirty years, no less than eleven voyages were made. The most important of these voyages was that made in 1610 by Henry Hudson, which resulted in the discovery of that vast inland sea since called Hudson's Bay. The voyage had a terribly tragic end, for Hudson's crew mutinied, set their captain and his son, with six others, adrift in a boat, and themselves returned to England. Of the occupants of that small boat, nothing more was ever heard.

The mutineers, on their return to England, caused great excitement by relating the circumstance of their 600-miles sail in a westward direction in open water. They and all the geographers of the time believed fully that the much-desired passage to the Pacific, and thence to the East, was actually discovered. Nothing seemed necessary but to fit out another expedition to

sail triumphantly through it. This new expedition was equipped by a great trading company, specially chartered, under Royal patronage, and Sir Thomas Button was appointed commander. Button sailed, in 1613, right across the Bay until stopped by its western shores, but long search revealed no opening in the coast by which he might continue to sail westward. After wintering in great distress, he turned homewards. His arrival in England caused bitter disappointment, for his seventeen-months absence had given rise to the belief that he had actually reached the Pacific.

Notwithstanding Button's failure, the North-West Passage Company fitted out other expeditions. One of these resulted, in 1616, in the discovery, by Bylot and Baffin, of Baffin's Bay. The only other attempts at this period were two made in 1631—one by a Yorkshire seaman, Luke Fox (to whom Charles I. granted the use of a vessel too old and rotten for the naval service): the other by Captain Thomas James, of Bristol, for whom the merchants of that city furnished a ship. They both made further search in Hudson's Bay, but without success. Their return, in 1632, largely convinced the nation that further search was useless, and the troublous times which followed drew off public attention to other matters.

A third series of expeditions was commenced in the year 1719; and, between that year and 1747, no less than five further attempts were made to discover a North-West Passage by way of the western shores of Hudson's Bay. Three of the five were organised by the Hudson's Bay Company. All were quite unsuccessful; and one ended most disastrously, for the vessels were wrecked and every soul perished. In 1741, the Admiralty despatched Captain Christopher Middleton, who, on his return empty-handed, was accused by his chief promoter (an Irishman named Dobbs) of concealing, for his own ends, the discovery of a passage. After

much controversy, Dobbs roused the public to subscribe £10.000 for another expedition, and was also instrumental in persuading the Government to offer a reward of £20,000 for the discovery of a passage through Hudson's Bay to the Pacific; and so, in 1746, a last attempt was made by this route—an attempt equally fruitless with those that had gone before it.

Next, a certain element of novelty was introduced into the method of attacking the problem which had baffled so many. Although the new project was short-lived, much hope was placed in it at the time. Hitherto, all explorers had endeavoured to sail from east to west through the Polar Seas: Why not try next from west to east—from the Pacific to the Atlantic? In pursuit of this new plan was engaged one of the most illustrious of England's navigators, Captain Cook. During the summer of 1778, Cook explored and mapped the far north-western coast of America, forcing his way as far north as possible. At what he called Icy Cape, he could penetrate no farther, and so made for the Hawaiian Islands, intending to winter there; but, in an encounter with the natives of the Islands, he lost his life, adding yet another tragedy to the long roll of disaster connected with Arctic Discovery.

In the early part of last century, after the long and costly war with France, England once more addressed herself to Arctic problems, very largely through the influence of Sir John Barrow, Secretary to the Admiralty. Parliament again offered, under new conditions, a reward of £20,000 for the discovery of a North-West Passage, as well as a smaller reward of £5000 to any one who should reach a certain point, to the north of America, about half-way between the Atlantic and the Pacific.

In the spring of 1818, two Arctic expeditions, lavishly equipped by the British Government, set forth for the Polar Seas. One was commanded by Captain

(afterwards Sir) John Ross, under whom served Lieutenant Parry. It re-explored the great Bay, discovered by Baffin in 1616, which had remained unvisited for two hundred years. By a series of unfortunate blunders, Ross mistook Smith's Sound and Lancaster Sound (through the latter of which nearly all later searchers endeavoured to find a passage) for mere inlets of the sea, filled with ice, and therefore not worth further exploration. Upon Ross's return, some of his officers declared themselves unsatisfied with his conclusions. The Government then sent out Parry to further examine Lancaster Sound. As he sailed farther and farther westward through this broad open channel, naming capes, bays, straits, and islands on either side, the more sanguine members of his party began to calculate the distance to Cook's Icy Cape, near the north-western extremity of America, knowing that, when they reached that point, they would be entitled to claim the reward for the discovery of a North-West Passage. When, five hundred miles from the entrance to Lancaster Sound, the ships reached the point which entitled their crews to the £5000 reward, they felt that the remaining £15,000 was well within their reach. But, only a day or two later, the ships were stopped by the ice and soon became firmly fixed. The dreary winter ensued, and the following summer saw them back in England with their task still unachieved. Twice did Parry return to the attack, losing, on one occasion, his vessel, the *Fury*, on what has since been known as Fury Beach, where all her stores were landed; but finally he had to abandon the quest.

It was now clear that a North-West Passage, even if found, could have little commercial value. The Government reward of £20,000 was, therefore, withdrawn, and national expeditions temporarily ceased. But Captain Ross was eager to retrieve his tarnished reputation. In 1828, having obtained the assistance of

Mr. Felix Booth, he started on another Arctic voyage, sailing in a small steamer—the first ever used in Polar exploration. For three years the vessel remained firmly fixed in the ice on the coast of Boothia Land, and the crew must have starved had they not, by means of a long march across the ice, fallen back on the stores left by Parry at Fury Beach. Ultimately, a whaling vessel rescued and brought them home, nearly four years and a half after their departure. The most important result attained was the determination of the actual position of the North Magnetic Pole. Captain Ross was rewarded by a knighthood and his crew received a monetary grant.

For several years, activity in Polar research was confined to an expedition, in 1839, to the Antarctic Region. On the return of this expedition, Sir John Barrow again urged the Government to renew its endeavour, pointing out that nothing was needed but to overhaul the ships just returned. This was done at comparatively small cost. Sir John Franklin was chosen commander, and the *Erebus* and the *Terror*, with three years' provisions on board, sailed on May 19, 1845. This was the last expedition ever sent out solely in search of a North-West Passage.

Franklin was instructed to pass through Lancaster Sound and make the best of his way southward and westward towards Bering Strait. In Melville Bay the ships made fast to the ice, which barred their progress, and there, on July 26, they were seen by the captain of a Hull whaler. Then they disappeared into the desolate Polar wastes.

Three years passed and, as no news had been received, anxiety as to the fate of the explorers became intense. For twelve long years, the search for a North-West Passage was forgotten and a search for Franklin took its place.

In 1848, three relief expeditions were sent out by

different routes; but, at the close of 1849, the fate of Franklin and his party was still unknown. Government and private rewards were offered to the amount of £23,000. In 1850, no less than fifteen vessels were actively engaged, while land expeditions were also out. It was not until 1852 that Dr. John Rae, returning from his land expedition, brought the first conclusive evidence of the tragic fate of Franklin's crews. On this, Government efforts ceased; but the search was maintained by private enterprise, till, in 1859, the steam yacht *Fox*, sent out by Lady Franklin and under the command of Captain (now Admiral Sir Leopold) M'Clintock, gathered together all the melancholy tidings that will ever be gleaned of the fate of Sir John Franklin and his men.

After wintering at Beechy Island, Franklin had turned south-westward down Peel Strait, where, in the autumn of 1846, his ships had been frozen in on the shores of King William Land, never again to be released. During the summer of 1847, by means of sledges, the party had pushed on westward, and sighted a point on the northern coast-line of the American Continent, which Franklin himself, travelling from the eastward, had reached some years previously. Thus, at last, the discovery of a North-West Passage was finally achieved, after a search of just 271 years. The brave old Sir John died almost directly after, proud to have seen, if not to have travelled through, the long-sought Passage. His men retreated southward, but every one of the 134 souls perished on the way. Only a few relics, some bones, and a single written paper, found hidden in a cairn, remain to tell the tale.

Although Franklin's expedition discovered a North-West Passage, it still remained for some one to pass through it. This was actually accomplished, in the years 1850–54, by Captain M'Clure, albeit the reverse way, from the Pacific to the Atlantic; but he had to aban-

don his ship and take to sledges, and was rescued by another vessel, which brought him to England.

To this day, no vessel of any kind has actually passed from the Atlantic to the Pacific, or *vice versâ*, round the North of America.

And now we have to recognise that the necessity which originally gave rise to the search no longer exists. The old Cape Route to India and China was shortened enormously, in 1869, by the opening of the Suez Canal; whilst the Canadian-Pacific and other North American trans-continental railways now enable us to travel from London to Japan in twenty days.

It may be asked whether all the enterprise and outlay has been justified by the results. Directly, perhaps, no: indirectly, undoubtedly, yes. The Arctic whale and seal fisheries, for 250 years a great and flourishing British industry, and the Hudson's Bay Company's trade, carried on for 230 years and still existing, are both obvious results.

Over and above these material advantages must be recognised the scientific gains to the world, which could not otherwise have been secured. Then, too, there was that fostering of the spirit of national enterprise which brought gallant men to the front, and developed in them the persistency and pluck which has made us, as a people, what we are, and has placed our little northern isle foremost among the nations of the world.

Part II.—Attempts to Reach the North and South Poles

The old search for a passage to the Orient by the North-East or North-West was almost wholly commercial in its origin and aim. The much-more-modern attempts to reach the Earth's Poles have a wholly scientific object, and their successful accom-

plishment would exercise little or no influence upon trade. The two quests have, in fact, no direct connection, except that each is a form of Polar Exploration.

At the outset, it should be noted that the two Poles of our Earth differ, in one respect, very widely.

One Pole (the Northern) lies, so far as has yet been ascertained, near the centre of a large ocean (of which an area about half the size of Europe still remains unexplored), surrounded by three of the world's greatest continents.

The other Pole (the Southern) lies, so far as we know, in the midst of a huge unexplored land-mass, some four millions of square miles in area—a sixth continent, in fact—whose shores are washed by the three largest oceans of our globe.[1]

These vast uncharted Polar areas—the Southern especially—form the only really-extensive portions of the Earth's surface which man has not been able, as yet, to explore. Each presents innumerable problems—meteorological, geological, geographical, biological, and magnetic—of the highest interest to scientific men, who are anxiously awaiting their solution. The solution of these problems and the natural ambition of man to become familiar with all parts of the world he inhabits (especially those which have baffled all attempts hitherto made to reach them), afford the only tangible objects of Polar Exploration; for the actual reaching of either of the exact mathematical points which form the Earth's axes or "Poles" is, in itself, of no practical importance whatever, though, to the popular mind, always the main object.

The attempt to reach the North Pole originated in 1772, when the Hon. Daines Barrington—Gilbert White's friend and correspondent—collected and pub-

[1] There is, it is true, no conclusive evidence of the existence of this reputed Antarctic Continent, sometimes called "Antarctica"; but there are good reasons for thinking it exists. In any case, it is certain that huge land-masses exist within the Antarctic Circle.

lished the narratives of whalers and others who had previously approached the Pole. In the following year, an expedition fitted out at the national expense, and commanded by Captain Phipps, set sail from England in order to reach the Pole. It was the first ever sent out solely with that object. Though well conducted, it achieved little of importance, and is now of interest chiefly from the fact that Nelson served on it as a midshipman.

In 1776, Parliament offered a reward of £5000 to any one who should approach within one degree of the Pole—a reward which has never yet been claimed. No one, in fact, approached the Pole nearer than Phipps until 1806, when Captain Scoresby, a well-known whaling captain, sailing to the north of Spitzbergen, reached 81° 30′—the highest latitude until then attained.

In 1818, interest in the matter revived, and a national expedition under Captain Buchan was despatched. It was stopped by the ice between Greenland and Spitzbergen, sustaining severe injuries to the two ships engaged. It accomplished nothing; but it gave Franklin, who served as a lieutenant, his first experience of Arctic exploration.

The failure of these well-thought-out expeditions showed that it was impossible to reach the Pole by sailing through the ice; and, in 1827, Parry essayed a novel plan. Sailing to the north of Spitzbergen, he there left his ship and started towards the Pole in boats fitted with runners, so that they might be used either as sledges for passing over the ice or as boats for navigating open water. He proceeded until he attained a point more than a degree north of any before reached, when he found that the ice was drifting southward more rapidly than he was travelling northwards over it, so that he was actually losing ground. He, therefore, turned back.

After this, the enterprise was neglected for many years, and nothing further was done in this country, till after the long search for Franklin had ended.

In 1875, however, another great national expedition was despatched in H.M. ships *Alert* and *Discovery*, under Captain (now Admiral Sir George) Nares and Captain (now Admiral A. H.) Markham. The expedition was intended to proceed by way of the narrow strait known as Smith's Sound, to the North of Baffin's Bay. Smith's Sound had been explored by the American Expeditions under Hall and Kane, one of which had wintered at a higher latitude than had ever before been reached by any *ship*. On May 12th, in the following year, Markham, when in charge of a sledging party, advanced over the ice to a point just within 400 miles of the Pole itself, thus breaking, by about forty miles, the record established by Parry fifty years earlier.

During the last quarter of a century "Britain's Share in Polar Discovery" has been a very small share indeed compared with that taken by the people and Governments of other nations—especially the Americans, Norwegians, and Swedes. So far as the attempt to reach the *North* Pole is concerned, that share is, indeed, almost confined to Mr. Harmsworth's expedition under Mr. F. G. Jackson, which carried on a good deal of useful local exploratory work in Franz Josef Land, from 1894 to 1896, but did little towards reaching the Pole, though intended originally for that purpose.

Three of the more important attempts made recently by foreigners may be alluded to briefly, although, strictly speaking, they do not fall under the title chosen for these remarks.

First comes that of Herr S. A. André, a well-known Swedish scientist, who, in 1897, started from Spitzbergen in a balloon fitted with a special steering

apparatus of his own invention. Nothing is known of his fate, and it is now impossible to doubt that he has perished.

In all respects the most important attempt ever made to reach the North Pole or to explore thoroughly any considerable portion of the region surrounding it, was that made in the years 1893–96 by Dr. Fridtjof Nansen, a Norwegian of Danish descent.

Recognising that the old methods of procedure had failed, Nansen thought out a new plan. He inferred from the fact that drift-timber and other objects from the Siberian coast are thrown up continually on the East side of Greenland, that there exists a current which flows across the Polar Ocean in the direction indicated; and it seemed clear to him that, if a ship could be built strongly enough to withstand the pressure of the Polar ice, this ship might drift easily, in time, with the ice, across the Polar Ocean—perhaps, even, across the very Pole itself. Accordingly, he built the *Fram* (that is, Forward), probably the strongest vessel ever until then constructed. She was fashioned also, below the water-line, of such shape that ice-pressure, instead of crushing her, should merely force her upwards until she lay upon the surface.

The *Fram*, provisioned for five years, and manned by a picked Norwegian crew of twelve hands, sailed from Christiania in June 1893, crossed the Kara Sea, crept along the northern coasts of Europe and Asia, and reached, that autumn, the New Siberian Islands, where she was forced into the Arctic ice-pack. Slowly she commenced to drift north-westward, as Nansen had anticipated. This continued all the following year (1894), until, shortly after Christmas, Lat. 83° 23′ (the highest previous record) was passed. On March 14th 1895, deeming the *Fram* to have passed the most northerly point she was likely to reach, Nansen

left her, with Lieutenant Johansen as his sole companion, in order to attempt a nearer approach towards the Pole by means of dog-sledge and canoe. Three weeks later, on April 7th, the two reached Lat. 86° 14′, a point about 226 geographical miles from the Pole —as far, that is, as Newcastle is from London. Here the extreme roughness of the ice compelled return. After an exceedingly perilous journey over the ice, Nansen and his companion at last reached Franz Josef Land, where they passed the winter of 1895–6, in a hut they built of earth, stones, and moss, and roofed with walrus hides. They lived, meanwhile, on bear's meat. In the spring (that of 1896), they started southwards for Spitzbergen, but soon came upon Mr. Jackson's camp at Cape Flora, whence they proceeded to Norway in Mr. Harmsworth's relieving-vessel *Windward*, arriving on the 13th of August. A week later, the *Fram* (from which Nansen and Johansen had been separated seventeen months) also arrived, and Nansen's remarkable expedition, extending over more than three years, came to an end.

Nansen achieved practically all that he attempted. He approached nearly two hundred miles nearer to the Pole than any one before him; and, in so doing, he explored a vast region which had previously been so utterly unknown that no one could say whether it was sea or land. He showed that there was probably no land on this side of the Pole, and that the Polar Ocean was of a depth previously unsuspected. All this he did without serious injury to his ship or the loss of a single one of his companions. Never were good management and good luck so happily combined.

The latest attempt to reach the Pole was organised by an Italian—the Duke of the Abruzzi, cousin of the present King of Italy. The Duke purchased a well-known Norwegian whaling-vessel, and re-named her the *Stella Polare* (Polar Star). In her, he left Christi-

ania in June 1899, with a mixed crew of Italians and Norwegians, and victualled for several years. No precaution which forethought could suggest was neglected. The Duke's plan was to proceed in his ship to Franz Josef Land and thence to send out a series of sledge expeditions northward—those going out first being intended to carry forward and *cache* supplies for those going later. He took out a large number of dogs for use on these expeditions. Franz Josef Land was reached without serious difficulty, and the ship attained Lat. 82° 5′—a higher latitude than a ship had ever reached before by *sailing*, though the *Fram* had, of course, *drifted* farther north. Early in September, although efforts had been made to berth the ship, she sustained from the ice injuries so severe as to render her uninhabitable, and the members of the expedition were obliged to winter in huts they built on shore. In the middle of March, a sledging party started northwards. It was found, however, to be too large; and, at different times, two detachments (one of which was lost) were sent back. The remainder, consisting of four Italians led by Captain Cagni, persisted. Ultimately, in spite of enormous difficulties, they reached Lat. 86° 33′—a few miles farther north than the point reached by Nansen. The return presented still greater difficulties and dangers; but, in the end, the explorers reached their base in safety, after a highly remarkable sledging journey of some 750 miles. Meanwhile, the ship had been repaired sufficiently for the return voyage, which was commenced as soon as possible. Norway was reached in the autumn of 1900. Thus the expedition was able to accomplish one season's work only, instead of several, as had been intended; but the results achieved were remarkable so far as they went.

What has been accomplished so far leaves little doubt that, within a comparatively short time, not

only will the North Pole itself be reached, but the unknown region around it will be, by some means, more or less thoroughly explored.

The plan of procedure devised by Nansen seems to be, on the whole, the surest and best. It offers, apparently, the greatest possible safety and comfort to those engaged, and gives, therefore, better facilities than any other plan for carrying on the main work of any such expedition—namely, accurate and thorough scientific investigation of the region traversed. The chief objections to the adoption of this plan are the great length of time it must, necessarily, occupy—probably four or five years — and the consequent heavy expense.

The *Fram* (or a vessel built on similar lines) should be sent round to the Pacific, and the real starting-point of the expedition should be Vancouver in British Columbia. She should proceed thence to Bering's Strait and be forced into the Polar ice at a point much farther north-west than that at which Nansen entered it. If this were done, there seems a probability that the vessel might drift with the ice either across the Pole or on the farther (that is, the American) side of it, where by far the larger part of the still unexplored area lies, and where unknown land may exist. It is now practically certain that no unknown land exists on this (that is, the European and Asiatic) side of the Pole.

Not impossibly, the desired result may be attained much more quickly—in a single season, in fact — by some such attempt as that made during the past summer in the wonderful Russian ice-breaking steamer *Ermack*. This extraordinary vessel — undoubtedly the strongest afloat — has more than answered the expectations of her designer in the way of keeping open the ice-

blocked Baltic ports. During an experimental trip undertaken by her among the Arctic ice in the vicinity of Spitzbergen, she dealt easily with the heaviest ice that was opposed to her; but her voyage itself was a failure. Even supposing, however, that the Pole will be reached some day in such a ship, the voyage (however sensational it may be) will hardly present those opportunities for making the necessary laborious scientific observations on the region crossed which a more leisurely voyage would afford.

National pride leads us to hope that the exploration of the still unknown North Polar area may be accomplished by our own countrymen; but it is to be feared that, if England continues to show the apathy she has shown lately in this matter, the honour for which she was the first to strive will fall to some other nation.

Turning now to the attempts made to reach the South Pole, we find that extremely little is known of the region surrounding it. Its desolate nature, rigorous climate, vast size, and extreme remoteness from the chief centres of civilisation, have led to its receiving, hitherto, very little attention from explorers. Of late, however, the growing importance of the scientific problems connected with it has attracted attention to it; and, for some years to come, the question of South Polar Exploration is likely to remain prominently before the public.

In 1773, the Antarctic Circle was first crossed by Cook during the second of his two famous voyages of exploration. But Cook never got within 1100 miles of the Pole, and the appearance of desolation he saw all around him led him afterwards to express the belief that, if any land lay farther south, it would not be worth exploring. Nevertheless, his voyage (which extended over three years) was one of the most

important ever made, and has formed the basis of all later Antarctic voyages of discovery.

After Cook's time, little was done for a long period. Many things (particularly the disturbed state of Europe, owing to the Napoleonic wars) tended to check further discovery. The more accessible of the islands lying around the Antarctic Circle were, however, visited with some regularity by English and American seal-hunters, who made occasionally small additions to geographical knowledge in South Georgia, the South Shetlands, and what is now called the Dirk Gerritz Archipelago.

In 1820 and 1821, some valuable exploration was carried on within the Antarctic Circle by the Russian National Expedition under Bellingshausen, but no high latitudes were attained.

In February 1823, James Weddell, an experienced English whaling captain, with two small ships, not specially equipped for exploring, attained with ease the remarkably high latitude of 74° 15′ S. (or three degrees farther than Cook's highest point), to the south of the South Sandwich Group, and in the sea now known as Weddell's Sea. He encountered no ice in the highest latitudes attained, but sickness in his crew compelled him to turn back before sighting any land.

After this, for some years, little progress of importance was made, though various captains of sealers, chiefly English, sighted land at various points in the vicinity of the Antarctic Circle. Kemp, for instance, in 1833, discovered the land now called after him; and, in 1839, Balleny discovered what are now called the Balleny Islands.

The close of the fourth decade of the past century was marked by extraordinary activity in Antarctic Exploration. For this, the growing importance of the study of Terrestrial Magnetism and the need for

making observations in high southern latitudes were mainly responsible. Three nations—France, America, and England—sent out expeditions, all about the same time, to assist in the work.

The French expedition, consisting of two vessels, under Dumont d'Urville, left France in 1837. It was not intended specially for South Polar Exploration, and was not particularly well fitted therefor. Early in 1838, however, D'Urville attempted to follow up and improve upon Weddell's discoveries, but without achieving any important result. Later, early in 1840, he returned to the Antarctic Region — prompted, probably, by the knowledge that it was to be visited by other expeditions, which he hoped to forestall. On this occasion he explored (and, in part, discovered) a portion of the coast of what is now called Wilkes Land. His name of Adélie Land still stands for the portion he examined. D'Urville had not, however, pushed his discoveries very far before sickness among his crews compelled him to return to France.

Meanwhile, an American Expedition, consisting of no fewer than five vessels, under Charles Wilkes, had started in 1838. It, too, was not intended specially for Antarctic Exploration, having been fitted out mainly to make certain scientific investigations elsewhere, especially in the Pacific. Nevertheless, Wilkes made an important voyage, extending knowledge of the South Polar area in several directions, and exploring especially the coast-line of the land now called after him.

This brings us to the British National Expedition of 1839–43, under Captain (afterwards Sir) James Clark Ross, a nephew of Sir John Ross of Arctic fame. This remains the only great and adequately-equipped expedition which has ever yet made a thorough and extended scientific examination of the Antarctic Region, and is one of the most famous and

successful voyages of exploration ever undertaken by any nation. To notice its achievements in detail here is impossible. To it the world is indebted for a great share of its knowledge of the region visited; while, from the scientific point of view, it is still a classic voyage.

Ross spent three southern summers in the work of exploration, but was compelled to retreat northwards, to Australia or the Falkland Islands, to pass the winters, being unable to discover any suitable winter harbour in high southern latitudes. During each of these summers, he made important geographical discoveries and innumerable observations of great interest in every branch of science; but the most important discoveries were those made during the first season (that of 1840–41), when he discovered the land now known as Victoria Land; explored its coast-line for some hundreds of miles; passed, as he calculated, within 160 miles of the Southern Magnetic Pole; discovered two lofty volcanic mountains, which he named (after his two ships) Mount Erebus and Mount Terror—the former, at the time, belching forth flames and smoke at a height of over 12,000 feet; and ultimately attained Lat. 78° 10′—a record which was not surpassed for nearly sixty years. Everywhere he saw desolation—huge icefields and icebergs on the sea, vast snowfields and glaciers on the land. Nowhere was he able to effect a landing on the coast of the mainland, though twice he obtained a footing on rocky islets near the shore.

Ross returned to England in September 1843, after an absence of four years, all but a few days, having completed his voyage without serious injury to his ships and with the loss of only one man, who fell overboard. Among explorers of the South Polar area, he stands to this day pre-eminent. His great voyage throws completely into the shade all that was

done in the way of South Polar Exploration from his time up to the last few years.

Within the period indicated (the half-century from 1843 to 1893), no expedition of any kind was despatched to the Antarctic Region solely to continue exploration, and the little that was accomplished was, almost wholly, the casual work of those who went thither to hunt seals or whales. Even of these men more were of foreign than of British nationality; whilst the results achieved by them have been, though useful enough, so extremely small as not to need special notice here.

It is true that the famous voyage of the *Challenger* (commenced in 1872) falls within the period under notice; but the *Challenger* was neither equipped nor intended for exploration in the narrower sense, and she made no new geographical discoveries, though she spent a few days within the Antarctic Circle. She made, however, an immense number of extremely valuable scientific observations in what may be called the Sub-Antarctic Region; and the fact that such a voyage was made, with purely scientific objects, reflects high credit on the British Government of the period.

The smallness of the change made in the South Polar chart during the half-century in question well shows the extremely small amount of exploration accomplished.

Within the last seven or eight years, however, we have entered upon what seems likely to prove a new era in Antarctic Exploration, for the demands of science have now become too pressing to be ignored. Within the few years indicated, two expeditions, both essentially scientific in their aims, have been sent out and have returned, whilst two other expeditions of the highest importance are now out. These must be noticed briefly.

In 1894, Mr. C. E. Borchgrevinck, a young Aus-

tralian naturalist, of Norwegian birth, full of enthusiasm for Antarctic research, shipped as one of the crew of a steam whaler about to sail for the South. The results were interesting, if not highly important; for Borchgrevinck formed one of a party which, in January 1895, effected a landing on Cape Adare, Victoria Land, where he collected geological specimens and a species of lichen. Never before had any human being set foot on any portion of the mainland of the reputed Antarctic Continent.

The next attempt to explore the Antarctic Region was not British. It was organised through the persistent efforts of M. Adrien de Gerlache, a Belgian; but, though a private venture, it was patronised by the Belgian Government. M. de Gerlache, though hampered by very inadequate means, purchased in Norway an old steam whaler, which he refitted and re-named *La Belgica*. In her he sailed in the autumn of 1897. After spending some time in exploring work, the vessel was caught in the pack off Alexander Land, and was there obliged to pass the winter of 1898, during which one member of the expedition fell overboard and was lost, whilst another died. To the survivors belongs the honour of being the first human beings to pass a winter within the Antarctic Circle, but the expedition reached no farther south than Lat. 71°. Great difficulty was experienced in extricating the vessel from the pack, but this was accomplished at last, and she returned to Europe in November 1899. The expedition succeeded in making many meteorological and other scientific observations, but the amount of geographical discovery achieved was small.

Meanwhile, an English expedition had sailed. Mr. Borchgrevinck, ever since his return to England from his visit to Cape Adare in 1895, had sought with energy to obtain the means of renewing exploration in the same vicinity. After many disappointments, he

was at last enabled, through the munificence of Sir George Newnes, to leave England, in August 1898, in the converted whaler *Southern Cross*, specially equipped for a voyage of exploration and scientific observation. On the 14th of the following February (1899), after meeting with many difficulties, the vessel approached Cape Adare and there landed Mr. Borchgrevinck, nine companions, and some seventy Siberian dogs, with the stores and equipment necessary for a wintering. Then the ship sailed away north, not to return until the following southern summer. A camp (named Camp Ridley) was formed at a small distance back from the beach; a hut was built; and the stores were brought up after great labour, owing to the steepness of the beach and the frightful gales. Here the winter of 1899 was passed amidst all the monotony inseparable from the long dark Polar winter. Such meteorological observations as were possible were regularly made, but the darkness and the extreme prevalence of terrific wind-storms often rendered out-of-door work all but impossible. Early in the spring, Mr. Borchgrevinck attempted to explore the vicinity of his camp by means of sledge-trips with dogs, but the cold, the high winds, the many glaciers, the absence of terrestrial life, and the unevenness of the country prevented progress. In October, one of the party (Hanson, the zoologist) died. At the end of January (1900), the *Southern Cross* returned and, taking on board the party which had wintered, proceeded southward, along the coast of Victoria Land, in order to explore. Mr. Borchgrevinck landed several times and examined the coast-line. Landing, on one occasion, near the foot of Mount Terror, he nearly lost his life through being overwhelmed by a "tidal" wave caused by a neighbouring glacier discharging an iceberg into the sea. In this vicinity, discovering a gap in the Great Ice Barrier, Mr. Borchgrevinck landed and, travelling inland on

snow shoes, with one companion, succeeded in reaching Lat. 78° 50′,—that is, forty minutes farther south than Ross in 1842, and, therefore, a record in the advance towards the Pole. Mr. Borchgrevinck reached New Zealand, on his return to civilisation, in March 1900.

Not only did Mr. Borchgrevinck attain a point slightly farther south than any one before him, but his party was the first to pass a winter *on land* within the Antarctic Circle. Moreover, he and his companions made an extensive and valuable series of observations in many branches of science. He accomplished, therefore (in spite of many difficulties and somewhat meagre resources), a voyage of considerable importance in itself and of great interest as showing what an immense amount of valuable work might be achieved by a larger and more-adequately-equipped National Expedition which should continue its investigations for several years.

It is gratifying to know that, at last, such an expedition—in fact, two such expeditions—are actually upon their way, though the backwardness of our own country in the matter is far from gratifying to Englishmen.

For years past, scientific men of all shades of opinion and in all civilised countries have persistently urged the pressing need for further Antarctic exploration on an adequate scale. It has been felt strongly throughout the world that England, with her wealth, her reputation for enterprise, her great naval traditions, and her extensive possessions in the Southern Hemisphere —vaster, by far, in that region, than the possessions of any other nation—ought, for every reason, to take the lead. Yet we hesitated so long that it was left for Germany, not England, to take the first practical steps.

Prompted by the strenuous advocacy of Dr. Georg Neumayer, the eminent head of the German Naval Observatory at Hamburg, and one of the most per-

sistent scientific advocates of further South Polar Research, two learned bodies in Berlin (the Geographical Society and the German Colonial Society) made the first move. Their efforts were promptly seconded by the German Government, which readily granted a sum of £60,000 towards the expenses of the expedition and lent officers of the German Navy to command it. The status of the enterprise is, therefore, truly national. A suitable vessel was built at Bremerhaven, and sailed during the past summer, under the command, so far as scientific matters are concerned, of Dr. Eric von Drygalski. The expedition will probably advance southward along the meridian of Kerguelen Land, and devote special attention to that part of the South Polar Region thus reached.

We turn now to what has been done in England. In October 1897, the Royal Geographical Society approached Lord Salisbury to urge that the time had come for the British Government to despatch a National Exploring Expedition, not only to act on its own account, but also to co-operate with the intended German Expedition. The proposition was refused point-blank by the Government, though backed by all the leading British scientific societies with a unanimity seldom or never before attained.

The Royal Geographical Society then decided to endeavour to raise the needful funds by public subscription, and itself voted £5000 for that purpose. Funds came in slowly, however, till, in March 1899, a magnificent donation of £25,000 from Mr. L. W. Longstaff was announced. Later, the Society again approached the Government—this time with greater success; for, in July, the Government at last agreed to grant a sum of £45,000, on condition that at least an equal sum was forthcoming from other sources. This condition has since been complied with. There

was, therefore, at last, an assurance that an adequate expedition would be despatched. One feels regret, however, that it will be, of necessity, on a somewhat inadequate scale; for (as in the case of the German expedition) a single vessel only will be employed (at first, at any rate), instead of the two of which such expeditions should always consist; but this shortcoming may be neutralised to some extent by the close co-operation which will take place between the English and the German expeditions.

A suitable vessel, called the *Discovery*—a name famous in the annals of English Exploration—was built and fitted at Dundee. She is the first vessel ever built in this country solely for the purposes of Polar Exploration. She sailed in August last under the command of Commander Robert Scott, R.N., a young officer of proved ability. By the time this is in the hands of readers she will be, if all goes well, among the Antarctic ice. The expedition will be absent from two to three years, and is intended to explore chiefly that portion of the Antarctic Region which lies in the vicinity of Victoria Land and Wilkes Land. The result can hardly fail to be of immense scientific interest.

Whilst it is, of course, highly satisfactory that the despatch of a great National Exploring Expedition should at last have been achieved, the difficulties encountered in the early stages and the parsimony of the British Government are not calculated to add anything to the national pride of Englishmen. At least three-fourths of all Polar Exploration accomplished during the last three centuries has been achieved by England. In this particular case there were special and obvious reasons why she should not have held back. Yet she did so for so long that Germany—a nation comparatively in its infancy, and a novice so far as Polar Exploration is concerned—not only took

the lead, but remains on an equality with us in the present effort. Such facts must cause the thoughtful man to ask himself—Are we, as a nation, becoming decadent, or is it our Government merely?

One final word as to the value of Polar Exploration.

The Man-in-the-Street, if he takes any interest at all in the matter, is usually attracted by its sporting aspect, regarding it as an exciting and hazardous contest, in which man and his contrivances are pitted against Nature in one of her sternest moods. More often, however, the Man-in-the-Street is unable to view Polar Exploration favourably, even to this extent, and, in that case, he regards it merely as a stupid waste of human energy and wealth—often, even, of human life—merely to gratify unreasoning curiosity. He may be left in his ignorance.

Polar Exploration is almost wholly scientific in its aims, and scientific men alone are competent to appraise its value. That value is, in any case, seldom or never directly pecuniary, though it may be said with truth that few important acquisitions of knowledge, even of the most purely scientific kind, have ever been made which have not been turned, sooner or later, to practical account; for all the Sciences are, in reality, one, and any important advance that is made in one branch inevitably affects and advances—often in most unexpected ways—various (perhaps many) other branches.

The Man of Science does not, therefore, feel it incumbent upon him to justify his demand for further Antarctic Exploration by the production of definite reasons or the statement that there is a practical end in view. It is sufficient for him that our ignorance of the natural conditions prevailing over the vast Antarctic Region is so colossal that any well-considered voyage

of exploration to that region cannot fail to produce results of incalculable scientific value. It may be said, however, that the information which will be obtained as to the magnetic conditions existing in that region will be capable of being turned to immediate practical account.

In any case, it is absurd to take a narrow utilitarian view as to the value of Scientific Exploration, whether in the Polar Regions or elsewhere. In all human affairs, prestige counts for much; and, but for the many voyages of exploration which, in the past, this country has equipped and sent forth, with little or no hope of direct and immediate practical return, our national prestige (to say nothing of our scientific pre-eminence) would stand immeasurably lower than it now does. In the Navy, it has often been said that those who have served on Polar voyages make by far the best officers; and, in a hundred other ways, these voyages have returned valuable results. It may be said, indeed, that the readiness or otherwise of any great nation to despatch such expeditions is, in most cases, an infallible sign of national progress or national decadence, as the case may be.

THE POSTAL COMMUNICATIONS OF THE EMPIRE

By L. T. HORNE

(Of the General Post Office)

No description of the British Empire would be complete without some account of its Intelligence Department, the postal system. The posts are part of the machinery of government, carrying as they do despatches between the Secretary of State and the Queen's deputies abroad. They are part of the machinery of trade, maintaining communication between the colonial producer of raw material and the manufacturer at home, between the English merchant and his customers over the seas. And even though, for purposes of government and for the larger operations of commerce, the telegraph has largely superseded the letter post, the latter has still, and probably always will have, the important function of maintaining the ties of social intercourse, cheering the lonely emigrant with news of those he has left behind, keeping in touch far-scattered families and friends, and contributing in countless ways to the feelings of unity and kinship which are, after all, the strongest bond between the various parts of this scattered Empire. The motto of the British Post Office might well be that of its famous ally, the P. & O. Company, "*Quis separabit?*"

Not until the beginning of the eighteenth century was any attempt made by the British Government to provide postal communication between the Mother Country and the Colonies. Before that time every one

who had a letter to send to North America or the West Indies had to make his own arrangements for its conveyance. For a gratuity the captain of an outward-bound ship would carry the letter across the sea; and, as time went on, regular arrangements for the collection of such letters were made, bags for their reception being hung up at Lloyds and the other coffee-houses in London frequented by sea-captains. The law which gave the Post Office a monopoly of the conveyance of inland letters did not apply to letters for places abroad, and such letters rarely fell into the hands of the department.

Letters from places abroad had by law to be handed over to the Post Office at the port of arrival, and the captain of the ship which brought them was entitled to a gratuity of 1d. a letter. Moreover, in London two men were appointed to visit incoming ships and collect the letters from them. Such letters were delivered by the Post Office, and the inland postage was collected on delivery. Even at the present time no ship is allowed to land cargo at a port in the United Kingdom unless the captain has signed a declaration that he has given up to the Post Office all letters on board, with a few exceptions allowed by law.

The first local post offices in the Colonies were set up for the purpose of dealing with letters passing to and from places abroad. Thus in 1639 the General Court of Massachusetts published the following ordinance:—

"It is ordered that notice be given that Richard Fairbanks his house at Boston is the place appointed for all letters which are brought from beyond the seas or are sent thither to be left with him; and he is to take care that they are to be delivered or sent according to direction, and he is allowed for every letter a penny; and he must answer all messages through his neglect in this kind."

In Virginia, according to a law of 1657, every planter had to provide a messenger to carry despatches as far as the next plantation, on pain of forfeiting a hogshead of tobacco in default. The first colonial inland post of any extent appears to date from 1672, when the Government of New York established a monthly mail to and from Boston. In 1683 William Penn not only set up a post office at Philadelphia, but arranged for the conveyance of mails in some parts of Pennsylvania and Maryland. With none of these arrangements had the Imperial Government anything to do; but by the end of the seventeenth century communication between the Mother Country and the Colonies was becoming too important to escape Government supervision.

Accordingly, in 1688, James II., by an Order in Council, authorised the setting up of a Post Office in Jamaica, and "in such other of his Majesty's plantations in America . . . as shall be found convenient for his Majesty's service and the ease and benefit of his subjects." The postage between the United Kingdom and Jamaica was fixed at 6d. for a single letter (*i.e.* a single sheet of paper without any enclosure), 1s. for a double letter (*i.e.* a letter with enclosures but weighing under an ounce), and 2s. an ounce. It is not clear when and in what conditions a Post Office was actually established in Jamaica, but in 1692 a licence to set up posts in North America was granted to one Thomas Neale, and he delegated the work to an energetic man named Andrew Hamilton, who was appointed Deputy Postmaster-General. In 1693 Hamilton arranged a regular postal service between the principal places in the scattered settlements on the American coast from Portsmouth in New Hampshire down to Virginia, employing five men on horseback to cover five stages twice a week in summer and once a fortnight in winter. The enterprise proved an unprofitable one to Neale, whose

expenses largely exceeded the revenue from the postage, and in 1707 he surrendered his patent to the Crown for £1664. The posts in America were thereafter administered as a branch of the British Post Office down to the Revolution, at which time one of the joint Deputy Postmasters-General of America was Benjamin Franklin. Even at that time the operations of the Post Office were practically confined to places on the Atlantic coast. As to Canada, Franklin stated in 1760 that "there is only one post, between Quebec and Montreal; the inhabitants live so scattered and remote from each other in that vast country that the posts cannot be supported among them."

While in ordinary times there were sufficient private ships sailing to and from the Colonies to carry the few letters then sent, in time of war, when over-sea trade was almost at a stand-still, the need arose for some other means of communication. It was the outbreak of the war with France in 1702 which called into being the first mail-packet service with the Colonies, sloops of war being provided by the Admiralty to carry the mails to and from the West Indies. These vessels sailed at uncertain intervals, and the voyage out and home occupied from 90 to 116 days. Mr. Dummer, Surveyor of the Navy, was so pleased with the result that he undertook a contract for the service. For £12,500 a year he was to build five boats of 140 tons each (about twice the size of a large fishing-boat), carrying 26 men and 10 guns. These boats were to sail to and from the West Indies once a month. A comparison with the present West India mail service is interesting. Nowadays the steamships of the Royal Mail Steam Packet Company, which carry mails regularly once a fortnight to and from Barbados and Jamaica, are from five to six thousand tons burden. The voyage to Jamaica occupies sixteen days, and the answer to a letter addressed to that

colony can be received in London within thirty-five days.

Dummer's venture proved to be an unfortunate one. The first packet under the contract fell into the hands of the enemy; a few months later a second was wrecked, and a third captured by a privateer. By 1710 he had lost nine vessels, six to privateers. His traffic receipts were disappointing, and in 1711 the service was discontinued. Some other similar services were projected about the same time. For example, in 1703 Sir Jeffery Jefferys received permission to establish a packet to sail from the Isle of Wight to New York, two voyages to be performed every six or seven months; and in 1710 the Post Office made a contract for a monthly service between Bristol and New York. This service came to an end in 1714, two years after the Peace of Utrecht; and from that time to the war of 1744, and again during the few years of peace after 1749, there were no colonial packets.

The permanent establishment of a regular mail service to and from the West Indies and America dates from 1755. The number and size of the packets were gradually increased, so that they might be better able to escape from storms and privateers; and some of their adventurous and often heroic doings in the following years are narrated in Mr. Norway's "History of the Packet Service."

The postal communication with India was at first maintained chiefly by the ships of the East India Company, which called at the Cape of Good Hope and Mauritius, and conveyed letters to and from those places also; and when, towards the end of George the Third's reign, the Post Office tried to get into its hands all correspondence for places abroad, it naturally got into difficulties with the Company. In the end, by an Act of 1819, it was laid down that letters for the East Indies, the Cape, Ceylon, and Mauritius might be sent

otherwise than through the post; at the same time every ship sailing to those places was bound to convey mails thither free of charge, and very low rates of sea postage were fixed for correspondence entrusted to the Post Office for transmission.

Formerly, the owners of private ships could, and sometimes did, decline to take charge of mails, but an Act of 1815 gave the Post Office power to send a mail by any private ship leaving a port of the United Kingdom, and made it obligatory on the captain of such ship to deliver the mail to the Postmaster of the port of destination. The Postmaster-General was authorised to pay for the conveyance of ship letters certain fixed gratuities. It now became unnecessary for persons wishing to send letters to countries not served by Government packets to search out a ship going thither and arrange with the captain to take charge of their missives. The Post Office in most cases would and could find the ship and arrange for the conveyance of the letters. The arrangement influenced the establishment of colonial posts in another way. Persons had to be appointed in the chief ports of the colonies to receive the mails from incoming ships. Thus a Mr. Nichols was designated by the Governor to act as postmaster at Sydney in 1810, and a Mr. Beaumont at Hobart, Tasmania, in 1812, though there were no inland posts in any part of Australia until much later. Such men as a rule made their own charges for the letters which they received and despatched, and as the Colonies developed they arranged posts between the ports and places inland.

This state of things lasted until the application of steam to navigation, and the immense increase in trade, travel, and emigration which accompanied that revolution. Communication between the Mother Country and the Colonies was slow and generally infrequent and irregular; the postage on letters was high and gene-

rally carried only to the port of arrival; but the system was probably fairly adequate to the needs of the time. Judged by a modern standard, the total amount of the correspondence was very small. Probably that with India was the greatest: in 1833 there were no less than 427 ships by which mails were sent to and from that country; and the postage was exceptionally low for that time (letters, 2d. for 3 oz. and 1s. for each additional ounce; newspapers, 1d. per oz., in addition to the British inland postage, which varied according to the distance); but the total amount carried for the Post Office in these ships was only:—

	Outwards.	*Inwards.*
Number of letters	87,514	281,090
Number of newspapers . . .	70,746	5,086

Evidently most of the outward letters did not pass through the post. The figures for the Indian mail service in the year 1899–1900 were:—

	Outwards.	*Inwards.*
Weight of letters and post-cards .	140,900 lbs.	107,100 lbs.
Weight of printed matter and samples	2,118,000 ,,	301,300 ,,
Number of parcels . . .	108,359	71,415

[A pound of letters and post-cards would contain on the average about 30 outwards and about 40 inwards.]

In 1842 the number of letters sent by post to and from Australia, New Zealand, and the South Seas was —outwards, 79,158; inwards, 148,625.

The figures for 1899–1900 were:—

	Outwards.	*Inwards.*
Weight of letters and post-cards .	114,000 lbs.	86,200 lbs.
Weight of printed matter and samples	2,101,500 ,,	667,500 ,,

In 1791–92 the total amount of postage collected in Canada was only £2229, and in 1838 it had risen to about £44,000 a year; while in 1899 the re-

venue of the Canadian Post Office was nearly a million sterling.

The change in the route of the Indian Mail from the Cape to Suez is associated with the name of Thomas Waghorn, who first made his appearance at the Post Office in 1827 with a scheme for building a steamship to ply between this country and India *viâ* the Cape. He found that by an Act of Parliament, above referred to, the owners of vessels sailing to and from India had to carry mails free, and that the Government were not disposed to pass a special Act relieving him from this obligation, so that he might receive a subsidy for the mails he carried. After two years' agitation against what he no doubt considered "red-tape obstruction," Waghorn developed a more fruitful idea, that of reaching India *viâ* Egypt. Hearing that a steamship was about to be sent from Bombay to Suez and back, he started from London on the 1st of October 1829, travelled *viâ* Trieste to Alexandria, across Egypt to Suez, and, not finding the expected steamer, made his way down the Red Sea by native boat, and finished the voyage in a man-of-war. This journey showed Waghorn the practicability of the Suez route, and henceforward his efforts were mainly directed to its development. The British Mail packets already went to Malta, and it was only necessary that they should go on to Alexandria. Between Suez and Bombay the East India Company must establish steamers. Several years passed before the British Government and the Company could make up their minds to spend £100,000 a year on the conveyance of mails, which had until then cost them next to nothing; but in 1837 the overland mail service was at length established, the arrangements for the transit of the mails across Egypt being entrusted to Mr. Waghorn. Very little experience showed that the best route for the mails between this country and

Egypt was through France, instead of by steamer all the way between Falmouth and Alexandria; and a special Indian mail service, under the charge of a British officer, was set up between Calais and Marseilles in 1839. The mail was packed in iron boxes. Its total weight was about 400 lbs. A special coach was provided once a month for its conveyance between Calais and Paris. Between Calais and Marseilles, which was reached on the fifth day after leaving London, sufficient room was found in the ordinary mail-coach by excluding passengers from the inside. Nowadays a train of a dozen vans is drawn up on the quay of Calais every Friday night to receive the mail, most of which is brought by special steamer from Dover or Folkestone. The total weight averages about 100,000 lbs. The special train, with two mail officers for sole passengers, runs direct to Brindisi, which is reached on Sunday night, and where the mail is put on board a fast P. & O. steamer for Port Said.

The constitutional question of the control of the Imperial Post Office over posts in the Colonies was settled by a long controversy which took place in reference to British North America from about 1830 to 1850. In Upper and Lower Canada, Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, and Prince Edward Island (then separate Colonies), and in Jamaica, the inland posts, and not merely the service to and from the Mother Country, were managed by deputies appointed by the Postmaster-General. The postage was regulated by an Act passed in 1765, and was very high. For example, to send a letter from Quebec to Montreal cost 9d.; from Quebec to Toronto, 1s. 6d.; and from Toronto to Halifax, 2s. 9d. Where the revenue exceeded the expenditure, the surplus was remitted to London. The dissatisfaction aroused by this state of things was fomented by the newspapers, which had a special

ground of complaint against the Deputy Postmaster-General, who, under an arrangement of old standing but very doubtful authority, charged newspapers transmitted through the post about 1d. each and pocketed the proceeds. Accordingly, about 1830 the Canadian Legislatures began to agitate for the control of the Post Office. They urged that the Act passed in 1778 giving the local authorities in the Colonies the net produce of internal taxation ought to apply to postage. The law officers of the Crown, consulted in 1832 on this point, thought that the claim could not be successfully attacked at law. The Imperial Post Office, considering its control of the posts throughout British North America important, in the interests of uniformity of postage and regulations, and in order to prevent rival Colonies taxing each other's letters, wished to meet the discontent by introducing lower rates of postage, but was met with the difficulty that Parliament had renounced the right to impose new taxes in the Colonies. It was held that any alteration by Parliament of the existing rates fixed at the beginning of George the Third's reign would constitute a new tax. In these circumstances an Act was passed in 1834, which, while leaving the management of the North American posts in the hands of the Postmaster-General, gave the Colonial Legislatures the power to fix postage, and provided that the net produce of the inland rates should be divided proportionately among the Colonies. The whole arrangement was, however, dependent on Acts being passed by the Colonial Legislatures in accordance with a model sent from England and designed to secure uniformity of charges and regulations. But the Legislatures in question, which were at the time seriously embroiled with the Home Government and with one another, declined to comply with the prescribed conditions, and the Act, therefore, was of no effect.

In 1845, it being desired that the Postmaster-General should assume control of the Australian posts (a project which was never fully carried out), an Act was passed giving her Majesty's Treasury power to fix Colonial postage and to extend the provisions of British Post Office Acts to any Colony. The postal revenue, after meeting expenses, was to be applied to the development of the service, and any surplus was to be handed over to the Colonial Government. Applications from the North American Colonies for a reduction of postage now became still more pressing, and it was clear that concessions would have to be made. But it was estimated that with the lower rates the revenue would no longer cover the expenditure; and, rather than carry on a losing business, the Postmaster-General preferred to hand over the internal posts entirely to the Colonial Governments. Accordingly, an Act of 1849 provided that the Legislatures of Colonies might establish posts within such Colonies; but that, if the Postmaster-General had already set up posts in any Colony, the Legislature, before taking such action, must get the consent of her Majesty, whereupon the Postmaster-General's powers should cease as regards *inland* posts, to which alone the powers of the Colonial Legislature were to extend. This is the Act on the basis of which the postal systems of the British Colonies have grown up. The control of the posts between the Colonies and places outside them thus remains constitutionally with the Postmaster-General—a state of things which corresponds with the fact that in many cases the communication of the Colonies with the outer world depends to a great extent on contract packet services controlled by the Postmaster-General. However, as the external postal relations of the Colonies are in the main regulated by the International Convention of the Universal Postal Union, it is seldom that a case arises in which it is

necessary for the Postmaster-General to exercise his statutory rights in the interests of the Empire as a whole.

The North American posts passed out of the management of the British Post Office in 1851; the same course was followed in 1860 in regard to the West Indies and Hong Kong; and finally as regards Malta and Gibraltar in 1884–1886. In accordance with the principles of self-government on which the British Empire is based, the Colonies have been left to develop their internal postal service to suit their own peculiar requirements. At the same time the Imperial Post Office, with its wider experience and outlook, watches over their external postal relations, is always ready to help with advice, and is often called on to supply trained administrators.

To return to the packet service. The introduction of steamships at once made the sailing packets obsolete, and to maintain a fleet of Government vessels which should be at least equal in speed to those of private owners soon proved an expensive business. Accordingly a new system was initiated in the case of the mails for and from the British possessions in the Mediterranean and the overland mails for and from India, the conveyance of which by Government packets was slow, the voyage between Falmouth and Alexandria often occupying from three weeks to a month. In 1837 a contract for the service between Falmouth and Gibraltar was made with the Peninsular Steam Navigation Company. The arrangement proved a success, and in 1840 the contract service was extended to Malta and Alexandria. In the same year the company determined to establish steam communication with India. They therefore obtained incorporation under the title (now famous throughout the world) of the "Peninsular and Oriental Steam Navigation Company," and proceeded to build steamers for the service beyond Suez.

At that time the Indian mails were conveyed between Suez and Bombay once a month by steamers belonging to the Indian Government, and in 1845 the P. & O. Company undertook to supplement this service by a line of steamers between Suez and Calcutta, with a branch line between Ceylon and China. In 1854 the company took over the Suez and Bombay service, and in 1859 established a branch service to Australia, the first regular and rapid mail service with that continent. The position of the company as the principal carriers of her Majesty's mails to and from India, Australia, and the Far East has not since then been shaken, though often attacked. On all the lines the time of transit has been steadily decreased, and though the mails have increased enormously, the Government now pays to the company only £330,000 a year for a service far superior to that for which it paid nearly £600,000 thirty years ago. Instead of the *William Fawcett* of 200 tons and 60 horse-power, the first mail steamer of the company, we have now the rapid *Isis* and *Osiris* of 1700 tons and 6500 horse-power, which run from Brindisi to Port Said (930 miles) in about forty-eight hours; while the *Hindostan*, of 2000 tons and 520 horse-power, the first of the company's steamers to be placed on the line between Suez and India, and considered a marvel in 1842, is now represented by vessels like the *Persia*, of 8000 tons and 11,000 horse-power, by means of which the mails reach Bombay in fourteen days, and Shanghai and Sydney in thirty-two days after leaving London.

In 1840 the West India packets were abolished, a contract for the conveyance of mails to and from all the places served by them being made with the Royal Mail Steam Packet Company. At the same time Mr. (afterwards Sir Samuel) Cunard undertook to carry the mails by his steamships twice a month to and from

New York, Boston, Halifax, and Quebec, thus superseding the American packets of the Government. The West India mail service has often since then been put up to public tender, but it has always been secured by the Royal Mail Company, whose latest successive contract was entered into this year (1900). The Cunard steamers are still the fastest British mail steamers crossing the Atlantic, and though they no longer call at Canadian ports, they still carry to and from New York a great part of the Canadian mails.

To refer briefly to the other main lines of mail communication of the Empire. The first contract for the conveyance of mails to and from the West Coast of Africa was made in 1852 with the African Steamship Company, which became associated with the British and African Steam Navigation Company in 1869. These two lines serve Sierra Leone, Gambia, Lagos, the Gold Coast, and Nigeria.

The Cape of Good Hope mails have been carried by the Union Steamship Company since 1858, and by the Castle Line since 1876. The time of transit, which was forty-two days originally, has now been reduced to seventeen.

In 1883 the Orient Steam Navigation Company commenced to carry the Australian mails in alternate weeks with the Peninsular and Oriental Company.

The Post Office has been fortunate in its contractors, and the long duration of its connections with the companies mentioned above is one indication that those connections are advantageous to both parties. The mails are carried by sea with almost the same regularity as on land; while, on the other hand, the mail subsidies have helped to build up the British mercantile marine. Considerable sums are contributed by India and the principal Colonies towards

the cost of their ocean mail services. For example, of the sum of £414,700 paid in 1899 for the sea conveyance of mails to and from India, the Far East, and Australia, India contributed £48,000, the Australian Colonies £71,868, and the Eastern Colonies £13,400. The South African Colonies defray nearly half the cost of their mail service to and from England.

In 1850 a low and uniform postage having been established in this country, Mr. Rowland Hill turned his attention to the colonial posts. A sum of 8d. or 1s. was then required to carry a letter to the shores of a colony; and in nearly every case there were additional charges for conveyance or delivery within the colony. An inclusive charge of 6d. was proposed, and by 1857 had been universally adopted. Cheap rates for books were introduced at the same time. But in 1861 a reaction set in. The authorities became alarmed at the loss on the packet service, the cost of which, they held, should be covered by the postage. Accordingly in 1862 the postage to the Cape and the West Indies was raised to 1s. the half-ounce, and a similar increase took place in other cases. In 1874 the great international Federation of Post Offices, known as the Postal Union, was founded; and during the next few years most of the British Colonies, with the exception of those in Australasia and South Africa, became members of the Union. A reduction of postage was the result of this measure. Within a short time the rate per half-ounce to and from Canada and Newfoundland became 2½d., to and from India and the Eastern Colonies 5d., and to and from the Cape and Australia 6d. At last in 1891 uniformity of postage was again secured, the rate of 2½d. the half-ounce being applied to letters sent from the United Kingdom to any other part of the Empire.

Seven years later came a further change. At a

conference held in London in the autumn of 1898 between representatives of the Home Government and the Colonies it was determined to adopt, as far as practicable, the rate of 1d. the half-ounce for the transmission of letters from one part of the Empire to another, and the change was carried out generally on Christmas Day in that year. The South African Colonies did not come into the arrangement until a few months later. New Zealand has only just given notice of her intention to do the same on the 1st of January 1901. It remains to be seen whether the Australian Colonies will follow suit.

The parcel post, which commenced with India in 1885, was soon extended to all the Colonies. Apart from the benefit of the parcel post to trade, a cheap and accessible means of sending small presents and mementos between friends in distant lands has its importance in keeping fresh the ties of sentiment, as witness the thousands of parcels of plum pudding, holly and mistletoe despatched from England about Christmas time, and the heather which finds its way in the late summer to Scotsmen who are building up the Empire in all parts of the world. A similar service is rendered by the colonial money order system, which dates from an arrangement made with Canada in 1859, and which is largely used by hardworking sons and daughters in distant colonies to send money for the support of those they have left behind in the old country.

The postal relations between the British Empire and other countries are regulated by the Convention of the Postal Union, of which all the civilised and half civilised countries of the world are members, with the exception of China. All important questions are settled at a great international congress which meets every six years. In that congress delegates from Australia, Canada, British South Africa, and India sit side by

side with the representatives of the British Post Office in what is the nearest approach yet realised to—

"The Parliament of man, the Federation of the world."

The internal development of the post offices of the Colonies has been remarkable. To take a few examples:—

In 1840 there were 54 post offices open in New South Wales, which in those days included what is now the Colony of Victoria; in 1898 there were 1500, not counting receiving offices. Sixty years ago the revenue was £4300 and the expenditure £3900; in 1898 the revenue was £920,000 and the expenditure £848,000. The bulk of the mails half a century ago is indicated by the statement in a report of 1845 that "The mails are conveyed to and from the harbour (at Sydney) in the mail cart, if the horse is not otherwise employed or the mail too bulky." In 1899 there were despatched from New South Wales for the United Kingdom alone 180,000 lbs. of ordinary mail matter, and 9000 parcels. The average number of letters, newspapers, &c., sent and received in New South Wales is about 100 per annum for each man, woman, and child. This is almost the highest average for any country in the world. For the United Kingdom, for instance, the corresponding number is 88.

In 1824 there were sixty-nine post offices in the Canadas—that is to say, in the present provinces of Ontario and Quebec—where, in 1899, there were 5000 offices. In the whole of the Dominion there are now 9500 offices, or one for every 500 inhabitants. The mail routes over Canadian territory are of great extent, even the remote district of Klondike getting a mail once or twice a week.

The postal service in the Cape Colony dates from 1806, when correspondence began to be forwarded from and to Cape Town by relays of Hottentots, the

postage ranging from 6d. for a single sheet to or from Simon's Bay, to 2s. for a single sheet to or from Graaf-Reinet, Algoa Bay, &c. In that year the total revenue was £38. Six years later it is recorded that the weekly post to Graham's Town covered the distance of nearly 600 miles in eight days, and that to Graaf-Reinet (about 500 miles) was due to arrive in seven days. These places are now only forty-three and thirty hours respectively distant by mail train from Cape Town. Now there are nearly a thousand post offices in the colony, and the organisation of the mail service is very complete. Before the war, which broke out in October 1899, and ended in the annexation of the Transvaal and Orange Free State to the British Empire, travelling post offices ran between Cape Town and Johannesburg in the Transvaal; the thinly-populated territory is covered by a network of cart and mounted posts; and even if the stories of mail-carts drawn by zebras and ostriches are mythical, it is certain that in some districts near the Kalahari Desert the mails are carried on camel-back. The revenue of the post office in 1898 exceeded £600,000, showing a surplus over expenditure of nearly £9000.

All the principal Colonies, besides providing for the carriage and delivery of correspondence, have their money order, postal order, and savings bank services, and give all the other facilities expected from the post office in these days. Indeed postal reformers are beginning to hold up the colonial post offices as an example in some respects to the post office of the Mother Country. The latter, naturally more conservative and slow-moving, will probably in the future have much to learn from its progressive offspring. Should it, for example, ever be called upon to arrange for the payment of old age pensions, it will profit by the experience of New Zealand, where the post office already performs that function. Inspired thus by a

spirit of healthy rivalry in their separate spheres of operation, and heartily co-operating in all matters of joint utility, the post offices of the several parts of the British Empire may be expected to move forward in their great work of maintaining the social, commercial, and political communications of that Empire throughout the world.

ELECTRIC TELEGRAPH SERVICE

CABLE AND COLONIAL TELEGRAPHS

By FERDINAND E. KAPPEY

For Great Britain, at least, that mighty electric nerve-system, known as the submarine telegraph, may be said to stand as a concrete definition of Imperial unity; and for the world, as an earnest of that mutual understanding and oneness of purpose by which alone the advancement of the race is possible. Regarded merely as the most potent factor in the maintenance of Empire, the submarine cable would more than justify its existence, though to narrow the issues to this extent would argue a poor appreciation of the immense benefits which have otherwise accrued from its employment. It is, perhaps, natural that the vast material interests which are fostered by its means should claim prior consideration. As the controlling instrument of national aggrandisement and individual enterprise, the tremendous powers for good or ill which it exercises throughout the civilised world are at once obvious and insistent; while its ethical significance is all too easily lost sight of. So that, to show something more than an intelligent apprehension of this mystery of instantaneous intercommunication, it is necessary to touch upon the various spheres of interest which its use involves, and to estimate as far as possible its influence on modern life and modern thought. To cover the whole field in anything like detail would, of course, be impossible in the space at our command, but some indication will be given later on of its general effects upon the political and

commercial tendencies of the age, and the moralities of our daily intercourse.

It will be of interest if, before considering the leading submarine cables and their principal land communications in their special relation to our colonies, we briefly record the "first beginnings,"—those experiments which ultimately led to the gigantic undertakings which are now among the everyday commonplaces; for, like all great epoch-making enterprises, enormous difficulties were encountered only to be overcome, and the final triumph achieved when failure appeared inevitable.

It must not be supposed that the credit of the inspiration falls wholly to the nineteenth century, for we find that as far back as 1793, Salva, a Spanish scientist who is best remembered in this regard, read a paper before the Barcelona Academy of Sciences, in which he suggested the possibility of submarine telegraphy, although he does not appear to have troubled himself about demonstrating the practicability of his theories. This apparently was left to Aldini, a nephew of the great Galvani, who in 1803 is said to have successfully conducted a series of experiments off Calais, and also across the river Marne; while Sömmering and Schilling in 1811, with the benefit of Aldini's experience to work upon, succeeded in obtaining fairly satisfactory results across the Isar near Munich. Their experiments, as Mr. C. Bright points out in his work upon this subject, were mainly concerned with the adoption of some soluble insulating material, the precise nature of which is at present doubtful, but which nevertheless proved practicable for the short distance operated over. Two years later, John Robert Sharpe took the work in hand, and was successful in transmitting a code of signals through seven miles of insulated wire. Of all the experiments referred to however, particulars are wanting, for beyond their mere mention there does not

appear to be any trustworthy account as to their conduct. The first really important experiment, because the fullest recorded, was undertaken at Chatham in 1838 by Colonel Pasley (afterwards Sir F. C. Pasley). His experiments were mainly conducted from Upnor—facing the dockyard—and the results achieved were regarded as eminently successful. He not only sent and received messages through various lengths of wire, but is reputed to have established a temporary connection with his barracks whence he took orders from his commanding officer. In the absence of gutta-percha, which was then unknown, the materials he employed for insulating purposes were essentially crude,—consisting, indeed, of strands of pitched yarn and tarred rope firmly encasing the wire. It was by means of this "cable" that he afterwards established communication with the wreck of the *Royal George* off Spithead, during the diving operations in connection with that ill-fated ship.

From this stage forward until 1845 a number of experiments were conducted in many parts of the world, with almost uniform success. The variations adopted on Sir F. C. Pasley's principle were slight, until the advent of those "elect few" who gave the best of their time and talent towards the solution of submarine telegraphy. Such names as Professor Morse, Sir C. Wheatstone, Ezra Cornell, and Charles West will readily occur as among those who did most to solve the difficulties of that most difficult problem. Great as their services were however, their efforts fell short in point of practical application. To the brothers Brett, more than to any others, and to Jacob Brett in particular, belongs the credit of having first brought about international communication. The Bretts obtained a concession from the French Government to establish cable connection between France and England, and a company was duly registered for that

purpose and the funds provided. Unfortunately the time stipulated by the French Government for the completion of the line did not provide for the failures and disappointments inevitable in a new enterprise involving so many risks and unknown factors, with the consequence that the concession was withdrawn. A new concession was solicited and granted early in 1851, and on the 19th October of that year the first submarine cable was open to the public for traffic. It was about this time also that an English telegraph engineer resident in Nova Scotia, a Mr. F. N. Gisborne—whether acting on independent initiative, or indebted to Bishop Mullock, who a year previously had suggested the scheme in a letter addressed to the American *Courier*—lent his whole energies to the establishment of telegraphic communication between Newfoundland and New York. As Mr. George Saward pointed out in his narrative of the Trans-Atlantic Submarine Telegraph, which was published for private circulation in 1878, Mr. Gisborne's scheme coincided with that of the Bishop, whose plan was to unite St. Johns to Cape Ray by land-wire, extend the line of communication by submarine telegraph from Cape Ray to St. Paul's Island, thence to Cape North (Cape Breton), and from that point, by a route to be subsequently determined, to the American mainland, where existing land-wires could be met, and communication with New York at once effected. The details of the project, taking into consideration the fact that grave doubt existed as to the practicability of submarine cables, included a proposal to utilise steamers and carrier pigeons as a temporary means of communication between Cape Ray and Cape Breton, until the possibility of the cable scheme was fully demonstrated. In his relations with the Newfoundland Legislature Mr. Gisborne was entirely successful. He obtained an Act of Incorporation conferring important concessions of land, besides the "exclusive

right of erecting telegraphs in the Colony during a period of thirty years." Armed with these powers he went to New York and interested various capitalists in the scheme. The encouragement he received on all hands was such that he set to work, and, in the words of Mr. Saward, "in spite of formidable engineering difficulties and great personal dangers and privations, he bravely persevered in making a survey of the hitherto unexplored country westward of St. Johns, and commenced the erection of an electric telegraph by land in the direction of Cape Ray." The idea of the steamers and the carrier pigeons was by this time abandoned, since various cables had been landed in Europe and were operating without their use. The land-wires being completed, Mr. Gisborne purchased and shipped from England a cable sufficiently long for the purpose immediately in view, and succeeded for a short time in bringing Prince Edward Island and New Brunswick into direct communication. The breaking of this cable shortly after, and the financial difficulties into which Mr. Gisborne was subsequently involved, practically decided the future history of submarine telegraphy; for, visiting New York in January 1854, with the desired completion of his work still uppermost in his mind, he there made the acquaintance of Mr. Cyrus W. Field, whose sympathies he speedily enlisted, and who was soon to throw his whole weight into the enterprise, with the object, doubtless, of assisting the more important project of trans-Atlantic communication suggested by the lesser undertaking.

From that date forward, and for twelve years, Mr. Field laboured with untiring energy and devotion to complete the great work. There is no need to traverse more than the main incidents comprised within that fruitful period. Bitter disappointments were for the most part the interim rewards of his labour, and but for the boundless confidence of Mr. John Pender

(afterwards Sir John Pender, G.C.M.G.) in its ultimate success, the scheme would, in all probability, have been indefinitely postponed. At the outset, and following Mr. Field's visit to this country in search of support, 345 gentlemen were found willing to contribute £1000 each towards the expenses incurred in the initial experiment, of whom Mr. Pender was one. When the effort had failed, and two cables of the Atlantic Company (as the undertaking was then styled) had been lost within less than a mile of the Irish coast, the *Great Eastern* steamship was chartered to attempt the laying of a third and specially constructed cable; but when this, too, had parted in mid-ocean, the financial ruin of the Company was complete.

Nothing daunted, Mr. Field and Mr. Pender again pressed forward, only to find that much of the confidence which they had previously inspired in the public was shattered, and that the funds deemed necessary were far in excess of the offers of assistance which now came to them. It was then that Mr. Pender, meeting the emergencies of the moment in full flood, offered the "Gutta-Percha Company" his personal guarantee of a quarter of a million sterling upon their undertaking, in conjunction with Messrs. Glass, Elliot & Co., to supply the material for the cable. The offer was accepted, and in 1866 the new cable was successfully laid, and the old one recovered from a depth of 1950 fathoms, or nearly two miles. Public confidence being thus restored, other great cable lines were projected, and in 1869 a series of companies were registered to acquire the rights of establishing and extending communications between Great Britain and her Eastern Colonies. Private enterprise was alone responsible for the remarkable results that ensued, the Government refraining from lending any assistance whatever in the shape of subsidies or guarantees,—a significant fact when we

consider that the "Red Sea and Telegraph to India Company" of 1858, an undertaking of far less importance to the general community, had the benefit of such assistance—as, indeed, did all the Mediterranean Cable Companies prior to the agitation for an extension of the cable service to the Far East.

The British India Company; the Marseilles, Algiers, and Malta Company; and the Falmouth, Gibraltar, and Malta Telegraph Company, were the initial outcome of the demands which now existed; and by means of land-lines between London and Land's End, and cables touching Lisbon, Gibraltar, and Malta, direct communication with our Eastern possessions was effected. The China Telegraph Company was also registered about this time with the object of connecting Singapore, Hong Kong, and Shanghai; and in 1870 the British Australia Telegraph Company was formed to establish connections between Singapore and Batavia. The cable to Australia was laid in 1871, but it was not until 1872 that regular traffic with the Australian continent was promoted, owing to the imperfect land-wire system, and the breakdown of the Banjoewangie-Port Darwin Cable. The subsequent amalgamation of the four companies operating this side of India, and their registration under the name of the Eastern Telegraph Company, conduced to bring about a thoroughly efficient working. The further registration in 1873 of The Eastern Extension Australasia and China Telegraph Company, absorbing the Companies which existed eastward of India, and the duplicate and triplicate lines since submerged between many points, decided the system which to-day enables us to communicate with our remotest colonies with such admirable facility. Briefly summarising these achievements, the far Eastern countries (beyond India) were brought into direct telegraphic communication with Great Britain on the following dates:

Penang, 1871; Singapore, 1870; Hong Kong, 1871; Saigon, 1871; Java, 1870; Australia, 1872.

It will be seen that these places are given in the order of their distance from Great Britain, and that the lines accomplished in 1870 therefore involved the use of land-lines *viâ* Bangkok—Bombay.

Having briefly traced the results achieved during the earlier career of submarine telegraphy, we may now proceed to touch upon the system at present obtaining, with sole reference, of course, to our Colonies,—including, as far as possible, a rapid survey of the principal land-line schemes and their ramifications.

Beginning with Canada, which, as we have shown, was brought into communication with the Mother Country at the outset, the total mileage of telegraph lines is given at 32,891, including cable lines, showing a steady yearly increase since 1886. Before that date the returns are officially stated as defective. In 1886, however, the number of miles was given at 25,336, making a total increase over the years intervening of 7555. Of the gross total only 2990½ miles are Government property. The balance, comprising as it does nearly 30,000 miles, is conducted by the Great Western Telegraph Company and the Canadian Pacific Railway Company from Quebec westward; and, in the maritime provinces, by the Western Union Telegraph Company. The yearly average number of messages sent over the Government lines alone is 42,550; and, in 1898, the expenditure over revenue in regard thereto amounted to 45,982 dollars. The Canadian Pacific Railway, operating these lines, retains the revenue, Government reimbursing the excess. The number of messages sent over the entire system during the year stated amounted to 4.407,265. It would be interesting to compare this with the number of messages sent prior to the landing of the submarine cable. Unfortunately, no reliable data can be obtained

farther back than 1882, but it is at least affirmed that the traffic more than doubled itself in the five years following the first cable connections.

The following table will show at a glance the mileage of land and cable lines owned by private companies and Government in the several Provinces in the Dominion :—

GOVERNMENT.

Location of Lines.	Land-lines.	Cables.
	Miles.	Knots.
Newfoundland	14	—
Nova Scotia	229¼	22¾
New Brunswick	76	1014
Quebec	1142¾	164¾
Ontario	24½	9½
North-West	698	—
British Columbia	567	—

PRIVATE.

Companies.	Miles of Line.	Miles of Wire.
Great North-Western Telegraph Co.	18,228	34,545
Canadian Pacific Railway Co.	8,385	33,143
Western Union	2,935	8,386

From Halifax direct cable communication is extended to Bermuda, and from Bermuda to Jamaica—which can also be reached in one transmission from Halifax over The Halifax and Bermudas and Direct West India Cables. Almost all the West Indian Islands are embraced in the system by means of the West India and Panama Company's cables, as far as Berbice and Demerara in British Guiana.

Africa.—Our African possessions are all in direct

touch with the Mother Country and with each other by various systems and routes, which are yearly extending their ramifications to the very heart of the Black Continent. Wholly circumscribed by the submarine cable, there is no port or coast-town of importance which is not in direct or indirect communication with all parts of the world. Cape Colony, "our chiefest interest," may claim our first attention. At this moment we are able to include the Transvaal and the Orange Free State (with some modifications in the names of these late Republics) under this heading.

From Durban the Cape Government lines radiate in all directions, taking in Natal and the two States mentioned in one comprehensive system. Cape Town and Port Elizabeth, two equally important cable stations, also extend land-wires as far north as Mafeking, and combine at various points with the lines concentrating at Durban.

During the year 1898, forty-nine new telegraph offices were opened in Cape Colony, fourteen by the British South Africa Company within the area of their operations, thirty in Natal, and eleven by the African Trans-Continental Telegraph Company, which sufficiently indicates the rapid growth of the system and the demands which make that growth a necessity. A third route will shortly connect South Africa with Great Britain, extending to St. Vincent (Cape Verde). Already the section between Cape Town, St. Helena, and Ascension is open for traffic.

The construction of the African Trans-Continental telegraph system is still in active progress, and its completion may be looked for at no very distant date. Already over 1000 miles are finished, the Karonga-Abercorn section being the last officially reported complete and in working order. The undertaking stands as follows: Cape Town can work to Salisbury direct, a distance of 1634 miles, with two relay stations between.

"From Salisbury there should be little difficulty in opening communication with Abercorn—1225 miles; and taking these two sections as a basis, three more stretches of some 1270 miles each would complete the through distance—Cape to Cairo and Alexandria, with five transmitting offices." It will therefore be possible, on the completion of the trans-Continental scheme, to send a telegram from Cape Town to London overland, excepting only some thirty miles of geographically inevitable water. The undertaking is, of course, one of colossal magnitude, and was to have been completed in 1902. But the South African war has so delayed the operations that it is difficult to say when its accomplishment may be looked for.

It is proposed, and we believe that the work is already in hand, to lay a cable from Durban to Mauritius, Mauritius to Cocos and Keeling Island, thence to Perth (Australia), and thence to Adelaide, so that South Africa will be in direct communication with the Australian continent. An alternative route to Australia from Great Britain will thus be effected *viâ* Cape Town.

Our East African possessions are directly connected by three cables belonging to the African Direct, Spanish National, and West African Companies. The Eastern Company takes up with the West African Company's cables, which starts from St. Vincent, at Lisbon, and with the Brazilian Submarine Company's cable *viâ* Lisbon—Madeira.

India.—The cable connections of India are made at Bombay on the east and Madras on the west, complete communication being established with all the provinces, from Nagarcoil on the extreme south to Cabul on the extreme north, the Indo-European and the Eastern Companies being jointly responsible for the submarine undertakings. The land-lines, all of which can be operated to connect with the cables, are estimated

at 50,306 miles, mostly the property of the Indian Government; and in a country which is held by force, the absolute necessity of State control over the various circuits is obvious. Little need be said concerning the Inland Telegraphic Department of India, as the subject has been ably and exhaustively treated elsewhere by Mr. C. H. Reynolds, C.I.E. Suffice to say that there is scarcely a township throughout that enormous territory, and scarcely an outpost in the fever-stricken swamps and jungles that abound in many provinces, which is not in telegraphic communication with the world. Ceylon is connected with the Indian mainland at Ramnad by a double cable, the main Island connections concentrating at Kandy, from which Colombo, Point de Galle, Batticaloa, and Trincomalee can be communicated with.

Australasia.—The coast of Western Australia is touched by the cables (*viâ* Java) at Broome on the extreme west, and at Port Darwin on the extreme north. The bulk of the Australian traffic passes over the trans-Continental line erected between Port Darwin and Adelaide, begun in 1870 and completed in 1872. The immense hardships encountered in the construction of this line renders it one of the most remarkable feats in the history of land-line undertakings. The line covers a distance of no less than 1973 miles, and passes through almost unknown territory, with little if any surface water, and formidable natural obstacles which rendered the transport a matter of almost insuperable difficulty.

With the exception of two comparatively short strips on the coast-line—Burketown to Palmerston, and Palmerston to Derby—Australia is circumscribed by the telegraph. Every coast town from Broome to Somerset is readily accessible from any station throughout the five colonies which constitute the continent; and as the history of the four main colonies—Western

Australia being the least known of the quintet, as also the most barren—may be said to run parallel, it will be sufficient if we indicate the inception and growth of the electric telegraph in, say New South Wales, which may be taken as representative of Victoria, Queensland, and Southern Australia, making due regard, of course, for their size and relative importance. On 26th January 1858 the first telegraph was employed in this colony between Sydney and Liverpool, a distance of twenty-two miles. From this beginning the system increased with enormous rapidity, and shows to-day a mileage of 13,242 open lines, with 35,630 miles of wire in actual use, and some 700 miles in course of construction.

Compared with Queensland, which is more than double the area of New South Wales, these totals may seem at first sight out of all proportion to the 10,088 miles of line and 18,565 miles of wire contained in the former colony. But the geographical positions and the natural resources of the two colonies must be considered in the estimate, when the actual differences will be easily accounted for.

New Zealand.—From Sydney a double cable connects New Zealand at Nelson on the north of South Island, and thence by single cable to Wanganni on south of North Island; North and South Islands being further connected by double cable between Wellington and Blenheim, with land-line connections to Mongonni on the extreme north, and Campbelltown on the extreme south. The number of miles of line in 1899 was 6736, with 18,746 miles of wire throughout the system, or just double the mileage that existed in 1882, an eloquent tribute to the advance which New Zealand has made in the space of eighteen years.

The statistical abstract for the year ending 1898 gives the following total mileage of telegraph lines open in our various colonial possessions.

Possessions.	Mileage.	
India	50,306	
Straits Settlements	Not received	
Ceylon	1,161	Excluding cable lines
Mauritius	135	
Labuan	Not received	
Hong Kong	Cannot be given	
AUSTRALASIA :—		
New South Wales	13,242	Excluding railway telegraph lines
Victoria	6,599	
South Australia	5,514	Including the Northern Territory
Western Australia	5,886	
Tasmania	1,927	Excluding cable lines
New Zealand	6,736	Excluding railway telegraph lines and including cable lines
Queensland	10,088	
Natal	801¼	
Zululand	159	Annexed to Natal
Cape of Good Hope	7,224	
St. Helena	30	
Lagos	230	
Gold Coast	688	
NORTH AMERICA :—		
Canada	32,891	Including cable lines
Newfoundland	1,314	Government lines only
WEST INDIA ISLANDS :—		
Bermuda	44	Excluding cable lines
Bahamas	6	Do.
Jamaica	635	Excluding railway telegraph lines
Trinidad	94	Including railway telegraph lines
British Guiana	476	Excluding railway telegraph lines and cable lines
Malta	65	

The long contemplated All-British cable scheme, known as the Pacific cable, the construction of which has now been definitely decided upon, may claim our attention for a few moments in view of its importance as a prospective "weapon" of immense strategic possibilities, and an instrument of the highest commercial value. The route suggested by Sir Sandford Fleming,

and ultimately decided on by the Governments concerned, is, *viâ* Canada, Norfolk Island, Fanning Island, and Fiji, whence it would bifurcate, one branch extending to New Zealand and the other to the eastern coast of Australia, where the land-lines would complete communication with the western coast. From some convenient point—King George's Sound for preference—the cable would be carried on to Cocos Island, and from here to the Island of Mauritius, and so to Natal or Cape Town. It has been pointed out that the Cocos would so become an important telegraph centre; it would be a convenient point for connecting Singapore by a branch cable. Singapore is already in connection with Hong Kong by an All-British cable *viâ* Labuan. India could be reached by a branch cable from Cocos to Colombo or Trincomalee in Ceylon. At Mauritius a connection could be formed with the existing cable to Seychelles, Aden, and Bombay. In order to avoid the shallow seas along the West Coast of Africa, Spain, Portugal, and France, it is proposed that the cable should extend from Cape Town to Bermuda, touching at St. Helena, Ascension, Barbados, as mid-ocean stations. At Bermuda a connection would be formed with the existing cable to Halifax, and from that point with the Canadian and Trans-Atlantic lines. Sir S. Fleming estimated that the total distance for which new cables would be required—of which 20,250 knots would be in the main line, and 2600 in branches—might be roughly placed at 23,000 knots; and the cost, including the branch to Hong Kong, between £5,000,000 and £6,000,000 sterling.

The principal objection formulated against the scheme at the time of its inception—among other difficulties raised on various grounds, and the vexatious conditions and restrictions imposed by the Home Government—was, that whereas an extensive and constantly increasing trade was likely to ensue with

South Africa in the near future, no trade of great importance could reasonably be hoped for between Canada and Australia.

In connection with the attitude taken by the Government, the Secretary of State for the Colonies pointed out that:—

(1) Her Majesty's Government have never concealed their opinion that the constitution of a Pacific Cable is of greater importance to Australasia and Canada than to the United Kingdom, and that they would not have been disposed to recommend Parliament to aid it, but for their desire to afford the support and assistance of the Mother Country to her great self-governing colonies in a project, the success of which cannot fail to promote Imperial Unity.

(2) That Her Majesty's Government consider the responsibility of constructing and working the cable should be borne by the Governments of Canada and Australasia, to whom any profits that may hereafter accrue from the undertaking would consequently fall.

Upon the foregoing it was remarked that the cable would furnish an alternative route to the East, passing entirely through territory under British control, while its other advantages, both strategical and commercial, were referred to by the supporters of the scheme. The injustice of the proposition that Canada and Australasia should be held responsible for raising the money to carry out the work was also insisted upon, and a hope expressed that the British Government might ultimately see their way "to yield to the wishes of Canada and the Australian Colonies with regard to the joint ownership and working of the cable."

In point of fact the British Government did yield, and Great Britain and the Colonies interested will share the expenses and the profits in their due proportions.

We may now proceed briefly to estimate the advantages to the civilised world, for which submarine telegraphy is mainly responsible. At the banquet given at the Imperial Institute on 20th July 1894, to celebrate the twenty-fifth anniversary of the Establishment of Submarine Telegraphy with the Far East, Lord Wolseley said: "I have often thought of the great difficulties that exist in the art of war now compared with the days of the great Duke of Wellington. Think of the immense difficulties under which he carried on his great campaigns. . . . I have often, in reading of those campaigns, tried to calculate to myself what would have been the result of the great Napoleonic campaigns, had the present scientific means of locomotion existed in those days. Think, for example, what would have been the result of his great campaign in Russia if he had been in communication with Paris by railways and the telegraph. . . . Perhaps it is not generally known that we were the first people who made use of telegraphy in war—in the Crimea. We also laid down a line of submarine telegraph between Varna and the Crimea, and I believe that that was the first time that submarine telegraphs were made use of for the purposes of war."

In proof of the strategic value of cables in the estimation of the Powers, the International Telegraph Conference, held at Paris in 1884, in considering the necessities of their protection in time of war, adopted a clause in Article XV. of the Convention, which was agreed to by about twenty Powers, to the effect that the stipulations of the treaty do not in any respect restrict the freedom of action of belligerents,—so that the cutting of the cables (with very doubtful prospects of compensation for the companies that might suffer) may be looked for in the event of future hostilities. It was stated not long since by one of the best known and most authentic of the French papers—though how

such a fact concerning the prospective operations of the fleet should be given to the world it is difficult to conceive—that every ship in the French navy is supplied with secret orders which it is the duty of the commanding officer to open and immediately act upon in time of war. Among the orders contained are "minute instructions as to the routes and exact positions of the leading cables of the world, and also the necessary information as to the best means of destroying them." What the effects of cable interruption would be in war time may be readily inferred when we endeavour to estimate the cable advantages lately and at present afforded in our relations with South Africa. Imagine the state of the public mind which any prolonged suspense as to the issues of our extensive operations would produce! The fact is that we are so accustomed to keep pace with every movement of the forces engaged,—that the progress of every battle, the losses entailed, and the results achieved, are matters of such momentary and commonplace availability, that we cease to marvel at or even to feel thankful for the mighty and mysterious means employed to this end. It will be remembered how, during the bombardment of Alexandria, the Eastern Telegraph Company's s.s. *Chiltern* took on board the Alexandria end of one of the cables, and kept the Government and the people in immediate touch with the operations in progress. These illustrations might easily be multiplied, for, from then till now, the growth of our Empire, and the campaigns resulting in its expansion, have been watched and endorsed "over the wire." An illustration of the economic value of the cable in war has often been cited in connection with the Indian Mutiny, when a single telegram sent through the first Atlantic cable is said to have saved the Government no less a sum than £50,000. As showing, too, the possibilities of the sub-

marine telegraph as a war-averting factor, the late Hon. T. F. Bayard, at that time the American Ambassador to the Court of St. James, in his speech delivered at the anniversary banquet already referred to, gave an instance which cannot fail to impress the imagination. He said: "There was a war, and please God, it shall be the last war, between England and the United States, eighty years ago. A most unnecessary battle was fought, and blood was shed that all must regret, for the want of a submarine telegraph. The battle of New Orleans was fought in 1815, on 8th January, and peace had been declared in the month of December previous at Ghent, and yet there was no means of communicating the fact. There was an unnecessary battle. A gallant, able general, and his equally gallant associates, fell uselessly before those piles of cotton bales in New Orleans, and they fell because, in the providence of God, the light had not yet dawned on the brain of man that peace could be proclaimed to the end of the world. And this peace had been agreed on, but there was no means of carrying the glad tidings across the Atlantic."

As a peace-promoting agent, then, the Submarine Telegraph must be regarded as incomparably great; while, on the other hand, the least abuse of the power it affords by those who have been called upon to undertake the exceptional responsibilities of Empire, and to lend a guiding hand in the destinies of the race, might precipitate the most disastrous results, and turn what has hitherto proved a blessing into an unqualified misfortune. Happily, our inherent qualities may be trusted to gain always the surer and higher ground of righteousness and self-restraint, enabling us to enjoy, with a due sense of appreciation, that greatest of the known forces, the use of which has been so painfully and laboriously acquired.

In the arts of peace the Submarine Telegraph has

been equally fruitful. Formerly the gains of inter-colonial and international commerce were to those whose means were sufficient to enable them to launch their argosies and wait. Enterprises entailing vast sums of money were embarked upon and entrusted more or less to the caprice of fortune. The winds and the tides were the sole trustees of the commercial adventurer, and to these he was subject for all that he aspired to. Without considerable capital he was impotent to move in the marts of the world. It is otherwise to-day. The submarine telegraph has changed the very basis of mercantile methods, and men who, under the old system, ventured no farther than the mouth of the Thames, can fare forth into lands which were once little more to them than a name.

And again, the purely social intercourse which we daily hold with our remote possessions, and the sense of security which the facility of that intercourse inspires, has modified if not wholly eliminated the doubts and fears which the prospect of a long journey formerly engendered. The distances separating our far-eastern dependencies from the Mother Country, and the long weary months which elapsed before tidings could be brought from one to the other, were facts which constantly acted against the desire for travel, and kept within doors the less venturesome among those who had ambitions beyond the seas. To-day, thousands of people undertake the most distant voyages with the knowledge and assurance that an hour at most is the distance in time which separates them from kith and kin. To whatever obscure town in whatever country business or pleasure may take them, the pulse of the world is at their disposal, and with the swiftness of thought they can put themselves into sympathetic communication with whomsoever they will.

The handsome souvenir, distributed to those who had the privilege of attending the commemoration

proceedings at the Imperial Institute, gives a list of the telegrams of congratulation despatched on that occasion by the Prince of Wales, together with the time occupied in receiving replies. Among others, the following are recorded :—

	Time sent.	Time received.	Time occupied.
The Prince of Wales to :—			
Viceroy of India . .	11.46 P.M.	11.58 P.M.	12 min.
Governor, N. S. Wales .	11.48 „	12.17 A.M.	29 „
„ S. Australia .	„ „	12.15 „	27 „
„ Victoria . .	„ „	12.19 „	31 „
„ Tasmania .	„ „	12.10 „	22 „
„ N. Zealand .	„ „	12.14 „	26 „
„ Queensland .	„ „	12.9 „	21 „
„ W. Australia .	„ „	12.12 „	24 „
„ Hong Kong .	„ „	12.8 „	20 „
„ Singapore .	„ „	12.5 „	17 „
„ Natal . .	11.51 „	11.57 P.M.	6 „
High Commissioner, Cape	11.50 „	12.11 A.M.	21 „
Governor-Gen., Canada .	12.25 A.M.	12.33 „	8 „

It will, of course, be understood that the lines were cleared to achieve these extraordinary results, but they represent little less than the normal time required to communicate in the ordinary way. Contrasting the times occupied in the transit of the traffic when the lines were first opened with those of the present day, we find astounding differences. Five hours was formerly the average time for a cablegram to reach India; to-day it is 35 minutes. Australia was communicated with in 10 hours; to-day a little over $1\frac{1}{2}$ hours is considered the normal. It is, therefore, no idle phrase when we speak of the practical annihilation of time and space, and nothing perhaps has done so much to bring about the union of hearts throughout the scattered dominions of this our mighty Empire than those girdles of steel which compass the ends of the earth.

THE ELECTRIC TELEGRAPH IN INDIA

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Among the various branches of the public service which have grown up in India under British rule, the Telegraph Department may fairly claim an honourable place, both on account of the services it has rendered to the civil and military administration of the country, and the benefits it has conferred on the people of India in their social and commercial relations.

The existence of the telegraph in India synchronises almost exactly with the second half of the nineteenth century, and, during these fifty eventual years, the wires have been steadily spreading over the land, from the snow-covered mountains of Kashmir in the north to the cocoa-nut groves of Madras and Malabar in the south, and from the barren hills of Baluchistan on the west to the jungles and swamps of Assam, Burma, and Tenasserim on the east. The pioneers, not merely of the railways but in many parts of the roads also, the wires, wherever they have penetrated, bear witness to the far-reaching power of the great *Sircar*, and are a visible pledge of security and protection to even the remotest districts through which they pass. In 1851 the first telegraph line in India was opened between Calcutta and Diamond Harbour, a distance of thirty miles; in April 1899 there were over 160,000 miles of wire working, and 4699 telegraph offices. The closing year of the century appears, therefore, to be a fitting time to tell something of the story of the growth of the telegraph system in India from its birth to its present large proportions, and to make easily accessible much information regarding it,

hitherto to a great extent buried in official reports. This paper does not deal with the history of the telegraphic connections of India with the west and with the world generally, as this is a subject deserving of a place to itself, but it will be confined to a brief account of the internal telegraphs of the British Empire in India.

The father of the electric telegraph in India was the late Sir William B. O'Shaughnessy Brooke, F.R.S., a member of the Bengal medical establishment of the Honourable East Indian Company's Service, who landed in India in December 1833. So long ago as 1839, we find Dr. O'Shaughnessy, as he was then known, a professor of chemistry in the Medical College at Calcutta, occupying all his leisure in telegraphic experiments, and in April and May of this year he erected in the vicinity of Calcutta, quoting his own words, "the first long line of telegraph ever constructed in any country. The line was twenty-one miles in length, embracing 7000 feet of river circuit. The experiments performed on this line removed all reasonable doubts regarding the practicability of working electric telegraphs through enormous distances, a question then and for three years later disputed by high authority and regarded generally with contemptuous scepticism."

These experiments are described by Dr. O'Shaughnessy in the Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal for September 1839, and in a series of lectures delivered by him shortly afterwards and published in 1841. The surroundings of an Indian official are not favourable to original research. Cut off from direct intercourse with the scientific world of Europe, engaged in public duties which leave him scanty leisure, working in an exhausting tropical climate, which renders periods of rest, relaxation, and daily exercise absolutely necessary for health, it is only to be expected that in modern

scientific advance India should follow rather than lead the progress achieved in more favoured countries. Dr. O'Shaughnessy's researches in telegraphy in 1839 were, however, a good deal more than up to date, and it is to his ability, energy, and public spirit, exercised under great disadvantages, that India can claim among the nations of the world to have been one of the pioneers of telegraphy.

In Dr. O'Shaughnessy's experiments he not only communicated through twenty-one miles of iron wire, and proved that with similar copper wire, which was beyond his means to employ, he could have communicated through seven times that distance, but he also showed that the circuit could be completed without a return wire, if a river or canal was available, and that under any circumstances the return wire need not be insulated. He thus, at this early date, foreshadowed the use of earth as a return, and the necessity for only one wire as a means of communication; he also recognised that by increasing his battery power, or increasing the diameter of his wire, or by making his receiving instrument more sensitive, he could increase the distance through which direct working would be possible to an unknown extent. The experiments were characterised by great originality, boldness of design and indomitable perseverance, qualities which later on Dr. O'Shaughnessy found ample scope for in the initiation and development of telegraphy over long distances in India.

Successful as had been Dr. O'Shaughnessy's first experiments, they were at the time far in advance of the views of the Board of the East India Company and of the authorities in India as to the actual requirements of the country, and it was not till 1849, by which time telegraphy had made considerable advances in Europe, that we find any move made in the development of telegraphy in India. On the 26th September in that

year, the Court of Directors addressed the Government of India on the subject, and after referring to Dr. O'Shaughnessy's experiments in 1839, stated that "while the establishment of communication by means of the electric telegraph would be highly advantageous to the state and the community, many serious considerations were involved," and they finally asked the opinion of the Government of India on the expediency of establishing a system of electric telegraphs independent of any that might be made with the construction of each railroad. In 1850, Colonel Forbes of the Royal Engineers and Dr. O'Shaughnessy submitted reports to Government on these points, with the result that preliminary sanction was accorded to an experimental line, half subterranean and half overground, thirty miles in length. This work was undertaken at the commencement of 1851, and on the 30th March 1852, Dr. O'Shaughnessy submitted a full report to Government on the progress made, showing that by that date he had opened for public business eighty-two miles of line and six offices between Calcutta and Kedgeree, including the cabling of the Huldi and Hughli rivers, the latter being 6200 feet wide. The first four offices on this line between Calcutta and Diamond Harbour were opened on the 4th October 1851; the shipping reports were then experimentally sent by electric telegraph, and on the 5th December 1851, the old semaphore signalling service on this route was finally abolished in favour of its youthful rival. On the 3rd February 1852, the extension from Diamond Harbour to Kedgeree was opened, thus placing an important but very isolated place of call for ships at the mouth of the Hughli in direct communication with Calcutta.

Although this, the first telegraph line in India, was not of any great length, it deserves something more than a passing notice, as its construction involved

peculiar difficulties owing to the nature of the country traversed. Moreover, it was the first telegraph line erected in any tropical country, and the methods adopted have, consequently, a certain historical interest. The low-lying delta of the Ganges is exposed to violent thunder-storms with squalls, commonly known as Nor'-Westers, and to periodical cyclones of terrific force; the rainfall is considerable, with the result that the country is to a great extent under water during the south-west monsoon, while in the cold weather heavy dews and fogs prevail during the night and early mornings, a condition very inimical to good insulation of telegraph wires. Moreover, the river Hughli is not only a broad and rapid stream with ever-shifting bottom, but is the thoroughfare of navigation to the port of Calcutta, and telegraph cables in it were, especially before the days of steam, peculiarly liable to damage from the anchors of ships and small craft, the danger of the navigation often rendering the dragging of anchors by ships a necessity.

With these difficulties to face, Dr. O'Shaughnessy had little in European practice to guide him in the selection of materials. Instead of the comparatively light wire used in Europe, he considered it necessary, in order to secure both strength and conductivity, to use for his land lines wire rods three-eighths of an inch in diameter welded together. The subterranean portion consisted of these rods buried in a cement of melted rosin and sand, while on the overhead sections similar rods were carried on wooden poles, a large proportion being bamboos, and it will give some idea of the difficulty of construction, that in parts of the line the welding had to be done from canoes. No insulators were used. The river cables gave great trouble. Dr. O'Shaughnessy had some copper wire from England covered with a thin layer of gutta-percha; but his task was to protect the slender insulated wire from the

effects of the tropical climate and from chemical and material injury when buried in the ground on the banks or sunk in the beds of the rivers to be crossed. In covering the gutta-percha with lead, with local and rough appliances, Dr. O'Shaughnessy, who was a skilful chemist as well as a telegraph engineer, hit upon a plan which is being more and more adopted at the present day to preserve the insulation of subterranean cables. Against mechanical injury Dr. O'Shaughnessy tried various forms of wire guards, but where the dragging anchors were a constant and imminent danger he advocated the plan of securing his insulated core in the angles of a heavy chain cable. His first two cables were strengthened in this way, though subsequently wire guards, at first bound on longitudinally and afterwards with the guards laid on spirally, were adopted. After trying all patterns of instruments in use in England and America, he discarded them as too elaborate, having found that a simple galvanometer coil, with a horizontal needle, delicately pivoted, and provided with a light pointer, gave him a most sensitive receiving instrument with which he could work in all weathers, and which could be easily replaced in case of damage by lightning, by the most inexperienced operator. Such was the first telegraph line in India—very rudimentary, no doubt, but wonderfully efficient. Dr. O'Shaughnessy thus describes one of the early important messages sent along it. "The *Rattler*, steam-frigate, bringing intelligence of the first operations of the war (Burma), had not passed the flagstaff at Kedgeree on the 19th April 1852, when the news of the storming and capture of Rangoon was placed in the hands of the Governor-General in Calcutta and posted on the gates of the telegraph office for the information of the public."

The success of the line was so convincing that on the 14th of April 1852, Lord Dalhousie, in forwarding

Dr. O'Shaughnessy's report to the Court of Directors, recommended that sanction should be accorded to the immediate construction of lines from Calcutta to Peshawar, Calcutta to Bombay, and Calcutta to Madras. He further recommended that Dr. O'Shaughnessy should proceed to England to arrange for the necessary stores, and that he should be granted a bonus of Rs.20,000. The following extract from the Governor-General's despatch indicates the value placed on Dr. O'Shaughnessy's services: "I believe I am doing no more than expressing the universal opinion of the community when I say that for them (the results obtained) the Government of India is indebted to the ability, the undaunted energy, the perseverance and skill of Dr. W. O'Shaughnessy. He has accomplished the whole unaided, within a comparatively short time, in the midst of other important duties and without any remuneration whatever."

Lord Dalhousie's prompt decision to extend the telegraph in India without delay had an importance that he little dreamt of at the moment. Had this extensive scheme been discussed in the usual leisurely official way, valuable years would have slipped by, and the telegraph service would not have been the organised and efficient aid it proved to be when, in 1857, the Mutiny burst over the land. Nor were the Court of Directors wanting in equal promptness. Within a week of the receipt of Lord Dalhousie's eloquent and enthusiastic despatch, his proposals had received the sanction of the Court of Directors and the approval of the Board of Control. Well might Dr. O'Shaughnessy put on record that "such rapidity in the despatch of an important measure is perhaps without a parallel in any department of Government."

On the 20th of June 1852, Dr. O'Shaughnessy reported his arrival in London, and he was at once busily engaged in submitting his detailed proposals to

the Court of Directors, arranging for the stores for over three thousand miles of line, training enlisted artificers in telegraph construction at Warley, inspecting home and foreign telegraph lines, making a collection of patterns of all telegraph instruments in use, and preparing a manual of instructions in the erection and working of telegraphs. The Government of India was meanwhile arranging the routes to be followed, in consultation with the local Governments concerned; and on the 7th May 1853, Lord Dalhousie recorded a valuable minute detailing the decisions that had been arrived at for a first instalment of about 3500 miles of telegraph, connecting Calcutta with Peshawar *viâ* Agra, with Bombay *viâ* Agra and Indore, and connecting Bombay and Madras *viâ* the Deccan, Bellary, and Bangalore. The direct connection between Calcutta and Madras was postponed; but Lord Dalhousie indicated the desirability of an early extension from Calcutta to Burma, and also an extension that would include Nagpur and Hyderabad (Deccan).

Dr. O'Shaughnessy returned to India in July 1853, and set to work at once on this extensive programme, and in the organisation of the department of which he had been appointed the head. Some idea of the magnitude of his task may be formed by a consideration of the facts that Peshawar, one only of the points to be reached, was nearly sixteen hundred miles from its sea-base, Calcutta; that there were no railways; that means of transport and communication were slow and primitive; that the wires had to be carried across, either under or over, numerous wide unbridged rivers, with ill-defined banks—rivers that often became torrents in the rainy season, or when the snows were melting on the Himalayas; that unhealthy jungles had to be traversed in places; and, finally, that the work was of an entirely new nature to the staff employed. Construction commenced in the autumn of

1853, and by the 24th of March 1854 connection had been established with Agra, a distance of eight hundred miles. On the 27th November the Bombay Government reported that communication with Calcutta had been completed. The lines from Agra to Peshawar and from Bombay to Madras were finished somewhat later, and by the 1st February 1855 the system was sufficiently established to admit of the wires being thrown open to the use of the public.

Space would not admit of anything like a detailed account in this article of the lines constructed, the methods adopted, and the difficulties overcome. Dr. O'Shaughnessy mentions twenty-four rivers that had to be crossed by massive cables, to a great extent made up with the roughest appliances on the banks; forty rivers had also to be crossed by spans, posts of iron-wood from Arakan, of toddy-palm, sal, teak, black-wood and fir, granite and sandstone obelisks and masonry pillars had all to be employed according to the locality. A heavy iron wire, weighing from 1000 to 1200 lbs. a mile, was principally used, with brackets and insulators of various kinds then in vogue. Weather decay, white ants, and lightning soon proved destructive agencies that gradually compelled the use of iron, first as a base, some years afterwards as half, three-quarter, and whole posts, and at the present day, except in the case of a small proportion of posts of specially durable timber, iron is exclusively used, either in the form of tubular posts or rails, for all important telegraph construction in India. Among the officers specially mentioned by Dr. O'Shaughnessy as having had their share as pioneers of telegraph construction in India are Lieutenants P. Stewart and A. Chauncey, Dr. Green, Messrs. Brunton, O'Donnell, Todhunter, and Wickham. A native gentleman of Bengal, Babu Shib Chunder Nundy, was Dr. O'Shaughnessy's earliest assistant, having joined the department at its origin. He

carried out many useful experiments, besides construction work, in 1850–51, and was favourably reported on to Government. Later on he was employed on important works of construction, and by his energy and pluck set an excellent example to his fellow-countrymen. He still enjoys a well-earned pension, and has been created a Rai Bahadur by Government in recognition of his long and exemplary services.

In December 1854, the Government of India passed Act XXXIV. for regulating the establishment and management of electric telegraph lines in India; and, as stated above, the telegraph was thrown open to the public on the 1st February 1855. A tariff of one rupee for sixteen words per zone of four hundred miles was fixed, and the Telegraph Department of India was thus fairly launched. In February 1856, Lord Dalhousie minuted at length on the result of the first year's working. He states that nearly four thousand miles of line had been completed, at an average cost of about Rs.500 per mile, that the receipts, Rs.202,789, were steadily increasing, and already amounted to two-thirds of the estimated working expenses, that the Government and people of India had profited largely by Dr. W. O'Shaughnessy's services, and that it had been his pleasing duty to recommend that officer "for higher honours than any praise of him which the East India Company can inscribe upon its records or any other reward that it can bestow on him from its coffers." Shortly afterwards Dr. O'Shaughnessy, who proceeded to England in March 1856, was created a Knight Bachelor by her Majesty, a fitting recognition of the work, now crowned with acknowledged success, begun by him seventeen years before in his experiments in the Botanical Gardens at Calcutta.

Sir W. O'Shaughnessy was in England from March 1856 to December 1857, Lieut. Patrick Stewart, R.E., acting for him in India as Superintendent of the

Department. During his absence nearly one thousand miles of new line were constructed, revenue was increasing, and progress generally is described as satisfactory in every respect. In May 1857, the Sepoy Mutiny broke out, peaceful expansion was stopped, and the Department was called on to perform duties and face difficulties of a very different nature from any met with in its previous peaceful experience.

The services rendered by the electric telegraph in the suppression of the Mutiny have been borne witness to by the highest civil and military authorities. And while space forbids any lengthened account here of the various operations undertaken, the history of the Department would be incomplete without a brief record of some of the main events of the time, in which the telegraph played an important part.

On Sunday afternoon, the 10th of May 1857, the mutineers at Meerut, having first interrupted telegraphic communication with Delhi, broke into rebellion. Mr. C. Todd, the Telegraph Master at Delhi, met his death early on the morning of the 11th, at the hands of the first arrivals from Meerut, on the bridge of boats over the river Jumna, when testing the line to ascertain where the fault was between Delhi and Meerut. The remaining staff of the Delhi telegraph office consisted of two European lads, Pilkington and Brendish, the only persons in the whole city and cantonments who could use the telegraph. Throughout the morning the city was in confusion, the mutineers had arrived, bungalows were burning, firing was going on continuously, many Europeans, including the Commissioner, had been murdered, the arsenal was being besieged, the native regiments had refused to act against the mutineers, and all order was at an end. Fortunately the telegraph office was some little distance outside the walls, but the two signallers were informed of what was going on by fugitives from the city, and

they were warned to hide by native shopkeepers and others, who told them that even they were being murdered and pillaged, and there was no chance for Europeans. The signallers, however, stuck to their post of duty, and reported to Umballa the substance of what they had heard. These informal reports took shape in two somewhat incoherent messages, on which the military authorities acted. The first telegram, as given in a letter from General Anson, the Commander-in-Chief, to Lord Canning ran thus: "We must leave office. All the bungalows are on fire—burning down by the sepoys of Meerut. They came in this morning. We are off. Mr. C. Todd is dead, I think. He went out this morning and has not yet returned. We learnt that nine Europeans are killed." This was received at 3 P.M., a subsequent somewhat more explicit telegram followed an hour later, and both were despatched by the General Commanding at Umballa to the Commander-in-Chief at Simla, by the hands of his son Lieut. Barnard, and by wire to the authorities at Lahore, Rawal Pindi, and Peshawar.

As the afternoon advanced and the danger of remaining momentarily increased, the signallers, accompanied by Mrs. Todd, who still hoped for her husband's return, took refuge at the Flagstaff Tower, where many fugitives from the city and cantonments were congregating. From this place Pilkington is reported to have been sent back to the office with a guard by a military officer with a telegram which he despatched, probably the second message referred to above. The signallers escaped during the night, and eventually reached Umballa safely, where they had been given up for lost. Very shortly after they had quitted the office it was burned by the mutineers or rabble.

Referring to the message quoted above, Sir Herbert Edwardes, Commissioner of Peshawar at the time,

thus describes its result: "When the message reached Lahore, it enabled Mr. Montgomery and the General to disarm the native troops before they had received one word of intelligence on the subject. The same message was flashed from Lahore to Peshawar, and we took our measures there in the same way; and before any of the mutineers and Hindustani regiments had the opportunity of laying their plans, we had taken all ours, and were able to defeat them when the hour of difficulty arose. I do not hesitate to add that the message was the means of salvation of the Punjab." Sir W. O'Shaughnessy thus describes the matter in his official report: "Mr. Charles Todd, the assistant in charge at Delhi, had fallen in the general massacre, but not until his office had signalled to the Punjab the terrible events at Meerut and the march of the mutineers on Delhi. The value of that last service of the Delhi office is best described in the words of the Judicial Commissioner, Mr. Montgomery—'THE ELECTRIC TELEGRAPH HAS SAVED INDIA.'"

The services of the two signallers were duly rewarded by Government. Pilkington died many years ago, but Brendish only recently retired from the telegraph service, a full instead of a half pay pension having been granted him as a final recognition of his work at Delhi on the terrible day of the massacre. A granite obelisk, subscribed for by the members of the Telegraph Department in 1899, is about to be erected, with the approval of Government, in front of the present telegraph office at Delhi in commemoration of the events above described.

Delhi, as is well known, was besieged and taken by troops from the Punjab, from which province every available fighting man was sent by Sir John Lawrence. It would be superfluous to attempt to describe the value of the telegraph on the long road of six hundred miles between Peshawar and Delhi, when

every nerve was being strained to send down troops, guns, and stores for the siege. Much of the country was far from safe, but the telegraph from Delhi northward was kept constantly open. Sir W. O'Shaughnessy thus reports on this point: "As, by the gallant and indefatigable services of Mr. Inspector Brown, the line from Delhi to the Punjab was kept open during the whole time of the siege of Delhi, the lines and intermediate offices rendered inestimable service to the Government of India and to the highest interests of the whole Empire."

To the south of Meerut, however, the maintenance of the telegraph service at once became an impossibility. Before May was over the line from Agra to Meerut had been destroyed, early in June Agra was cut off from Calcutta, and on the 14th of June communication with Indore and Bombay was also severed. It would be tedious to enumerate all the events that followed. Hundreds of miles of telegraph lines were destroyed between Agra and Indore and between Agra and Benares; the staff at Cawnpore, consisting of five members, were all cruelly murdered; and a similar fate befell the staff of four at Indore with their families. But while the work of destruction went on apace, the work of restoration never slackened, whenever the state of the country permitted. It was of vital importance that telegraphic communication between Bengal, the North-West Provinces, and the Punjab should be restored as soon as possible, and Sir W. O'Shaughnessy reports that this was accomplished "with extraordinary rapidity and determination, by Captain P. Stewart, Mr. Harrington and others by the 29th of January 1858," the through service on this main route having thus been suspended for about eight months. Similar work of restoration of lines and maintenance of communication, often carried out under circumstances of great danger, went on according to the varying fortunes of

the campaign in the native states of Central India, and in parts of Bengal, the North-West Provinces, and Oudh; but it must suffice to quote here the following extract on operations in Oudh. Sir W. O'Shaughnessy writes: "By far the most interesting occurrence in the story of the restoration of our lines is found in the dashing exploit of Captain Stewart, Mr. Harrington, Mr. M'Intyre, and Mr. Devin in running up a flying line from Cawnpore to Lucknow in the last advance of the Commander-in-Chief on that city. The cool intrepidity and ready resources displayed by Captain Stewart on this occasion gained for him the hearty applause of the whole army. His report is one of the best proofs yet given of the value of the (telegraph) Department in military operations as well as in its political and civil bearings."

The Mutiny having clearly proved the value of the telegraph in India, the system was rapidly extended, and within the next three years lines were constructed down the whole length of the east and west coasts of the peninsula. Rangoon was connected with Calcutta *via* Arakan and Dacca, lines were erected from the extreme north to the south of the Island of Ceylon, Karachi was connected with Bombay and Lahore, and extensions were made to most large towns of political or military importance along the main routes of travel. The main arteries having been thus completed, there, of course, still remained, as there still remain even to the present day, after forty years of ceaseless progress, immense tracts of country to be opened up to telegraphic communication, to keep pace with the development of the country and the extension of the frontiers of the Empire.

Among the notable events of the period was the laying of a gutta-percha insulated cable about twenty-five miles in length across Palk's Straits between India

and Ceylon in September 1858. Sir W. O'Shaughnessy thus describes the operation: "I have also to advert to the masterly feat Mr. Wickham has performed in placing the telegraph cable across the Gulf of Manaar in a native sailing vessel, and during bad weather. The operation was as difficult, the line as long, and the navigation at least as dangerous as that of placing the cable across the Straits of Dover, for which a squadron of steamers and costly machinery was employed. Mr. Wickham performed his task under sail, and with no other apparatus than the rude windlass of a native vessel." The cable thus laid with such slender appliances did excellent service for many years, carrying all the traffic between Ceylon and the rest of the world.

An important measure, due to the foresight of Sir W. O'Shaughnessy, and one which gave a great impetus to telegraphy in India, was the early introduction of the Morse, or American, system of signalling. In 1854–55, Sir W. O'Shaughnessy had made up his mind on the "immeasurable superiority" of this system over other more elaborate methods which had to some extent secured the field in England and on the Continent. In 1856, he was sent to England to arrange for its introduction. Seventy-four officers were instructed in London in the use of the instrument, and sent to India in the following two years. They at once took a prominent position in the Department, several arrived in time to do good service during the Mutiny, and in after years many of them rose to the highest appointments in the service. The Morse instruments were rapidly introduced, and, as in America, the indented tape on which the messages were first read was soon discarded, in the interests of speed, accuracy, and economy, for reading by sound. In 1859, receiving by ear only had made great progress, and in 1860, Sir W. O'Shaughnessy reported that the system of ear

reading was general. It made but little progress in Europe for many years, and India may claim second honours with America in adopting the simple and now so widely-used instrument known as the Morse sounder. The operators in India have for many years justly prided themselves on their proficiency in the art of reading by ear, and many natives, to whom English is a foreign language, have attained almost equal facility with their European and Eurasian colleagues.

Sir W. O'Shaughnessy left India in bad health in June 1860, and shortly afterwards retired from the service. In closing this brief account of the early history of the telegraph in India, the following extract from his last report to Government, dated 17th May 1860, will be read with sympathetic interest. Referring to the progress and development of the telegraph, and to the great future before it in India, he writes: "We have at our disposal at a moderate cost an instrument of such miraculous power, that by a single message it has already saved our Indian Empire, while day by day, and hour by hour, it is busy in the promotion of commerce and the furtherance of public interests of every kind. In my extended tours over all parts of India I have seldom met a family who had not some anecdote to tell of the services the telegraph had done them. There are few Europeans in India who have not experienced a thrill of pleasure when they met our masts and wires on the margin of every road, and know that these true tokens of science and civilisation and power traverse our Indian Empire to its uttermost limits. Should I see them no more, I can truly say that I shall ever continue to take the most heartfelt interest in the prosperity and improvement of the Department, and feel proud and happy that it has been my lot to bring it even to its present imperfect state."

In dealing with the first ten years of Indian telegraphy, the subject has necessarily been treated at some length. Telegraphy was in its infancy as a science even in Europe and America, while telegraphy in the tropics was unborn. India itself was unopened by railways, scarcely touched by Western civilisation, and the interior of the country was but little known. The task undertaken by Lord Dalhousie and carried out by Sir W. O'Shaughnessy and his co-operators, to carry the telegraph in the early fifties through the length and breadth of the immense territories of the East India Company, was therefore one which has had no parallel elsewhere, and the manner in which that task was completed forms a brilliant chapter in the annals of our Indian Empire worthy of being better known.

The history of the telegraph during the forty years that have passed since Sir W. O'Shaughnessy left India, though one of uninterrupted progress, of hard devoted work, administrative and executive, and of many interesting episodes, would be too long to be treated with the same detail, and naturally possesses less general interest.

Year by year the lines were extended into new districts. With every extension of our frontier the telegraph, first as a military line, then as a permanent institution, quietly took possession of the new territory; railways and canals required wires for their operations; the tariffs had to be adjusted from time to time; the staff reorganised and maintained in a state of efficiency. India had to take her place in the councils of the telegraphic world as represented at the conferences of the International Telegraphic Union; the ever-growing traffic called for the latest types of instruments and methods of working to enhance the carrying power of the wires; and the general development of the country called for measures for the

extension of telegraphic facilities, without burden to the Imperial revenue, not only to the outlying quarters of large towns, but to small towns and villages, at a cost commensurate with the traffic expected from these lesser important localities. Problems such as these have occupied the attention of the several Directors-General who have succeeded Sir W. O'Shaughnessy, and some brief description of them is necessary to complete this sketch of the telegraph in India.

The progress of the Department received a great impetus under the vigorous administration of the late Major-General D. G. Robinson, R.E., who held the appointment of Director-General for the long period of twelve years—1865–77. In 1865 this officer, recognising that a contented, efficient staff was necessary to provide an efficient telegraph service, thoroughly reorganised the whole establishment, both superior and subordinate. Salaries were increased, promotion regulated, the signalling staff obtained many privileges, and by the division of the signallers into grades, paid according to qualifications, a great incentive was given to self-improvement by private study, resulting in a more intelligent performance of their duties. To encourage the signalling staff still further, two instructors were sent out from England in 1868, to travel from office to office in order to give lectures on telegraphy and to personally instruct the men in the scientific branch of their duties. One of these instructors, Mr. Louis Schwendler, left a lasting mark on the Department. Not only did he prove himself a most enthusiastic and inspiriting teacher, but he attained considerable eminence in the scientific world in Europe as one of the most advanced authorities on telegraphy. His early death, after giving fifteen years of his life to India, evoked widespread regret.

Another important administrative measure given effect to by Colonel Robinson, as his rank then was,

was the engagement and despatch to India, between 1868 and 1871, of seventy-two officers for the superior service of the Department. These officers were carefully selected by examination, and afterwards trained in practical telegraphy, mainly by the present well-known and eminent engineer and electrician, Sir W. Preece, F.R.S., who has ever since not only taken the greatest interest in, but has rendered very valuable service to, the cause of telegraphy in India. Several of the older officers of the Department were also enabled by Colonel Robinson to visit England and bring their knowledge up to date under similar favourable conditions. Of late years the superior staff has been mainly recruited from the Royal Engineering College at Cooper's Hill, and, in addition, appointments in the provincial service of the Department are conferred on *alumni* of the Thomason Engineering College at Rurki, and on deserving officers who have risen from the subordinate ranks.

Colonel Robinson also directed much attention to the welding of the various telegraph systems that had grown up, under licences from Government, along the Indian railways into one harmonious whole with the Imperial system; thus securing to the public the great advantages of uniformity of charges and procedure, and the free interchange of traffic.

He also made many changes and experiments in the internal tariff, which was gradually made uniform for the whole country, but it was not till 1882 that the present excellent tariff was established by Colonel R. Murray, then Director-General. Under this tariff, which was mainly devised by Mr. J. H. Lane, Director of Traffic, messages are divided into three classes, *urgent*, *ordinary*, and *deferred*, at charges well suited to the Indian currency. The charges vary with the speed, and thus meet the differing wants of the community in a country so vast as India, where the unavoidably long postal times of transit of letters afford a useful field for

slow but cheap telegraph messages, as an intermediary between the ordinary telegram and the post. A feature of Indian telegraphy is the free address, a great boon to the natives, especially of the poorer classes, whose names and residences are often obscure, and whose telegrams would run great risk of non-delivery unless a full address were given. In practice, the free and often very long address brings down the tariff per word to as cheap a level as obtains in the comparatively small countries of Europe, and though the concession of free address is opposed to the ordinary canons of telegraphy, the circumstances of the natives fully justify the Government in its wise and liberal policy in this matter. Considering the size of our Indian Empire, the uniform internal telegraph tariff, with free address, compares favourably in cheapness with the tariffs of any country in the world.

After an abortive and costly attempt in 1859 to connect Great Britain and India by means of a cable through the Red Sea, India first joined hands with the Western world in international telegraphy very early in 1865, *viâ* Karachi and the Persian Gulf. On the 26th March 1870 the cable between Bombay and Suez was thrown open to the Indian public, and on the 4th January 1871 an eastward connection was made by the cable from Madras to Penang. A land line connection through most difficult country was established between Maulmain and Siam on the 18th May 1885, and another land connection with China *viâ* Bhamo in March 1895. In 1868, India was first formally represented at the International Telegraphic Conference at Vienna, and she has taken an important part at all subsequent conferences in matters connected with extra-European telegraphy. At St. Petersburgh, in 1876, India was represented by Colonel Robinson, and largely through his efforts the tariff in extra-European telegraphy, which is necessarily costly, was fixed *by*

word instead of *by group* as hitherto. This regulation, coupled with the use of code words, which may stand for long sentences, and the registration of abbreviated code addresses, has materially cheapened telegraphy, but the tariff of four shillings a word between England and India, unchanged since 1886, presses very heavily on small traders and private individuals, and there is a strong feeling in India that a cheaper tariff should be fairly tried. At the International Conference of Buda-Pest in 1895, the Government of India made an earnest effort to secure this boon for India, but the private companies interested, in view of the stationary nature of the traffic, declined to face the risk. No reduction has yet been possible, but with the example of what a cheap tariff has done between Europe and Australia, it is to be hoped that some reductions may soon be found possible without any serious call on the revenues of India in the shape of guarantees, to be paid almost entirely in the interests of the wealthier classes, and of only a remote and indirect value to the great mass of the Indian people.

A very important and far-reaching measure, which has proved fruitful of good to the community at large, and which, at the same time, has been very beneficial to the postal and telegraph departments, was inaugurated in 1883 under the orders of the Directors-General of the two departments respectively, Mr. (now Sir) Frederick Hogg, and Mr. (now Sir) A. Leppoc Cappel. The organisation of the two departments is quite distinct, and each has an unlimited field for expansion in its own special work, while amalgamation presents many fundamental difficulties. The Telegraph Department has been to a great extent designed to carry out the engineering and scientific work of construction and maintenance, not only for the system it works itself, but also for railways and canals, and for the defence and military operations of the

country; it has also to deal with the whole of the through traffic, both foreign and inland, a great proportion of which has to be despatched with rapidity and accuracy across the breadth and length of the country, involving special arrangements and delicate instruments for long-distance telegraphy and fast work. For these duties, it is necessary that the operating staff should be highly qualified, and available for transfer to any part of the country where their services may be required. A higher scale of remuneration is therefore paid than would be necessary for operators working only at the simplest instruments in small offices on short branch and local circuits as feeders to the important offices on the trunk lines. For these feeder offices, the cheap native agency of the Postal Department has been utilised, thus enabling the telegraph to be extended economically, to the great convenience of the residents, into localities which would otherwise have been deprived of telegraphic facilities. The Telegraph Department provides lines and instruments, and instructs the postal staff in telegraphy; the Postal Department manages the offices and their discipline, and furnishes the necessary accommodation. All expenses connected with the telegraph branch of each office is borne by the Telegraph Department, which is credited with the telegraph revenue, while the Postal Department is enabled to utilise all the spare time of the telegraph staff in ordinary postal work. The details of the scheme presented many difficulties, involving as they necessarily did a certain amount of divided responsibility and control, but owing to the admirable spirit in which the scheme was conceived and has since been worked by the officers of both departments, the result has been an unqualified success. On the 31st March 1899, no less than 1472 of these joint offices were open, which booked and despatched during the previous twelve

months 2,050,553 paid messages of the value of Rs.1,872,556. The Post Office of India bears a well-deserved reputation, and is second to none in the world in enterprise and progress. Though its telegraph work forms an insignificant portion of its other immense and multifarious operations, the invaluable help it has given to the spread of telegraphy among the people of India is deserving of the fullest recognition.

In a country like India, garrisoned with a large European army and frequently engaged in warfare on its frontiers, military telegraphy has naturally taken a leading position. The Telegraph Department has to train annually, and keep in practice in its offices in actual work, a large number of British soldiers ready to be drafted into the field-telegraph offices on the outbreak of war. With the same object, squads of officers, British non-commissioned officers, and native Sappers of the Bengal, Bombay, and Madras Sappers and Miners, are constantly undergoing periods of training in the service of the Telegraph Department, and for this purpose the lines and offices in certain districts of the Punjab are allotted to the special charge of Royal Engineer officers. The Department is also charged with the construction and supervision of telegraphic and telephonic communications in connection with the defence of the frontiers and the ports of the country. It has to maintain, at suitable positions near the frontiers, large arsenals of field-telegraph material containing everything required for a campaign, ready for immediate issue on mobilization being ordered.

At the outbreak of hostilities the Department has at once to send its staff of officers, signallers, civil and military, and native line staff to take up their duties under the orders of the General Officer Commanding, while at the same time it has to meet at the base

of operations, and at all the large military stations, a rush of traffic, which strains its resources to the uttermost. Every department of the army is in a hurry, troops are in motion from even the most distant stations, the civil officers and the commissariat are collecting animal transport, supplies, and native staff; officers and men have to be recalled from leave, garrisons rearranged, and everywhere the utmost activity prevails. As nearly all the orders are given by wire, the Telegraph Department, in addition to having its own mobilization arrangements to see to, has to work its staff night and day to meet the calls on it caused by the rush of traffic. The frequent recurrence of these periods of strain has done much to raise the standard of efficiency of the Department and to maintain it in that state of preparedness, which has so often won the recognition of the Government and of the highest military authorities in India. Notwithstanding the hard work, military service is most popular with officers and subordinates of all grades, suitable military rank is conferred on all civilians employed in the field, the Government has been liberal in the scales of field and travelling allowances, the civil staff are eligible for medals, and for death and wound gratuities. At the close of the campaign the distinction of a Companionship of the Order of the Indian Empire has several times been conferred on the principal telegraph officer employed, while the General Officers in the field, the Commander-in-Chief, and the Government of India have accorded generous and unstinting praise for the hard work done by all, and for the valuable aid the Department has rendered. Any record of the frontier work of the Telegraph Department would be incomplete without mention of the conspicuous services of Mr. W. Bignell, for a quarter of a century the chief administrative officer in the Punjab.

All the arrangements connected with the military

work of the Department have been the outcome of much thought and practical experience, extending as far back as the administration of Colonel Robinson, who first arranged for the training of soldiers in telegraphy, thus preparing them for use as signallers in time of war, while providing them with congenial and remunerative occupation in periods of peace—a welcome relief to the tedium of the long hot days in barracks. Field-Marshal Lord Roberts, when Commander-in-Chief in India, took great interest in this question, giving the Department every facility for its work, and his successors have continued the same policy. In the design of telegraph line material, tents, instruments, and office fittings suited to the animal transport, rough usage, rugged, roadless country, and extremes of climate of an Indian frontier campaign, the names of Colonel H. A. Mallock, Director-General, 1889–90, Messrs. P. V. Luke, C.I.E., C. E. Pitman, C.I.E., and H. A. Kirk, are deserving of special mention, as having brought sound practical experience to bear on a subject presenting many difficulties.

Space does not permit of anything in the shape of a detailed account in this article of the actual work done by the Department in the various campaigns of recent years, to do justice to which a volume would be necessary. It must suffice to say that the telegraph has rendered valuable service in every campaign of any importance since the Mutiny, while in the Afghan war of 1878–80, the conquest and pacification of Upper Burmah, including the Chin-Lushai campaigns in 1886–90, the Chitral Expedition in 1895, and the Tirah and North-West Frontier operations in 1897, the work done was of a specially important nature, not only in the conduct of the operations, but in meeting the requirements of the press and ministering to the private wants of the army in the field.

In every campaign the Telegraph Department, in

carrying its wires and maintaining its communications through the densest jungles, across malarious swamps, and over rugged mountains,[1] has taken its full share with other branches of the service in the hardships and dangers of Indian warfare. It is also the proud boast of the Department that the wires have never lagged behind the advance, except where the zeal of its officers has had to be restrained by superior military considerations. In the larger campaigns the Department has had the assistance of the corps of Royal Engineers, and all branches of the army have been represented amongst the soldier signallers. Whether soldiers or civilians, Europeans or natives, all ranks have by their courage, loyalty, and endurance well-merited the thanks of Government that have been so often and so cordially expressed at the close of the various campaigns.

On the 13th of March 1893, Lord Roberts, when laying down, after seven years tenure, the office of Commander-in-Chief in India, brought to the notice of the Government of India in the most public manner the "admirable work of the Telegraph Department for many years past," in connection with the instruction of the army in telegraphy, the telegraphic arrangements in connection with harbour defence, and the services the Department had already rendered in the field. At the time this gratifying testimony was received the Department was under the administration of Mr. (now Sir) W. R. Brooke. The Department has been fortunate in earning similar praise from Lord Roberts' successor, Sir George White, and from Sir William Lockhart, the late Commander-in-Chief.

[1] It is worthy of record in connection with mountain warfare, that in the Sikkim Expedition in 1888, the Department maintained a field telegraph office at Bhutong in Thibet, at a height of 13,500 feet above sea-level, from the 12th November to the 6th December; no easy task, considering the season and the conditions that had to be met, and one that has had few, if any, parallels.

In more peaceful fields, the Department has a wide scope for usefulness. In the organisation and distribution of famine relief it has, since the Bengal Famine of 1873–74, been able to afford valuable aid to the civil officers engaged in combating these terrible calamities. It has also conferred benefits on the country, by enabling the great canal systems of Upper India to be worked to an advantage that was not contemplated when these systems were designed. The controlling authority of each canal, by means of the telegraph or telephone, is now able to receive timely intimation of storms and floods, and is in a position to take prompt measures to prevent damage to banks, and to regulate the supply and discharge of water in a manner most satisfactory both to the finances of the canal and to the interests of the cultivators. The use of the telegraph in working the larger canals has made very rapid strides of recent years, and promises soon to become universal. It is not necessary to speak of the use of telegraphy in the working of railways, but it may be mentioned that the Telegraph Department supplies and maintains the wires for nearly all the railways in India, and for a very large proportion of the railways it also supplies and looks after the instruments. In telephonic enterprise it supplies the Government, municipal corporations, and private individuals with local exchanges or private lines; and in Calcutta, Bombay, Madras, Rangoon, and one or two other places, private telephone companies have been granted licences for their operations, and large exchanges, mainly for the use of the mercantile community, have been established, the right of purchase by Government having been reserved in each case.

It would not be possible to enter into details regarding the extension of the wires over all parts of the country, a process which has gone on uninterruptedly since the Mutiny, to such extent annually as

the general finances of the country permitted; but a few of the frontier extensions of recent years may be mentioned as possessing some features of special interest.

In 1888, communication was established between Upper Burma and Assam through the valleys of the Chindwin and Yu Rivers, thence northward *viâ* Tummoo and Manipur to Assam. The wires run through a country parts of which were almost unknown at the time the line was undertaken, and on the outbreak of rebellion at Manipur, in March 1891, which resulted in the murder of the Chief Commissioner of Assam and many other officers, the telegraph materially assisted in the military operations undertaken for the reconquest of the Manipur State. The Department lost two of its servants in this outbreak, Mr. W. B. Melville, superintendent of the Assam Division, and Mr. James O'Brien, signaller, who were both murdered at Myankhoung, near Manipur, in the execution of their duty. The line connecting Assam with Upper Burma has since attained great importance as an alternative route for traffic between Calcutta and Mandalay, these two stations being maintained in constant direct communication over some twelve hundred miles through as diversified and difficult a country for telegraphy as can well be imagined.

The extension of the telegraph in the State of Kashmir has also had important results, and is one of general interest. Unlike the Native States of India the semi-independent State of Kashmir has been allowed by the British Government to establish telegraph lines of its own. In 1878, Mr. J. W. Duthy, an officer of the Indian Telegraph Department, was lent to the Kashmir State for the purpose of constructing telegraph lines, and the Department supplied wire and other stores for the purpose. The difficulty of maintaining telegraphs in Kashmir lies in the fact

that the country is to a very great extent under deep snow during the winter, which not only breaks down the wires, but renders travelling for the purpose of repairs almost impracticable. To minimise these difficulties everything depends on the selection of the best route and on the use of very strong material. Mr. Duthy, after much hard work and exposure, started the State telegraph system, but under native management it gradually became little more than a summer line, and the service could not be relied on. In 1891, political conditions called for the extension of the British frontier to Gilgit, the garrisoning of that place by Indian troops, the reorganisation of the Kashmir army and the appointment of a political agent at Gilgit. As a necessary consequence of these measures, a reliable telegraph line was required between India, Srinagar, the capital of Kashmir, and Gilgit, and the Indian Government called on the Telegraph Department to undertake the work, taking over from the Maharajah a portion of the State lines that followed the route selected. The problem, by many good authorities considered impracticable, of maintaining telegraphic communication throughout the winter, was a most difficult one, as high passes, the Tragbal and Burzil, the latter 13,500 feet altitude, had to be crossed, which owing to snow are closed to all traffic throughout the winter and spring. Not only had the line to be designed of sufficient strength to resist the snow, but it had to follow a route where it would be as much as possible out of the track of the avalanches, which at certain seasons constantly sweep down the mountain sides carrying everything before them. To admit of repairs being undertaken, stations had to be fixed at frequent intervals, where the staff pass the winter entirely isolated from the outer world, having to be provided with provisions and all the necessaries of life by September in each year, which supplies have to last

till the snow is sufficiently melted in the following spring to allow of the road being opened. The officer who carried out this important work is Mr. H. S. Olphert, and admirably has he succeeded in his task, which occupied a period of about four years. The selection of the position of each post in the difficult parts, the transport of the massive deodar posts to almost inaccessible positions, where the wire would be high above the avalanches, these and other construction details, involved an amount of mountain climbing, fatigue, and exposure which cannot be done justice to by mere description. The damage done each winter was repaired at the time with little delay, and during each succeeding summer the alignment was year by year improved, with the result that when trouble broke out in Chitral in 1894–95, the Government of India, thanks to Mr. Olphert and his staff, possessed a splendid telegraph line from Murree in the Punjab to Gilgit, nearly four hundred miles in length, which worked winter and summer, and proved of inestimable value during the military operations in Chitral in 1895. The maintenance of the line during the winter is a service of ever-present danger. On the 14th January 1897, a repairing party was overwhelmed by an avalanche with the loss of five lives, and on New Year's Day 1900, a similar misfortune exacted a penalty of eight lives, including Mr. Scott, the signaller in charge. Such accidents, which cannot be guarded against, are always liable to occur, and they are illustrations of the sacrifices necessary for the protection of the rugged north-west frontier of India.

Amid very different scenes, some thousands of miles from Gilgit, on the extreme eastern frontier of the Empire, the Telegraph Department was called upon, at the worst season of the year, between May and August 1895, to establish communication between

Taungwi and Keng Tung, a small military outpost in the Southern Shan States, near the Mekong River, and not far from the point where the three empires of Great Britain, France, and China meet. The work was urgent and of political importance, and though the country is most unhealthy and difficult when the rains have set in, the task was duly performed at the cost of much sickness and some loss of life, amid incessant rain, over steep forest-clad mountains and through malarious valleys, which are deserted even by their inhabitants at the season when the line had to be constructed. The rapid completion of this arduous task won special congratulations from the Viceroy and a bonus of pay for the staff employed. In 1898, the telegraph was extended from Tavoy to Mergui, a place of some importance in connection with pearl fishery, and an instalment of the international telegraph line that may hereafter connect Burma with the Straits Settlements. A careful survey of the two hundred miles of almost unknown, and in parts uninhabited, country between Mergui and Point Victoria, the extreme limit of the Indian Empire in this direction, tends, however, to show that the line will be most costly to construct and maintain.

On the extreme west of the Empire we have the frontier post of Chaman, only eighty miles from Kandahar, and from Quetta the telegraph line is making its way westward towards Seistan, with the probable ultimate result of effecting a junction with the telegraph lines in Persia, and obtaining, *viâ* Meshed and the Imperial Russian Telegraphs, a through line to Europe, which may give India a cheaper tariff than she now has.

Many similar works illustrating the far-spreading and varied duties of the Telegraph Department of India could be mentioned, but enough has been written to show the important part the Department plays in

the great civilising work that England is carrying out in her eastern empire.

The history of the first fifty years of telegraphy in India may be fittingly closed by a few statistics, showing not only the magnitude of the operations that have been carried out, but the financial success that has attended them. On the 31st March 1899, there were 51,768 miles of line, 160,925 miles of wire and cable, 4699 telegraph offices, of which 2970 were railway telegraph offices. The capital expended up to the above date, exclusive of a considerable sum written off as the value of lines abandoned or destroyed, amounted to Rs.652,154,052. On the capital sunk the Government has obtained, after paying all working expenses, surplus revenue during the past ten years, averaging 4.8 per cent. per annum, if the receipts for State messages are included, or at the rate of 2.2 per cent. if revenue from private messages and wire and instrument rentals only are considered. The gross revenue receipts during the five years ending 1898–99 aggregated Rs.45,899,419, and the revenue charges for the same period were Rs.30,371,829, leaving a surplus of Rs.15,527,590. During the same five years 25,367,371 paid messages were despatched, of the value of Rs.36,684,524. Considered, therefore, only in a narrow financial aspect, the telegraph is no burden to the taxpayers of India, a result which few countries can show.

Gratifying as this financial success unquestionably is, and indicating as it does the skill and prudence with which the Department has been administered, the real value of the electric telegraph to India is not to be found in these figures, but in the aid it has unobtrusively contributed to the safety, progress, and prosperity of the Empire. Forty years ago Sir W. O'Shaughnessy prophesied a great future for the telegraph in India; if in its first fifty years this beneficent

invention has, through the wise liberality of Government and the zealous labours of its servants, achieved much, a still greater future may confidently be hoped for in the new century, which starts on its career with the foundations broadly and deeply laid for further growth and progress.

THE BRITISH MERCANTILE MARINE

By R. J. CORNEWALL-JONES

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At the present time more than one-half of the merchant tonnage of the entire world sails under the British flag. Excluding all vessels of less than one hundred tons burden, the total number of merchant ships owned by all the countries of the world put together is 28,180, with an aggregate tonnage of 27,673,528 tons; the number of such merchant ships belonging to the United Kingdom, and to the British colonies, being 10,998, with a united tonnage of 13,988,508 tons.

To compress anything like an adequate and an intelligible account of so vast an industry as that of the British Mercantile Marine into a single article is obviously a somewhat difficult task; but the following pages will help to convey a fair idea of the marvellous growth of the British merchant navy from very early times down to the present date.

Even before the Norman Conquest there was a considerable British maritime trade with France, British ships from Rouen and other ports coming up the Thames to "Billing's Gate" to land their wines, where as early as 979, or during the reign of Ethelred, a small vessel paid one halfpenny as a toll; a larger vessel, bearing sails, one penny; a keel or hulk, fourpence, and so on. During the thirteenth and the

fourteenth centuries the English monarchs, constantly engaged in continental wars, had entirely to rely upon merchant ships for fighting purposes; but as the office of the ship was simply to convey the archers and the other soldiers who were the real combatants, the particular kind of vessel employed was of no very particular moment, and British merchant ships which were quietly engaged in commerce during times of peace became armed transports upon the occasion of war.

When Edward III., in the summer of 1338, commenced the war with Philip VI. of France, since known as the Hundred Years' War, and when he had determined upon the siege of Calais, he ordered a roll to be prepared of all the British merchant ships that might be available for the blockade and for the siege; and from this roll we obtain the first reliable information with regard to the extent of the mercantile shipping of this country. The relative importance of the different British ports may be inferred from the number of the ships that they supplied to the king, and the results are not a little curious. Thus London would not appear to have been at that time, by any means, the most important port of the realm, being largely exceeded in importance by such towns as Dartmouth, Plymouth, Fowey, and Yarmouth; the latter port contributing nearly twice as many ships and more than three times as many men as London. On the other hand, many ports that are now great maritime centres were then but very insignificant places, whilst other ports—Liverpool, for instance—did not exist at all.

The following are a few of the figures taken from the complete lists of the fleet of Edward III. preserved among the Harleian MSS. :—

	Ships.	Sailors.
Yarmouth	43	1950
Fowey	47	770
Dartmouth	32	756
Plymouth	26	603
London	25	662
Bristol	22	608
Cardiff	1	51
Swansea	1	29
Portsmouth	5	96
Margate	15	160
Hartlepool	5	145
Hastings	5	96

The short reign of Richard III. was marked by one very important change in a matter intimately connected with the Mercantile Marine. Until this time the merchant and the shipowner were always one and the same person; but now, for the first time, a distinction was made between the business of the shipowner and the business of the merchant, many vessels being engaged in the trade with the Mediterranean as carriers alone, deriving their profits entirely from the amount of the freight that they carried, quite apart from any consideration of the profits or otherwise as derived from their cargoes.

The fifteenth century was pre-eminently the age of maritime discovery. In 1418, Madeira was discovered by the Portuguese, and was at once added to the possessions of Portugal; in 1446 the mariners of the same country discovered the Cape Verde Islands, and three years subsequently the Azores. By 1463, the full knowledge of the West African coast had been pushed southwards as far as the Equator, and the project of reaching the Indies by sailing round the continent of Africa was seriously occupying the minds of the Portuguese. In 1487, Bartholomew Diaz actually succeeded in doubling the Cape of Good Hope, and in reaching the neighbourhood of Algoa Bay; and ten years later Vasco da Gama ultimately reached India

by way of the Cape. The opening of this route to India, and the discovery of the West India Islands, and ultimately the discovery of the continent of America itself, by Christopher Columbus, in 1492, gave an immense impetus to English maritime affairs, and as a consequence made the reign of the first Tudor king perhaps more important to English shipping than any reign preceding.

Henry VII., like some of his predecessors upon the English throne, was himself a great merchant, and he not only owned and fitted out many ships on his own private account, simply for commercial purposes, but he endeavoured to promote, in many ways, the interests of maritime commerce. Although parts of the American continent had by this time been discovered, yet the general configuration of the new continent, and the fact that it extended to within the Arctic circle, were utterly unknown to the civilised world, and the probability, or at least the possibility, of a north-west passage to India was seriously entertained by English mariners for three whole centuries.

The voyages of discovery initiated by England at that time all tended in this direction, and while they were all consequently unsuccessful in their immediate object—that of finding a north-west passage to India—yet, on the other hand, they were eminently successful in opening up many new branches of trade and in greatly extending the knowledge of navigation. The first expedition that sailed from England for this purpose was fitted out at Bristol, under the authority of a charter from King Henry VII., dated the 5th of March 1495, by John Cabot and his three sons, the king taking a fifth part of the profits. Cabot, sailing from Bristol in a small ship called the *Matthew*, sighted the coast of Newfoundland on the 24th of June 1497—St. John's Day—hence the name, St. John's, Newfoundland. He found only a bleak, cold, inhospitable

country, but still one whose shores swarmed with fish of every kind—with seals, walruses, and whales; and it was from this voyage that dates the commencement of the important cod fishery on the Banks of Newfoundland, and the still larger and more important industries of the seal and whale fisheries, so largely pursued ever since by the hardy mariners of Hull, and of the northern ports.

At the close of the reign of Queen Elizabeth the population of the whole of England did not greatly exceed five millions, and the population of London was not more than 150,000. The greater part of the maritime commerce of the country was, however, by this time centred in London, the customs of the port of London being seven times greater than those of all the rest of the kingdom put together. The second mercantile port of this country then was Bristol, which, with a population of about 30,000, had even in those days some considerable commerce with the West Indies, and for two centuries afterwards held practically a monopoly of the West Indian trade.

After London and Bristol, the chief mercantile ports of England were Newcastle, Hull, Yarmouth, Harwich, Boston, King's Lynn, Southampton, and Plymouth; Liverpool having even then but a few hundred inhabitants, and those chiefly fishermen and persons engaged in a very small way in the coasting trade. From a return made to an order of Queen Elizabeth's in the year 1565, it appears that the total number of vessels belonging to the river Mersey was fifteen, and the total amount of their tonnage 267 tons, no vessel being greater than 40 tons. The largest of these Liverpool ships, the *Eagle*, was of 40 tons burden, and her crew consisted of twelve men and a boy; the other Liverpool vessels ranging from three tons up to thirty.

At the beginning of the reign of Queen Anne, in 1702, 560 vessels of an average burden of 150 tons

and manned by 10,065 seamen, belonged to the port of London. During the last three months of that year 413 vessels were entered inwards at the Custom-house, London, and 256 vessels cleared outwards; whilst, in addition to these foreign-going vessels, there was a very considerable number of coasters, colliers, and fishing-boats. By this time coal was becoming largely used in London, and in the year 1702 no less than 250,000 tons of coal were brought to London from the north by sea, the shipping employed in the coal trade between the North of England and London being then regarded as especially the nursery for seamen.

All through the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries the ships of the East India Company were by far the finest vessels out of the port of London; although at the commencement of that period they were but of very small tonnage. When the lucrative trade with the East, which for some time had been carried on, originally by the Portuguese and the Spaniards, and afterwards by the Dutch, first engrossed the attention of England, a number of merchants in London, being of opinion that sooner or later a north-west passage to India would be discovered, by means of which both the Spanish and the Dutch traders might be circumvented, fitted out two small vessels—the *Sunshine*, of 50 tons, with twenty-three hands, and the *Moonshine*, of 35 tons, and nineteen men. The command of this expedition was placed in the hands of John Davis, a mariner of some considerable repute, who embarked in the *Sunshine;* and the two vessels sailed from Dartmouth on the 7th of June 1585, reaching as far north as 66° 40′, and discovering the straits, since known as Davis's Straits.

The following year a second voyage was tried, but with no further result. In his third voyage Davis sailed up the same straits, with open water in Baffin's Bay as far as 73° north latitude, attaining the point on

the western coast of Greenland, which he named Sanderson's Hope, from a wealthy merchant who had largely contributed to the funds of the expedition. He tried a fourth voyage, but it was equally unsuccessful, so that the owners of the ships at last gave up all idea of searching for a north-west passage, and determined to send Davis, in 1589, to the East Indies by way of the Cape of Good Hope; the destruction of the Spanish Armada, and the consequent weakening of the maritime power of Spain, having made a passage to India by way of the Cape a less perilous undertaking than it had hitherto been. Davis successfully made four voyages to India by this route, but on his fifth voyage he was unfortunately killed by pirates off the coast of Malacca in December 1605.

In the year 1600, the English East India Company, then recently established, determined to despatch from London their first ships to open the trade with the East; and the record of that expedition enables us to form a fairly accurate idea of the sizes of the very best types of British merchant ships of that age. The East India Company's fleet consisted of five ships. They were the *Dragon*, of 600 tons, her commander, according to the custom of the time, being styled "Admiral of the Squadron"; the *Hector*, of 300 tons; the *Susan*, of 240 tons; the *Ascension*, of 200 tons; and a storeship of 130 tons. The men employed in the expedition were 480, all told; and the cost of the vessels and their equipment was £45,000. They had on board twenty merchants as supercargoes, and the vessels were all well armed. The fleet sailed from Woolwich on the 13th of February 1601, and returned in 1603. The voyage proved to be an entire success, the ships returning safely to England laden with valuable cargoes.

British ships at that time were, however, very much inferior to the ships of many of the Continental

nations—notably the Dutch—for in 1603 Sir Walter Raleigh, in a report that he made to King James I., says that "the merchant ships of England were not to be compared with those of the Dutch; and that while an English ship of one hundred tons required a crew of thirty men, the Dutch would sail a ship of the same size with one-third that number." British merchant shipping, however, during the reigns of the Stuarts was steadily improving, larger and better vessels being every year added to the mercantile navy; and Sir William Monson states that "the shipping of the port of London had so augmented during the first fifteen years of the reign of Charles I. that it was now able to supply a hundred sail of stout vessels capable of being converted into men-of-war."

It was at about this time that Anthony Deane and Phineas Pett were entrusted by the English Government with the designing and the construction of a number of new ships for the Royal Navy of England, and they performed these duties with such marked success that the wooden vessels built by them served as models not only for naval, but also for mercantile ships of the better class, for several succeeding generations to copy, without alteration or attempt at improvement until, indeed, the early part of the present century.

During the first twenty years or so of the existence of the East India Company they were not, on the whole, particularly successful with their ships. From a return presented to Parliament in November 1621, there is an account of the trade carried on by the Company during the whole time that they had held their charter, from which it appears that out of eighty-six ships which had been despatched to the East, eleven were surprised and seized by the Dutch, nine had been lost at sea, five had become worn out with long service, and only thirty-six had returned home

with cargoes; the remaining twenty-five being reckoned as then in India or else at sea. As time went on, however, the Company did better, and during the twenty years succeeding the Restoration the value of the annual imports from Bengal alone rose from £8000 to £300,000, and the gains of the Company from their monopoly of East Indian produce had then become almost incredible.

Such success naturally excited intense jealousy, and the most energetic attempts were made to share profits so enormous; but it was not until 1698 that the Government, being in want of money, resolved to throw the trade of India open to the highest bidder. The existing Company was outbid by a new company, whose tender was accepted by the Government, but the old Company was to have three years grace in which to wind up its affairs. No fewer than sixty ships were now employed by the rival companies, a number vastly in excess of the requirements of the trade, so that the competition was ruining everybody concerned, and the £100 shares of the old Company, which had previously stood at over £200, fell to £37. In 1708, a stop was put to this scandal by an amalgamation of the two companies, and the East India Company from that date practically assumed the position that it occupied until 1858.

Although during the greater part of the last century the East Indiamen were vessels of but small tonnage, as we now reckon the tonnage of ships, yet they were always well armed, and that not only for defensive, but very frequently for offensive purposes. The ships ranged from 450 to 500 tons; those of the latter tonnage carrying from thirty to thirty-four guns, and being manned by ninety-eight seamen. From time to time the losses of the Company, from the number of their ships taken by the enemy, lost at sea or burnt, were exceedingly heavy. From the year

1702 to the year 1818, no less than 169 ships of the Company were thus lost; 43 being taken by the enemy, of which number 7, however, were afterwards retaken; 18 were burnt or blown up, and 108 were lost at sea.

During the years 1808 and 1809, the Company were particularly unfortunate with their ships, having lost in those two years four outward-bound, and ten homeward-bound ships; the value of one of these ships and her cargo amounting together to £1,048,077.

The East India Company possessed some of the finest merchant ships afloat at the time, but they always paid heavily for them. It was said that for ships similar to those for which private firms were paying £25 a ton, the Company was paying £40 a ton; but it must be borne in mind that the Company's ships were practically armed cruisers, and were often obliged to be in action with the enemy, of whom they not unfrequently were able to give a very good account. The greater number of their ships during the latter part of the last century and the commencement of this were handsome frigate-built ships, whilst some of the larger ones had a double row of ports, and were precisely like two-decked line-of-battle ships. Such a ship was the *Earl of Balcarres*, which may be taken as a type of the finest of the Company's ships. She was built at Bombay in 1815, and was of 1417 tons burden; carried 26 guns, and was manned by a crew of 130. She was sold out of the Company's service in 1831 for £10,700. Her crew consisted of the commander, six mates, surgeon and assistant-surgeon, six midshipmen, purser, bo'sun, gunner, carpenter, master-at-arms, armourer, butcher, baker, poulterer, caulker, cooper, two stewards, two cooks, eight bo'suns, gunner's, carpenter's, cooper's, and caulker's mates; six quarter-masters, one sailmaker, seven officers' servants, and seventy-eight seamen.

The command of the Company's ships was almost invariably sold to the highest bidder competent to fill the post, the price averaging about £3000. The captain of an East Indiaman enjoyed so many privileges and perquisites that the amount of his pay, which was supposed to be £10 a month, was really but a very small part of his income; indeed it was always reckoned that after being in command for five voyages to the East Indies a man would have made sufficient to retire upon. Including the amount of cargo space that was allowed him, all his perquisites, and his pay, it was supposed that he usually made from £3000 to £5000 each voyage; but the real amount was often very much in excess even of this, a good deal of illicit trade and smuggling being systematically carried on. Indeed, to so large an extent was this the case that the Company at last resolved to put a stop to it, and advertised very substantial rewards to all such as would give information.

The internal economy and the discipline on board the Company's ships was far in advance of that of other merchant ships of the same time. The crew were divided into port and starboard watches as usual, but the officers had three watches, as in the great ocean liners of to-day. At five bells in the morning watch (half-past six) the duties of the day commenced by the watch on deck washing down and cleaning the decks. At half-past seven hammocks were piped up and stowed by the quarter-masters in the hammock-nettings in the waist. At eight o'clock breakfast was served to all hands, and then commenced the ordinary day's work at sea, similar to that of the present time. Dinner was at noon, and then work was resumed until four o'clock, the men being allowed during the dog-watches to do as they liked: to mend their clothes, to smoke, or to spend the time in games or other amusements. Twice every week—on Wednesdays and

Saturdays—the 'tween-decks, where the men slept and had their meals between the guns, man-of-war fashion, were cleaned and holystoned, and afterwards inspected by the commander and the surgeon; and the Company's ships being to a certain extent men-of-war, the men had very frequently to go through cutlass and small-arms drill, and were exercised at the guns as opportunity offered.

The rapid increase in the number of ships engaged in the foreign trade entering the port of London during the eighteenth and the nineteenth centuries, and also the steady increase in their tonnage, may be seen from the following figures:—

Tonnage Entering the Port of London.
(Foreign Trade only.)

	Ships.	Tons.	Average Tonnage per Ship.
In the year 1702	839	80,040	95
„ 1751	1498	198,053	132
„ 1794	2219	429,715	193

	Tons.
In the year 1889 the tonnage entering the port of London amounted to	10,400,000
In the year 1890 (the year of the Dock strike)	8,700,000
„ 1891	8,400,000
„ 1892	8,245,000
„ 1893	8,121,000
„ 1899	9,244,593 [1]

Until the year 1789, all ships entering the port of London discharged their cargoes as they lay in the river, there being then no docks to receive the steadily increasing amount of shipping. Property of the most valuable description was always lying exposed in barges and in open boats, and the robberies were so enormous that they were estimated as annually exceeding half a million sterling. In the above year the

[1] Figures furnished by the Board of Trade.

number of barges, lighters, and similar craft employed in the loading and unloading of ships in the river was 2503, about half that number being engaged in the coal trade. Previous to the construction of the docks it was reckoned that an East Indiaman of 800 tons took a month to unload, whilst one of 1200 tons took six weeks. When the St. Katherine's Docks, which were fitted with all the best appliances then known, were first opened in 1828, the average time occupied in discharging a vessel of 250 tons was twelve hours, and a ship of 500 tons two or three days. Last year (1899), on Wednesday the 4th of October, at twelve o'clock noon, one of the Peninsular and Oriental steamers, which had been taken up by the Government for the transport of troops to the Cape, arrived in the Royal Albert Docks from Yokohama, with 6000 tons of cargo on board. By noon on Saturday the 7th she had entirely finished discharging, and the same afternoon went into dry dock to have her bottom cleaned and painted. This work was done between Saturday evening and Monday morning, and by noon on Monday she was again alongside the quay in the Albert Docks, with an army of carpenters and painters on board getting her ready for the troops; so great has been, of late years, the acceleration of all matters connected with the loading and the unloading of ships.

Several different circumstances conduced to the fact that the first quarter of the present century was an exceedingly dull time in the annals of British shipping. For the first fifteen years of the century the country was engaged in a great and costly European war, with disastrous effects upon all branches of maritime commerce. At this time, too, England was feeling the effects of the loss of her American colonies. So long as the American colonies were a portion of the British Empire, English and American vessels sailed freely between English and American ports; but after

the declaration of independence by the United States, American ships were treated by England as foreign vessels, and were subjected to precisely the same restrictions as the vessels of other foreign countries. As a set-off against this, English ships were prohibited from importing British goods into the United States; and matters so continued until after the American War of 1812. The abolition of the slave trade during the early years of the century had also a very marked effect upon British shipping.

In the year 1562, John Hawkins (afterwards Sir John), a native of Plymouth, learning that "negroes were very good merchandise to Hispaniola, and that store of them might easily be had upon the coast of Guinea," started upon an expedition to the Gold Coast with three small vessels—the *Solomon*, of 120 tons; the *Swallow*, 100 tons; and the *Jonas*, of 40 tons; and there embarked a cargo of three hundred slaves, which he carried to the West Indies; thus having the honour of beginning the disgraceful traffic in negroes carried on by British merchant ships, which lasted until early in the present century. He received from the Spaniards in exchange for his three hundred slaves, pearls, ginger, sugar, and hides, enough not merely to freight his own three vessels, but two others besides, and "thus with prosperous success, and much gain to himself and the aforesaid adventurers, he came home, and arrived in September 1563."

The two ports most interested in this iniquitous trade were Bristol and Liverpool. By the year 1772, Liverpool had become as important a port as Bristol; and at that time the ships of these two ports alone, engaged in the slave trade, carried annually 50,000 negro slaves from the African coast to the British plantations in the West Indies. It was in this year that, after a long agitation by the Society of Friends in favour of the total abolition of slavery, the famous

decision of Lord Mansfield was obtained, "that a slave becomes free at the moment of his setting his foot on British soil." The most violent opposition to the abolition of the slave trade was offered by the merchants and the shipowners of Liverpool; but with the ultimate passing of the measure for negro emancipation, in March 1807, the trade was declared to be finally abolished. By this Act, however, only a small fine was exacted from offenders, and it consequently had but very little effect. The trade was manifestly far too profitable to be stopped by a mere money penalty, so in 1811 a further Act was passed declaring its pursuit by British subjects "a felony," punishable by fourteen years' transportation, or imprisonment with hard labour. In course of time even this was not found to be sufficiently deterrent, and accordingly in 1824, the act of trading in slaves was pronounced a "piracy," and punishable by death if committed within the Admiralty jurisdiction, and then this disgraceful traffic came to an end.

The commencement of the present century witnessed the application of steam to the purposes of navigation, but for the first twenty-five years without its producing any effect whatever upon merchant shipping; and during the second twenty-five years without its producing any very marked effect upon long-voyaged foreign-going ships. As the middle of the century was approached British shipowners were still building magnificent sailing-ships for the East Indian and the then newly-developed Colonial trade; and although steam was already making rapid progress, and was steadily threatening the sailing-ship with ultimate extinction, yet never had the world seen such perfect specimens of sailing-ships as the frigate-built ships that Green, Money Wigram, and others were sending out in the passenger trade to India and to the Australian colonies. But the first-class "river-built" ships, as those constructed on the Thames were

called, were always expensive and could not, from a money point of view, compete with the cheaper ships that were being built in America, so that at one time it seemed as though a very large part of the carrying trade of the world was about to be transferred from Great Britain to the United States.

Like many other useful arts, that of building fast-sailing clipper-ships came to this country from America, the shipbuilders of Baltimore claiming the honour of being the first to turn out these swift and handsome vessels. From the Potomac issued the particular kind of craft that soon became famous throughout the world, under the name of "Baltimore clippers," not only for their astonishing speed, but also for the exceeding beauty of their model. New York and Boston next turned their attention to the building of an improved type of ship, and it was not long before a fleet of handsome clippers hailed from these two ports also. The first of the famous American clippers built at New York was the *Sea Witch*, of 907 tons register, which was launched in 1844. She was the fastest sailing-ship afloat at the time, and is believed to have had more influence on the form of deep-sea vessels than any other merchant ship ever built in the United States of America. With her the full bow and the long sharp run aft went out of fashion, and the long sharp bow with a fuller stern came into permanent use, the world over, for fast ships of the Mercantile Marine. Her speed was surprising; although she was exceedingly unstable without a good deal of ballast, and she rolled very considerably in a sea-way.

The *Sea Witch* was speedily followed by larger and swifter clippers, many of them being specially built for the China tea trade; among these ships were the *Oriental* and the *Celestial*, and after them the *Challenge* and the *Surprise*, with very many others. Among the many splendid passages made by these American

clippers, those of the *Oriental* and the *Celestial*, belonging to New York, perhaps stand pre-eminent. The *Oriental* accomplished the distance from New York to Hong Kong—14,521 miles by log, and 14,160 by observation—in less than 71 days, her average rate of sailing being 200 miles a day. The *Celestial* made the passage from New York to San Francisco in 95 days, which was two days quicker than the *Sea Witch* had done, which until that time had been the shortest passage on record.

English shipowners were, however, not disposed quietly to see the honours of the ocean carrying trade pass entirely into the hands of the Americans, and in 1850 Mr. Richard Green, of the famous Blackwall Line, built the *Challenger*, to rival the New York *Challenge*, whilst Messrs. Jardine, Matheson & Co. sent out the Aberdeen-built clippers, *Chrysolite* and *Stornoway*. In their first race, however, the British ships were defeated, the American-built clipper *Challenge* making the passage from Canton to Deal in 105 days, the *Stornoway* taking 109 days; and while the *Challenger* was 113 days coming from Shanghai to Deal, the American clipper *Nightingale* took only 110 days to do the same distance.

The *Nightingale* was one of the fastest of the American clippers. In this race from Shanghai, on one day she ran 336 nautical miles in the twenty-four hours, or at the rate of rather more than sixteen statute miles an hour. The next year, 1854, she ran from New York to Melbourne in 76 days.

The years from 1850 to 1855 were noted for the number of fast clippers turned out from the building-yards of the United States, and the demand for such vessels became so great that they were frequently very hastily constructed. As a case in point, the *John Bertram*, 1100 tons register, a clipper well known for a few years, was launched in only sixty days from the laying down of her keel, and in thirty days more was

speeding on her way from Boston to San Francisco with a full cargo of goods at forty dollars per ton freight. This reckless mode of construction soon told its tale, more particularly in the case of the China tea clippers of American build, which, in spite of the fact that they were exceedingly beautiful vessels, and admirable in point of speed, were notoriously so slightly built that on arrival their cargoes were frequently found to be very seriously damaged.

In 1851, Donald M'Kay, of East Boston, a name destined to become famous in connection with fast-sailing ships, built the *Flying Cloud*, a clipper of 1782 tons register. She made her first voyage from New York to San Francisco, doing the passage out in 90 days. Upon one day she ran 427 nautical miles, then the very fastest time on record.

The next year, 1852, Mr. Donald M'Kay built the clipper, *Sovereign of the Seas.* She was 245 feet in length and 2421 tons register, and was the largest, sharpest, and longest sailing-ship in the world at the time of her construction. Upon one occasion she ran 1367 miles in four days, thus keeping up a continuous rate of over fourteen miles an hour. Once she made 436 miles in twenty-four hours, or over eighteen miles an hour.

The original "White Star" Line was composed of a fleet of these fast-sailing American clippers, and among their ships were the *Champion of the Seas*, the *Blue Jacket*, the *Sardinian*, the *White Star*, the *Shalimar*, the *Salamis*, the *Patriarch*, with many other equally well-known ships, sailing to Australia. Of these, perhaps, the *Patriarch* was the fastest ship, making in 1868 the run home from Sydney to the West India Docks in 68 days.

When steam was first being employed for the Transatlantic voyage, the Yankees tried their level best, with these fast-sailing and handsome clippers, to beat the steamers, which then were taking some 15 or 16 days to cross, so that the case at that time

did not look so very hopeless. One of these clippers, the *Dreadnought*, actually came across from New York to Queenstown in 9 days 17 hours, which was much faster than the steamers, and which is probably the fastest sailing time on record, being at the rate of at least twelve knots an hour the whole distance. The *Ashburton* crossed from New York to Liverpool in 12 days and the *Princeton* in 16 days. The *Gleniffer* made four voyages to Quebec and back, thus crossing the Atlantic eight times during eight months, her fastest passage being from Quebec to Greenock in 15 days; but the days of the Transatlantic passenger trade were obviously over for sailing-ships, which had at last to haul down their colours to the steamers.

During the whole of the "fifties" and the "sixties," the average Australian passage of the regular English frigate-built ships was from 90 to 100 days, so that no small sensation was created at Liverpool by the American-built clipper *Marco Polo* making the passage from Melbourne in the then unprecedentedly short time of 75 days. In 1854, Messrs. Baines & Co., of the Black Ball Line, put on two splendid ships, the *Lightning* and the *Red Jacket*, followed shortly after by the equally celebrated clipper, *James Baines*. All these fine ships used to make the Australian passage in from 60 to 70 days, so that upon one occasion when the *James Baines* and the *Lightning* left Melbourne the same month, and when the former ship was over 100 days coming home, there was something like a panic in Liverpool. The *James Baines* left Melbourne on the 7th of August 1856, having on board 174,000 ounces of gold dust, worth about £700,000. Not having arrived at Liverpool on the 14th of November, being then 99 days out, insurances were effected upon her at £8 per cent. (her usual terms for specie being from 35s. to 40s. per cent.); and being still unheard of on the 20th of November, then 105 days out, £15

per cent. was paid. On the next day, the 21st, she was towed up the Mersey.

Some Aberdeen-built clippers were, however, by this time making their appearance, whose performances quite equalled those of the American ships. The *Maid of Judah*, 1200 tons register, made the passage from London to Sydney, in 1860, in 78 days; whilst the *Star of Peace*, of 2000 tons, made four consecutive passages from London to the same port respectively in 77, 77, 78, and 79 days. The British clipper-ship *Hurricane* was also an exceedingly fast sailer. She came home from Melbourne in 74 days; and upon one occasion ran 270 nautical miles in 16½ hours, thus keeping up a continuous speed of nearly 19 statute miles an hour.

In 1856, Messrs. Scott & Co. of Greenock built the *Lord of the Isles*, to compete with the American tea clippers, and in the next race home from China she beat the Americans in point of speed, besides possessing the additional quality of being better built than they were, and in consequence bringing her cargo home entirely uninjured. For some years the honours of this race were pretty equally divided, the palm of victory falling sometimes to the British ships, sometimes to the American; but before the "sixties" were out the blue ribbon of the China tea race was finally wrested from the Americans, and carried off by the British ships, some very smart sailing constantly taking place between the competitors. In the race of 1866 the *Ariel*, 750 tons, of London; the *Taeping*, 767 tons, of Glasgow; the *Serica*, 708 tons, of Greenock, with two other famous clippers, left Foo-chow-foo together for London. At nightfall on the first day out they all lost sight of each other, and during the entire distance from China to England they never met again until off the mouth of the Channel. The *Ariel* and the *Taeping* then came up the Channel neck and neck, but the *Ariel* getting in advance of the *Taeping* in towing up

the river, was the first to arrive off Blackwall. In consequence, however, of there not being sufficient depth of water at the dock entrance of the West India Docks, she could not be hauled into the docks the same day, and had to let go her anchor in the stream and to wait till the next tide; meanwhile the *Taeping* passed her, and succeeded in getting into the London Docks the moment she came up, and thus claimed the prize.

A very characteristic anecdote of American 'cuteness is told in connection with one of these races home. The celebrated Baltimore clipper *Sea Serpent* sailed from Shanghai for London in company with the British clipper *Crest of the Wave.* A premium of thirty shillings a ton, over and above the amount of the freight, had been offered to the vessel first in, and this was quite sufficient inducement for both skippers to crack on. The two ships were fairly near together all the way home, and they actually hove to for pilots, off the Isle of Wight, within an hour of each other. The American captain determined that he would not be outdone by the Britisher, so leaving his ship in the hands of the mate, he came ashore in the boat that brought out his pilot, took the steamer from Cowes to Southampton, and the train up to Waterloo. From thence he took a cab to the Custom-house, and reported the *Sea Serpent* as "arrived," while each ship was carrying on all she knew in order to get into the Thames before the other.

Two of the most celebrated British clippers of the time were the *Sir Lancelot*, 750 tons, of Greenock, and the *Thermopylæ*, 948 tons, of Aberdeen. The one idea in the construction of the *Sir Lancelot* was speed, and every pains were taken to achieve that result. Before the copper was put on to her bottom, her planks from the water-line downwards were planed off, and the hard teak rendered as smooth as a ball-room floor. In order to give the vessel greater stability, and to enable her

to carry her immensely tall masts, which exceeded 200 feet in height, nearly 100 tons of iron pigs were fitted into the open spaces along the keelson between her frames. That she needed some such dead weight as this to keep her steady may well be supposed when it is stated that, in racing trim and under all sail, the *Sir Lancelot* spread upwards of 46,000 square feet, or considerably over an acre, of canvas.

This ship made some exceedingly fast passages, of which perhaps the fastest was the run home from Foo-chow-foo, in 1869. Upon that occasion she left Foo-chow-foo on the 17th of July. On the 7th of August she made Anjer Light, in Sunda Strait; on the 28th of the same month she sighted the South African coast, near East London; on the 11th of September she passed St. Helena; on the 10th of October she was signalled off the Lizard; and on the 14th was berthed in the West India Docks, having made the passage of 14,000 miles in 89 days against the prevailing monsoon. Her best day's run was made while crossing the Indian Ocean, when on one occasion she did, by observation, 354 statute miles in the twenty-four hours; whilst for one whole week she kept up an average daily run of 300 miles.

Towards the close of the year 1869 the Suez Canal was opened for traffic, and this ultimately caused important alterations in the trade to China and to the East; the steamers entirely superseding the sailing-ships. For the Australian and the colonial trade generally, the day of these magnificent sailing-ships was fast drawing to a close. For the conveyance of passengers and mails the time of sailing-ships was certainly over, and much of the poetry of the sea was lost for ever. The graceful clipper-ship, with her tall and tapering spars and her acre of canvas, had to give place to the Peninsular and Oriental, the Orient, or the Cunard steamer, five or six hundred feet long,

and built of steel, with her great funnels continuously belching forth vast volumes of black smoke. The skipper of the *Sir Lancelot*, or the *Thermopylæ*, who got an extra knot out of his ship by the smartest seamanship, or by the most careful trimming of his sails, is replaced by the engineer of the *Campania* or the *Teutonic*, who effects the same result by shovelling on more coals, or by turning on more steam.

Accuracy of navigation is, of course, common to both steam and sails; but smart seamanship was, and is, the special characteristic of the sailing-ship, and records of smart passages are common enough even at the present day among vessels that still trust to their canvas and not to their steam. To give one or two instances out of many that occur every year: On 4th February 1895, the *Cambrian Monarch*, a full-rigged ship of 1200 tons, with a cargo of grain, left Geelong for Queenstown for orders. Twenty-four hours afterwards the *Mandalay*, a Glasgow barque of 912 tons, also with grain, left Geelong for Queenstown for orders. The *Cambrian Monarch* crossed the meridian of the Horn exactly twenty-four hours before the *Mandalay*; she crossed the Line also twenty-four hours before the *Mandalay*; and exactly twenty-four hours before the arrival of the *Mandalay* she let go her anchor in Queenstown Harbour, although neither vessel had sighted the other from the time of leaving Geelong until the time of arrival at Queenstown. The same barque, the *Mandalay*, left Timaru, New Zealand, with the new season's wool, on the 2nd of February 1897, in company with the *Nelson*, also with wool. As darkness came on the two ships lost sight of each other, and neither ship ever sighted the other again until their arrival in the river, when the *Mandalay* towed up one tide and the *Nelson* the next.

But although, to a large extent, canvas has been superseded by the propeller; and although, as above

stated, the days are certainly over for the conveyance of passengers and the mails in sailing-ships; yet there are, happily, still many avenues of trade left in which the sailing-ship may be employed more profitably than the steamer, and numbers of great four-masted, steel-built sailing-ships still find ample employment; only instead of carrying passengers to the colonies, they are taking cargoes of coal to Rio, or are bringing home their three or four thousand tons of wool from Australia, or of nitrate from the West Coast.

In the year 1812 steam made its first appearance in this country as the antagonist of sails, when the first British passenger steamer, the *Comet*, was launched on the Clyde. She was only of about 25 tons burden, 40 feet long, 10½ feet beam, and she drew 4 feet of water. Her engine, which cost £192, was of 3 horse-power, the diameter of the cylinder being 11 inches, and the stroke 16 inches. She was not, however, an entire success, her speed at the best being not more than three miles an hour, whilst occasionally she would break down altogether.

In 1814 a vessel called the *Marjory* was built at Dumbarton, and was fitted with a side-lever engine of 14 horse-power. She made her way round from Dumbarton to the Thames, being taken south along the east coast, having come through the Forth and Clyde Canal. When she reached the mouth of the Thames the fleet were lying at anchor there, and she passed through the lines of ships, exciting the greatest commotion among officers and men, who, none of them having ever seen a steamer before, took her for some novel description of fire-ship. She was hailed by the nearest man-of-war, and asked what she was, those on board replying that "she was a *steamer*, and from Scotland." Soon after her arrival in the Thames she commenced running to Margate with passengers. On her first voyage to Margate only ten people were found

adventurous enough to trust themselves on board; but before the end of the summer she was running with a much larger number of passengers every trip; and this would appear to mark the real commencement of the passenger steamer in this country. The *Marjory* was 63 feet long, and 19 feet beam. She continued for many years to ply on the Thames, and was finally broken up in 1858.

In 1818 the *Rob Roy* was built at Dumbarton. She was of 90 tons burthen, and was fitted with an engine of 30 horse-power. She was the first steamer to ply between Glasgow and Belfast. After running for some time on this service she was sent round to Dover, her name being altered to the *Henri Quatre*, and she was the first Channel steamer between Dover and Calais.

In 1819 Mr. Napier built the *Talbot*, of 150 tons. The *Talbot* was fitted with a pair of engines, each of 30 horse-power, and was the first steamer to be placed on the Dublin and Holyhead service.

In 1822 a still larger steamer, the *James Watt*, was built. She was 146 feet long, and 25 feet beam, and was fitted with a pair of engines, each of 50 horse-power. Her speed was said to have been ten miles an hour. She was the first steamer to be entered in Lloyd's books. By 1830 the number of steamers so entered had increased to 81, and the number of steamers entered in Lloyd's books in 1832 was exactly 100.

People now began to talk about the possibility of crossing the Atlantic by steam, but many persons in this country denounced the proposal as absolutely impracticable, chiefly because it was thought that no vessel could carry sufficient coal for steaming such a voyage. In these early steamers the amount of coal consumed was frequently as much as 9 lbs. per horse-power per hour, so that the objection would seem to have been not altogether an unreasonable one. At the present time, as the result of the great improve-

ments that have been effected in furnaces, boilers, and machinery, the high speeds of our ocean steamers are attained on a consumption in many cases of less than a pound and a half of coal per horse-power per hour. Dr. Lardner, a well-known scientist, in the course of a lecture he delivered at Liverpool, spoke as follows: "As to the project, however, which has been lately announced in the newspapers—that of crossing the Atlantic by steam—I have no hesitation in saying that it is perfectly chimerical, and that people might just as well talk about making a voyage from New York or Liverpool to the moon." In spite, however, of Dr. Lardner, in 1817, a Mr. Scarlborough, of Savannah, Georgia, United States, determined to make the attempt to cross from America to Europe by steam. He accordingly purchased a vessel of 300 tons that was then building at New York, fitted her with engines, and named her the *Savannah*. On the 19th of May 1819 she left the port of Savannah for Liverpool, which was safely reached on the 20th of June. She did not, however, steam the entire way across the Atlantic, as she ran short of fuel, so that the latter part of the passage had to be accomplished under canvas only.

In 1825 the first attempt was made to reach India by steam, and a small steamer, the *Enterprise*, 122 feet long and 27 feet beam, left London for Calcutta, which port she reached, partly under steam and partly under sail, in 113 days. In 1829 the *Curaçoa*, an English-built steamer of 350 tons and 100 horse-power, made several voyages across the Atlantic between Holland and the West Indies; but little more was done in the way of Transatlantic steam navigation until the year 1837, when the *Sirius*, which was built at Leith for the Irish trade, was purchased and was specially altered for this purpose. She was of 703 tons, 178 feet in length, with a beam of 25 feet 8 inches, so that in her proportions she was not very unlike the

present type of ocean steamer—that is to say, she had a length of about seven beams. The *Sirius* left Cork at ten o'clock on the morning of the 4th of April, with ninety-four passengers for New York, which port she safely reached after a run of 18 days on the 23rd of the same month.

Three days after the *Sirius* left Cork another steamer, the *Great Western*, built at Bristol, left that port also for New York, where she arrived only an hour or two after the *Sirius*, having made the passage in 14½ days. The *Great Western* was a much larger vessel than the *Sirius*, having a tonnage of 1340 tons. She was 212 feet long between perpendiculars, 35 feet 4 inches beam, with 23 feet depth of hold. She was exceedingly strongly built, her frame-timbers being as heavy as those of a first-class line-of-battle ship, and they were placed so close together that they were caulked, both inside and out, before the planking was put on. Her engines were of 440 horse-power, and the paddle-wheels were 28 feet in diameter, making from 12 to 15 revolutions per minute. Her average speed during her first passage from Bristol to New York was 208 miles per day, or at the rate of 8.6 knots per hour, and she consumed on the passage 655 tons of coal. The *Great Western* ran regularly across the Atlantic from 1838 to 1843, making in all sixty-four passages. In 1847 she was sold to the West India Mail, and she remained in their service for many years, being finally broken up at Vauxhall in 1857.

The same Company that owned the *Sirius*—the British and American Steam Navigation Company—at once commenced building two vessels larger than the *Sirius*: the *British Queen* and the *President*. They were each of 1863 tons, with a length of 275 feet, 37 feet 6 inches beam, and with engines of 500 horse-power, the diameter of the paddle-wheels being 30 feet. The *Sirius*, being considered too small for the

Atlantic trade, was withdrawn from that service and was used for some years in the home coasting trade. She was wrecked in 1847.

The *British Queen* left Portsmouth for New York on the 12th of July 1839, and made her first passage across in 14 days 8 hours. She crossed the Atlantic six times in 1839, and the following year made five voyages out and home; but financially she was a failure, and ultimately was withdrawn from the service, being sold in 1841 to the Belgian Government. Her sister ship, the *President*, made only three passages. She left New York for Liverpool with a large number of passengers and a valuable cargo on the 10th of March 1841 and was never heard of again.

The oldest of the Transatlantic lines of steamers existing at the present time is the Cunard Line. The Company was floated in 1840, with a capital of £270,000, and was at first styled "The British and North American Royal Mail Steam Packet Company," but this cumbrous title soon gave way to the shorter and now well-known designation of "The Cunard Line." The four paddle-wheel steamers with which the Cunard Line was first started were the *Britannia*, *Columbia*, *Acadia*, and *Caledonia*, each of about 1150 tons, 206 feet in length, with engines of 425 horse-power, and all of them keeping up a uniform speed of 8½ knots. After ten years had passed, and the Company had had to fight against the most formidable opposition, particularly from the American shipowners, who had determined to "run the Cunarders off the Atlantic," it became necessary to put on much larger and much more powerful steamers, and the *Asia*, the *Africa*, and other magnificent ships were built for the mail service. The *Asia* and the *Africa*, sister ships, were each of 2128 tons. They were 267 feet in length, 40 feet beam, with engines of 814 horse-power, the paddle-wheels being 37 feet 6 inches in diameter. The vessels were

entirely built of oak, planked double, both outside and inside, the intervening space being filled up with rock salt, from keel to gunwale, to preserve the timbers from dry rot.

As showing what was being done by other great ocean steam companies, mention should be made of the *Amazon*, built in 1851 by Messrs. R. & H. Green, at Blackwall, for the Royal Mail Steam-Packet Company, for the service between Southampton and the West Indies, and which ship was unfortunately burnt on her first voyage, with fearful loss of life. The *Amazon* was the largest wooden merchant ship that had been constructed up to that time, being 300 feet long, 41 feet beam, and 32 feet in depth. She was 2256 tons register, and was, like all her predecessors, a paddle-wheel steamer. Her engines, constructed by Seaward & Capel of Millwall, were of 800 horse-power, the diameter of the cylinders being 96 inches, and the stroke 9 feet. The paddle-wheels were 41 feet in diameter, and made fourteen revolutions per minute, giving a mean speed of eleven knots per hour. Her coal-bunkers on the main deck were constructed to carry 1000 tons of coal; and as she was reckoned to burn sixty tons a day in her twenty-six furnaces, it was calculated that she would carry over sixteen days' supply if she were going at full speed. She was magnificently fitted up, and had cost when ready for sea rather over £100,000.

In 1862, the *Scotia* was built for the Cunard Company. She was of 3871 tons and 975 horse-power; her length was 367 feet, with a beam of 47 feet 6 inches. The engines worked up to an indicated horse-power of 4200, the diameter of the cylinders being 100 inches, with a stroke of 12 feet. The diameter of the paddle-wheels was 40 feet. The *Scotia*, which crossed from New York to Liverpool in 8 days 22 hours, was undoubtedly the most magni-

ficent ocean steamer of that date. She was the last paddle-wheel steamer built by the Cunard Company; and indeed was the last ocean paddle-wheel steamer ever built.

Two most important revolutions in matters connected with shipping had by this time taken place. One was the substitution of the propeller for the paddle-wheel, the other the introduction of iron, and more recently that of steel, for the construction of the ship itself. As the necessity for increase in the length and in the speed of vessels arose, experience showed that the requisite strength of structure could not be efficiently maintained in wooden ships. The practical difficulties in the way of making the connections of the frames and the planking strong enough were insurmountable when the length reached about 300 feet. Vessels of this length, when built of wood, soon showed serious signs of weakness; but with an iron ship the simple connection of the iron plates and bars to each other by means of suitable straps of the same material, and by the use of rivets, would obviously so lend itself to the construction of the iron vessel that there need be absolutely no limit as regards her length or her size. As a matter of fact, the length of iron steamers appears to be always steadily increasing. At first the length increased very gradually from about 360 feet, the maximum in the year 1861, to 400 feet in 1870; but since that time the progress has been much more rapid. At the present time there are plenty of steamers exceeding 500 feet in length. The two latest additions to the fleet of the Cunard Line, the *Campania* and the *Lucania*, are each 620 feet in length, whilst the last ship built for the White Star Line, the *Oceanic*, has a length over all of 704 feet, or considerably more than a furlong.

The great alteration, however, involved by the substitution of iron for wood in shipbuilding did not

take place without very considerable opposition, and no one more strenuously opposed it than did the Government of the day. It was a long time before the authorities of the Post Office would give their consent to iron ships being used instead of wooden ones for the conveyance of the ocean mail; and a still longer time elapsed before the Admiralty consented to the change of material for the ships of the Royal Navy. Wooden paddle-wheel steamers continued to be used in the Royal Navy for many years after everybody else had given them up; but when at last it was found that paddle-wheels for war-ships must of necessity be abandoned on account of their liability to destruction in time of war; and when it was found that it was perfectly impossible to construct a wooden ship sufficiently strongly to resist the vibration of the powerful engines that are used in the larger vessels, then paddle-wheels and wooden ships had to disappear together.

Besides its greater strength there is another great advantage on the side of iron, and to a still larger extent in the case of steel, and that is its greater lightness. The iron vessel is far lighter than the wooden vessel of equal size, a strong iron ship not weighing one-half of the same-sized wooden ship. The average weight of iron steam-vessels is from six to eight hundredweight per register ton; a wooden ship will weigh twenty hundredweight, and often more. The lighter ship is, of course, more easily propelled than the heavier ship; less engine-power is required; therefore, besides being stronger and lighter, she is at the same time much more economical. One advantage, however, undoubtedly the wooden ships possessed over the iron ones, and that was that their bottoms, when sheathed with metal, never became foul so quickly as the iron ships' bottoms do from marine growths. Many proposals have been made

from time to time with the object of preventing fouling, for it is obvious that serious loss of speed results from much fouling of the bottom; but it cannot yet be said that any of the paint compositions, or other plans to keep the bottoms of iron vessels clean, have been entirely successful, and this renders it necessary to place every iron or steel vessel in dry dock for cleaning and painting at intervals of from six to twelve months.

Soon after the building of iron ships was commenced, the system of construction known as the composite system was adopted, and some of the fine and notable China tea clippers, among them the celebrated *Sir Lancelot* and the *Thermopylæ*, were so built. The iron framing and the wood skin planking admitted of considerable strength being attained; while the possibility of sheathing the bottom with metal to avoid fouling appeared to arrive at and attain the end that the promoters of composite shipbuilding had in view. This was to produce a vessel that should have all the strength of an iron ship, whilst at the same time obtaining the freedom from fouling of a wooden one. Experience soon showed, however, that the galvanic action set up between the copper or the yellow metal sheathing and the iron frames of the vessel tended rapidly to deteriorate the ironwork, and sooner or later to involve the destruction of the ship. So rapid, indeed, was in some instances the wasting of the iron frames, that composite shipbuilding has for some time past been almost entirely given up for merchant ships. As five-and-twenty years ago iron was taking the place of wood in the construction of ships, so now, at the close of the century, steel is steadily superseding iron for the same purpose, and at the present day for every iron ship that is built eight steel ships are constructed.

About the year 1890 another very marked change

manifested itself in the construction of ocean steamships. Up till that time every large ocean-going steamer was practically more or less a sailing-ship, with steam-power added. She was heavily sparred—with three, sometimes four, masts; with yards, and all the appliances of standing and running rigging. The length of steamers was constantly increasing, whilst it was obviously impossible that the due proportion between the length of the ship and the height of the masts could increase in a like ratio. As a result, in the case of these excessively long ships, if their engines should accidentally have broken down, the amount of canvas they could have spread would not have materially helped them; indeed, it would scarcely have given them steerage way. The twin screw, therefore, afforded the opportunity for discarding masts and sails altogether. In a ship fitted with twin screws it is extremely unlikely that both propellers and both sets of engines and boilers will break down at one and the same time, and the ship, although of course capable of less speed, is yet perfectly safe, and is still under absolute control so long as one propeller is working. Under these circumstances the Board of Trade do not require vessels fitted with twin screws to carry masts and canvas, so that now a great number of ocean steamers have merely light pole masts for signalling purposes, and for use as derricks in loading and discharging cargo. This is a practical and a common-sense arrangement, the vessel being now treated as—what she really is intended to be—a vessel propelled by steam, and not a sailing-ship fitted with steam-power.

The following interesting statistics have been kindly supplied specially for this article by the Secretary of *Lloyd's Register*:—

Table No. I.—*Showing Number, Tonnage, and Description of the Steamers, of 100 Tons Gross and upwards, belonging to each of the several Countries of the World, as recorded in the Register Book (exclusive of Warships).*

Flag.	Wood.			Composite.			Iron.			Steel.			Total.		
	No.	Net Tonnage.	Gross Tonnage.	No.	Net Tonnage.	Gross Tonnage.	No.	Net Tonnage.	Gross Tonnage.	No.	Net Tonnage.	Gross Tonnage.	No.	Net Tonnage.	Gross Tonnage.
British—															
United Kingdom	115	10,700	19,474	7	817	2,491	2,911	1,580,840	2,633,093	3,887	5,226,791	8,431,183	6,920	6,819,148	11,086,241
Colonies [1] . .	250	41,340	68,477	25	4,722	8,314	342	138,726	226,926	300	195,838	329,289	917	380,626	633,006
Total . .	365	52,040	87,951	32	5,539	10,805	3,253	1,719,566	2,860,019	4,187	5,422,629	8,760,472	7,837	7,199,774	11,719,247
American (United States)—															
Sea	239	96,305	140,160	7	2,875	3,378	210	238,553	345,484	149	174,839	270,728	605	512,572	759,750
Lake [1]	...	...	...	9	13,231	17,660	34	31,102	39,808	173	318,957	419,090	216	363,290	476,558
Total . .	239	96,305	140,160	16	16,106	21,038	244	269,655	385,292	322	493,796	689,818	821	875,862	1,236,308
Argentine . . .	3	422	783	1	94	132	44	17,023	26,451	47	20,582	31,999	95	38,121	59,365
Austro-Hungarian	4	225	478	...	...	...	84	79,816	128,011	115	133,174	216,196	203	213,215	344,685
Belgian	2	300	454	...	...	...	56	46,244	64,016	53	58,183	86,952	111	104,727	151,422
Brazilian . . .	10	2,365	3,630	...	...	...	70	30,561	47,477	148	58,030	89,955	228	90,956	141,062
Chilian	...	...	...	...	...	...	28	16,819	27,243	19	14,985	24,414	47	31,804	51,657
Chinese	2	164	246	1	1,468	2,330	17	14,806	22,990	28	24,528	38,992	48	40,966	64,558
Columbian . . .	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	555	877	...	...	...	1	555	877
Danish	5	861	1,488	2	316	473	161	70,432	132,442	192	165,096	268,936	360	236,705	403,339
Dutch	6	630	1,234	1	423	507	99	84,299	122,023	157	179,711	265,489	263	265,063	389,253
French	10	822	1,488	1	375	566	368	272,283	512,327	260	242,536	482,854	639	516,016	997,235
German	1	105	203	3	377	686	407	215,681	348,371	722	1,000,358	1,597,472	1,133	1,216,521	1,946,732
Greek	7	516	915	...	...	...	68	39,582	63,669	56	57,850	91,014	131	97,948	155,598

Hawaiian	14	3,461	5,194	...	...	...	1	773	993	6	6,507	10.031	21	10,741	16,218
Haytian	2	481	832	...	...	...	1	103	167	5	803	1,803	8	1,387	2,802
Italian	7	631	1,214	...	...	...	218	200.857	319,224	57	79,123	125,127	282	280,611	445,565
Japanese	249	33,751	55,421	9	2,798	4,172	124	108,897	172,367	95	147,413	241,744	477	292,859	473,704
Mexican	2	217	277	1	150	300	4	643	992	15	4,468	7,832	22	5,478	9,401
Montenegrin	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	1,064	1,857	...	...	...	1	1,064	1,857
Norwegian	75	17,521	29,288	24	4,305	6,534	351	164,006	282,097	329	265,617	419,493	779	451.449	737,412
Persian	1	107	133	...	...	...	1	579	838	...	...	...	2	686	971
Peruvian	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	1,400	2,100	2	1,804	2.769	3	3,204	4,869
Portuguese	1	98	119	1	60	102	23	11,247	18,089	21	25,673	38.961	46	37,078	57,271
Roumanian	...	...	...	...	...	...	6	771	1,493	11	8,959	15.920	17	9,730	17,413
Russian	14	1,971	2,990	7	1,206	1,741	173	67,391	98,775	262	175,183	289,479	456	245,751	392,985
Sarawak	...	...	...	...	...	...	3	650	1,084	...	...	...	3	650	1,084
Siamese	...	...	...	...	...	...	2	207	371	3	1,846	3,293	5	2,053	3,664
Spanish	36	7.917	11,958	3	748	1,356	243	142.092	221,570	156	194.904	302.956	438	345,661	537,840
Swedish	33	4.236	6,642	91	12,114	19,143	341	145,511	229,763	177	76,431	125.024	642	238,292	380,572
Turkish	30	2,672	5,081	...	...	...	83	52,871	83,424	30	4,947	9.238	143	60,490	97,743
Uruguayan	1	206	374	...	...	...	2	383	705	14	5,849	9,389	17	6,438	10,468
Venezuelan	...	...	...	...	...	...	10	2,169	3,724	2	234	445	12	2,403	4,169
Zanzibar	...	...	...	...	...	...	3	1,871	2,808	1	223	382	4	2,094	3,190
Other Countries—Arabia, Salvador, Oman, Ecuador, Liberia, Samos, Nicaragua, Bulgaria, Costa Rica, Egypt, &c.	3	453	684	...	...	...	11	6,030	10,453	15	3,159	6,073	29	9,642	17,210
Total	1,122	228,477	359,237	193	46,079	69,885	6,502	3,786,837	6,194,102	7,507	8,874,601	14,254,522	15,324	12,935,994	20,877.746

[1] Wooden vessels trading on the Great Lakes of North America are not included in the Register Book.

TABLE No. II.—*Showing Number, Tonnage, and Description of the Sailing Vessels of* 100 *Tons Net and upwards, belonging to each of the several Countries of the World, as recorded in the Register Book (exclusive of Warships).*

Flag.	Wood.		Composite.		Iron.		Steel.		Total.	
	No.	Net Tonnage.	No.	Net Tonnage.	No.	Net Tonnage.	No.	Net Tonnage.	No.	Net Tonnage.
British—										
United Kingdom	798	147,798	13	5,965	749	902,349	493	784,571	2,053	1,840,683
Colonies [1]	1,022	368,859	17	10,441	54	35,457	15	13,821	1,108	428,578
Total	1,820	516,657	30	16,406	803	937,806	508	798,392	3,161	2,269,261
American (United States)—										
Sea	2,101	1,067,077	...	...	25	30,195	8	15,223	2,134	1,112,495
Lake [1]	...	...	...	...	1	195	54	116,389	55	116,584
Total	2,101	1,067,077	...	...	26	30,390	62	131,612	2,189	1,229,079
Argentine	64	16,804	...	...	20	7,850	19	4,649	103	29,303
Austro-Hungarian	66	28,147	1	692	5	5,465	2	1,425	74	35,729
Belgian	2	420	...	..	...	...	...	...	2	420
Brazilian	112	28,898	...	...	7	4,007	...	...	119	32,905
Chilian	80	45,514	2	1,494	8	8,830	...	...	90	55,838
Chinese	1	573	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	573
Columbian	4	974	...	...	...	...	...	...	4	974
Danish	361	65,826	...	...	48	30,907	27	11,886	436	108,619
Dutch [2]	57	22,020	2	2,264	10	7,149	49	34,923	118	66,356
French	409	74,789	1	461	61	51,028	72	118,578	543	244,856
German	197	102,924	4	1,925	177	186,613	165	215,140	543	506,602
Greek [2]	272	77,547	1	498	...	...	...	...	273	78,045

Hawaiian	1	108	1	779	6	7,024	9	12,724	17	20,635
Haytian	3	613	...	...	...	...	...	...	3	613
Italian	765	325,257	10	8,810	60	60,253	33	35,966	868	430,286
Japanese	362	58,237	1	495	...	...	1	945	364	59,677
Mexican	12	2,529	...	...	1	493	...	...	13	3,022
Montenegrin	11	2,556	...	...	...	...	...	...	11	2,556
Norwegian	1,555	767,800	12	9,899	142	135,279	40	43,840	1,749	956,818
Persian	1	608	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	608
Peruvian	33	9,056	...	...	1	761	...	...	34	9,817
Portuguese	115	31,638	4	3,497	11	9,167	1	185	131	44,487
Roumanian	3	656	...	...	...	...	...	...	3	656
Russian [2]	726	212,126	6	3,172	26	29,837	4	5,407	762	250,542
Sarawak	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	..
Siamese	1	294	..	...	...	...	...	...	1	294
Spanish	259	68,794	1	543	1	451	2	1,257	263	71,045
Swedish	728	198,346	8	4,010	25	19,099	5	3,964	766	225,419
Turkish [2]	169	47,749	1	1,061	...	...	...	...	170	48,810
Uruguayan	16	3,011	...	...	1	102	1	121	18	3,234
Venezuelan	7	996	...	...	...	...	...	...	7	996
Zanzibar	..	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Other Countries—Arabia, Salvador, Oman, Ecuador, Liberia, Samos, Nicaragua, Bulgaria, Costa Rica, Egypt, &c.	16	4,911	3	2,796	...	...	...	..	19	7,707
Total	10,329	3,783,455	88	58,802	1,439	1,532,511	1,000	1,421,014	12,856	6,795,782

[1] Wooden vessels trading on the Great Lakes of North America are not included in the Register Book.

[2] In the absence of satisfactory information, the records of numerous small sailing-vessels (belonging chiefly to Greece, Turkey, Southern Russia, and the Dutch East Indies) have been omitted from the Register Book.

Summary of Tables Nos. I. and II.

Flag.	Total No. of Steam and Sailing Vessels.	Total Tonnage of Steam and Sailing Vessels (Net Tonnage of Sailing Vessels and Gross of Steamers).
British—		
United Kingdom	8,973	12,926,924
Colonies [1]	2,025	1,061,584
Total	10,998	13,988,508
American (United States)—		
Sea	2,739	1,872,245
Lake [1]	271	593,142
Total	3,010	2,465,387
Argentine	198	88,668
Austro-Hungarian	277	380,414
Belgian	113	151,842
Brazilian	347	173,967
Chilian	137	107,495
Chinese	49	65,131
Columbian	5	1,851
Danish	796	511,958
Dutch [2]	381	455,609
French	1,182	1,242,091
German	1,676	2,453,334
Greek [2]	404	233,643
Hawaiian	38	36,853
Haytian	11	3,415
Italian	1,150	875,851
Japanese	841	533,381
Mexican	35	12,423
Montenegrin	12	4,413
Norwegian	2,528	1,694,230
Persian	3	1,579
Peruvian	37	14,686
Portuguese	177	101,758
Roumanian	20	18,069
Russian [2]	1,218	643,527
Sarawak	3	1,084
Siamese	6	3,958
Spanish	701	608,885
Swedish	1,408	605,991
Turkish [2]	313	146,553
Uruguayan	35	13,702
Venezuelan	19	5,165
Zanzibar	4	3,190
Other Countries— Arabia, Salvador, Oman, Ecuador, Liberia, Samos, Nicaragua, Bulgaria, Costa Rica, Egypt, &c.	48	24,917
Total	28,180	27,673,528

[1] Wooden vessels trading on the Great Lakes of North America are not included in the Register Book.

[2] In the absence of satisfactory information, the records of numerous small sailing-vessels (belonging chiefly to Greece, Turkey, Southern Russia, and the Dutch East Indies) have been omitted from the Register Book.

TABLE NO. III.—*Vessels under Construction, exclusive of Warships.*

From the Returns compiled by *Lloyd's Register of Shipping*, it appears that, excluding warships, there were 558 vessels of 1,347,549 tons gross under construction in the United Kingdom at the close of the quarter ended 30th September 1899. The particulars of the vessels in question are as follows, similar details being given for the corresponding periods in 1875 and 1898 for the purpose of comparison :—

Description.	30th September 1899.		30th September 1898.		30th September 1875.	
	No.	Gross Tonnage.	No.	Gross Tonnage.	No.	Gross Tonnage.
STEAM.						
Steel	471	1,331,215	519	1,352,547	...	...
Iron	61	11,060	51	8,869	126	157,466
Wood and Composite .	1	110	2	141	6	1,065
Total	533	1,342,385	572	1,361,557	132	158,531
SAIL.						
Steel	9	3,620	8	1,020	...	...
Iron	...	...	...	...	114	106,521
Wood and Composite .	16	1,544	18	1,673	203	51,122
Total	25	5,164	26	2,693	317	157,643
Total Steam and Sail .	558	1,347,549	598	1,364,250	449	316,174

To man this very large number of British merchant ships considerably more than a quarter of a million men and boys are employed, divided into two distinct sections: deck hands, or the actual mariners, and the engine-room crews, consisting of engineers and stokers or firemen. The deck hands, or navigating crew, broadly are divided into two classes—the officers and the men—but these two classes, to a certain extent, overlap each other, as the foremast hand of to-day may possibly become an officer in the future, whilst an unsuccessful or an unfortunate officer may have to ship again as a hand before the mast. The men, again, are divided, or are supposed to be divided, into two distinct classes—the A.B.s (able-bodied seamen)

and O.S. (ordinary seamen). An able seaman should be able to "hand," "reef," and "steer": that is to say, he should be able to set, take in, and secure the sails, and to reef them; and he should also be able to steer. Besides these things he should be capable of performing all the handicraft work connected with the ship's sails, and with the standing and running rigging; he should know how to use the lead, and should understand all the ordinary duties of a seaman.

As some previous experience is necessarily required for the proper performance of these various duties, the Merchant Shipping Act of 1894 enacts that "a seaman shall not be entitled to the rating of A.B.—that is to say, to the rating of an able-bodied seaman—unless he has served at sea for four years before the mast"; but this clause of the Act has rarely been acted upon, and has now become practically a dead letter, with the result that numbers of men now call themselves A.B.s, and ship as such, who are in every respect totally unqualified. From figures supplied by the Chamber of Shipping, the total number of seamen afloat in British ships is, in round numbers, 235,000, of whom 80,000 are, or are supposed to be, A.B.s; but no less than 27,000 of these A.B.s are foreigners, leaving the total number of British A.B.s as 53,000, a very large proportion of whom are quite untrained, and are more or less incompetent. Of British A.B.s with four years service at sea there are at present certainly not more than 26,000.

An Ordinary seaman is simply a mariner, and he may be good, bad, or indifferent. He may have been at sea for a year or two, or he may have been afloat only since the day before yesterday. Any one, in fact, who takes a fancy to go to sea may call himself an "ordinary seaman," and there is nothing, so far as the law is concerned, to prevent any landsman, if he can get a mate to take him, turning sailor, and shipping as

an "ordinary seaman"; and then after a voyage to Sydney and back he may, if he chooses, "sign on," the Merchant Shipping Act notwithstanding, as A.B., and so help to swell the number of the untrained and the incompetent.

Much has been said, more particularly of late, as to the increasing number of foreigners now employed on board British merchant ships, and various proposals have been made with a view to invoking legislation on the subject, but it is extremely unlikely that, in a free-trade country such as England, the policy of bolstering up a declining industry by measures of protection will ever be permitted. Undoubtedly this is a question of the survival of the fittest, and if foreigners, who are at all events in some respects quite as good sailors as English seamen, and who do not get drunk to anything like the extent that English seamen do, are willing to work for less money than English seamen will, small blame to the shipowners for taking them. There is a great deal of nonsense talked and written about the "British tar," but the fact is that all the Scandinavian nations produce excellent seamen, and for certain kinds of work very few English seamen can beat the Lascars. All the Peninsular and Oriental ships are manned by Lascars, and for the particular kind of work required of them on board these steamers they are quite as good as English seamen. For work aloft—for taking in topsails in a gale of wind—the Lascar is not of much use, but for all deck work no one is better, and he is always sober and always civil. If British mercantile Jack wants to keep his place on board British ships he must give the public-house a very much wider berth than he does at present, and he must take more than one leaf out of the "Dutchman's" book. Then we shall see, and not till then, what we should all like to see, namely, British ships manned by British sailors; but most

assuredly no amount of protection is going to do it.

A good deal has lately been written on the subject of undermanning in the British Mercantile Marine; and there is no doubt that excessive competition has, in the shipping industry as in all other industries, so cut down profits that no shipowner can now afford to put even one man more than is absolutely necessary on board his ship. Most nautical authorities are, however, agreed that British merchant ships are at least as well manned as the merchant ships of other nations, and very much better than many foreign ships—notably American and Norwegian vessels.

There is one particular point connected with the merchant service that presents very serious difficulties, and about which opinions are very much divided, and that is the proper training of boys for the mercantile navy. Previous to the repeal of the Navigation Laws in 1849, it was compulsory for every vessel to carry a certain number of apprentices, according to her tonnage; and for every apprentice that the ship was deficient a substantial fine was imposed. Since the repeal of the Navigation Laws, when the carrying of apprentices ceased to be any longer compulsory, the number of apprentices has, year by year, steadily declined. In 1848, the number of apprentices enrolled was 15,704; since that year the numbers have gradually diminished, and since 1890 the annual number has never exceeded 2200. In the old time numbers of the poorer class of boys were apprenticed to the sea service by Boards of Guardians, and others, with the ultimate aim and object of the boys becoming A.B.s, and nothing more. At the present time, when a boy is apprenticed it is usually with a view to his ultimately becoming an officer; the poorer lad, on the other hand, now generally shipping as "boy," and after he has been a year or so at sea becoming an

ordinary seaman, and after that an A.B. A great work has been done in this matter by the public spirit of the Liverpool shipowners in establishing the training-ship *Indefatigable*, which in thirty-four years has prepared upwards of 2300 boys for the sea. A similar work has been done by a London Poor-Law Authority, the Metropolitan Asylums Board, in their training-ship *Exmouth*, moored in the Thames off Grays, and which in twenty-three years has sent no less than 4200 boys into the Royal Navy and the Mercantile Marine; the bulk, however, going to the navy, a certain amount of pressure being brought to bear on the boys with that particular object.

The present treatment of apprentices, and apprentices whose friends have paid premiums, has doubtless much to do with the falling off in the number under indentures. In the majority of ships where apprentices are now carried, they are carried merely as a cheap way of getting hands, and no pains at all are taken to teach the boys their profession. The apprentice, according to the advertisements, is "to be berthed apart from the crew," "will be taught navigation," and "have the same food as the officers." But what are the real hard facts of the case? The apprentices, in the ordinary run of sailing-ships, are treated precisely as the hands —neither better nor worse. They have probably a deck-house, but it is as often as not shared with the carpenter or the sailmaker, and their work is with, and the same as, that of the men. As to the apprentice being properly taught his profession, so long as he tars or greases down with the rest, or chips rust in the fore-peak, or slung over the side does his share of the painting, or properly cleans the ship's lamps or the brass-work on the poop, or cleans out the pig-sties and closets, not one skipper in twenty ever troubles his head about him. This miserable treatment of apprentices naturally results in a number of high-

spirited lads, after one voyage, throwing the whole thing up in disgust and taking to something ashore; while many of those who remain among such surroundings sink down in the social scale, and under the present wretched system make coarse, foul-mouthed, bullying men; the ultimate residuum that make really good seamen and gentlemanly officers being, unfortunately, but a very small percentage of the entire number of those who originally joined the service.

There are, of course, the two admirable training-ships for lads who intend to become officers in the Mercantile Marine—the *Worcester*, in the Thames, and the *Conway*, in the Mersey — and there are also the two large and splendid sailing-ships which owe their existence in a great measure to the exertions of Lord Brassey—the *Hesperus* and the *Macquarrie*—each of which carries a number of young gentlemen as first-class cadets, besides taking a certain number of apprentices. But all these are, to some extent, expensive, and are therefore out of the reach of many parents who have several sons to provide for; so that without any doubt the great majority of boys who are apprenticed go straight to sea, and too frequently receive but a very indifferent training for their future career.

Besides the seamen, we have in steamships a totally distinct class of men—the engine-room crew, consisting of the engineers, the firemen or stokers, and the coal-trimmers, whose duty it is to attend to the engines, the boilers, and the furnaces. Until the year 1862, the law had in no way interfered with, or controlled, this part of the ship's company, and the appointment and the position of the engineers was entirely dependent upon the will and pleasure of the owners, who were perfectly free to employ any one whom they might think fit. Now, before any man is allowed to be entrusted with the charge of valuable machinery, and in a secondary degree with the safety of the ship and

the lives of those on board, he must successfully have passed a very thorough Board of Trade examination, and have obtained the proper Board of Trade certificate; the first four or five years of his professional life having been already passed ashore in an engine shop or a factory. The stokers and the coal-trimmers, who are labourers rather than mechanics, are for the most part drawn from shore labourers, loafers, and the like; but their ranks are, to a certain extent, recruited from men of the seamen class, who are often tempted by the higher wages that stokers receive, to forsake the deck for the stokehold.

The officers in the merchant service are the Second mate, the Chief mate, and the Master. Many ships, however, carry a third mate, and the great liners frequently a fourth and even a fifth mate; but the law recognises, besides the Master, only the Chief mate and the Second mate, certificates for each of which grades are provided by the Marine Department of the Board of Trade. When a lad has been four years at sea, whether as an apprentice or merely as an ordinary "boy," he is competent to present himself to the examiners of the Board of Trade and to pass for Second mate, the examination being a fairly stiff one, embracing navigation and seamanship, including the Rule of the Road and other kindred subjects. Having obtained his Second mate's certificate, if he be fortunate enough to obtain employment as a Second mate, with the command of a watch, at the expiration of a year he may go up for his Chief mate's certificate, passing another examination very similar to the previous one, except that it is very considerably stiffer. If he successfully passes this examination and obtains his certificate he may take the position of a Chief mate, which he must occupy for at least a year before he can go up to pass for Master.

A Chief mate occupies a very arduous and a very

responsible position on board a ship. He is the representative in everything of the Master, who intimates to him what he wishes to have done, and then leaves it to the Mate to carry it out. The Mate engages the crew, superintends the stowing, the safe keeping, and the delivery of the cargo—seeing that the tallying-out corresponds with the tallying-in, and not infrequently having to pay for any deficiency—and he is responsible for anything and everything about the ship, from a rope-yarn to an anchor. By law he is the successor to the Master—that is to say, should the Master die during the voyage the command of the ship legally devolves upon the Chief mate; and that he should be competent to fill that position is one of the objects of the Board of Trade examination and of the certificate.

The Master—by courtesy the "Captain," with the sailors universally, whatever his age, "the old man" and familiarly the "Skipper"—is lord paramount, absolutely an autocrat on board his own ship. His word is law, which nobody must dispute and which permits of no argument. He must be obeyed in everything without a question, even by his first officer. He stands no watch, comes and goes when he pleases, and is accountable to no one except to his owners. He has entire control of the discipline of the ship, and has to be informed of everything of importance that takes place on board; and such things as descrying a sail, a light, or land, or the sudden shoaling of the water, or signs of any change in the weather, or in the direction of the wind must be instantly reported to the Master. He must possess a sufficient knowledge of what he is required to do by law, as to entry and discharge and the management of his crew; he must have a knowledge of invoices, charter-party, bills of lading, and, indeed, of everything pertaining to the business relations of the ship. In everything the Master represents the owners, and very frequently has

to arrange for cargo, to decide questions of freight, and sometimes, if not in telegraphic communication with the owners, actually to settle the future destination of the ship. His position, therefore, is one of very considerable responsibility. The Board of Trade certificate for Master is, of course, precisely the same whether it be in the case of the Master of the ordinary tramp or of the Peninsular and Oriental mail steamer; but the social positions of the owners of the certificates are as wide asunder as the poles. Still, whether it be in the polished gentleman who commands the great mail steamer or in the rough-and-ready skipper of the little five-hundred-ton barque, equally shall we find the skilful navigator and the sturdy and the experienced seaman who has always rendered conspicuous the annals of the British Mercantile Marine.

INTER-BRITISH TRADE AND ITS DEVELOPMENT[1]

By T. B. BROWNING, M.A.

(Of the Canadian Bar)

THE magnitude of the trade of the Empire, its wealth and adequate defence, are now commonplaces in politics, and are held, in almost equal estimation, by Conservatives and Unionists, by Liberals and Radicals. I wish to call attention to a phase of the subject that is rising into importance, and has already made its appearance in Parliament; that bears within it, I believe, the destiny of the Empire, and bids fair to be the question of the immediate future. You may call it the internal group trade of the Empire. While it does not exclude but rather promotes commercial relations with foreign peoples, it lays special stress upon the interchange of the United Kingdom with the Colonies in the widest sense of that term, of the Colonies with each other, and the means of developing that world-wide commerce. The subject has many ramifications, and my space is limited. I, therefore, take three points only, points from which, as from different pinnacles, one may obtain, I will not say a detailed, but a comprehensive and, for practical purposes, an accurate view of the vast landscape. The first is, What is the general nature or character of Inter-British trade as it now exists? The second is,

[1] The above article, which appeared in "Sell's Dictionary of the World's Press" for 1899, and is here reprinted with the kind permission of the proprietor of that annual, has been revised for this publication. October 1, 1900.—T. B. B.

What is the economic principle which at once underlies and governs the trade? The third deals with special means whereby the principle may be applied to the common benefit of all parts of her Majesty's dominions.

I.—The Character of Inter-British Trade.

1. In the first place, let us call to mind what is the relative standing of the chief trading communities in the world. The most comprehensive and detailed tables I find on this question are those of Herr Sundbärg, Actuary of the Government Statistical Department at Stockholm. They cover the years from 1871 to 1895, are divided into periods of five years each, and give the annual average of each principal country for each period. Assuming the test of value to be sufficient for our purposes, and restricting ourselves to the last quinquennial period, the commerce of nations stands as follows:[1]—

(1) Great Britain and Ireland . . .	. £589,166,666
(2) British Colonies and Dependencies .	. 404,249,999
(3) Germany	. 352,777,777
(4) United States of America . . .	. 347,333,333
(5) France	. 296,833,333

The trade of this country last year, import and export, according to the revised figures just published, was £814,570,241 against £764,558,690 in 1898. The returns for the British Possessions in the year last-named was £555,647,369,[2] including gold and silver bullion, which is a product of the Colonies in the same sense as tin, copper, wheat are products. In a very interesting article in the *Contemporary Review* for March 1900, Mr. Michael G. Mulhall reviews

[1] Compare tables 5 and 8 in Mr. Consul Constable's Report (1898), No. 467.

[2] Stat. Abstract (Colonies), 1898, pp. 130–33.

the commerce of this country during the last forty years. Great Britain's trade with the principal communities for the decade 1889-1898, was as follows:—

British Colonies as a whole . . .	£1,788,000,000
The United States	1,399,000,000
Germany	824,000,000
France	682,000,000

Her interchange with the Colonies for the forty years was in millions £6043; and with the United States, £4192. Again, during the decade 1889–98, England bought from the United States goods to the value of £1,019,000,000, and sold to that country goods to the value of £380,000,000 only. During the same period her purchases from the Colonies reached £949,000,000, and her sales to £839,000,000. The total trade, therefore, with which we propose to deal is, from an international point of view, the largest in the world; it is likewise the most important trade of this country.

Now, what are the trade-factors of the Empire? Here we may leave out of view a number of islands which, as they are situated in different parts of the world, scarcely lend themselves to geographical classification, and, as they are small in area and population, have no determining influence on the question of trade policy, no matter how important they may be for purposes of administration or how necessary they may be for offence and defence in modern conditions. On the other hand, we must add certain territories which are, strictly speaking, outside the Empire, because the administration of their trade is intimately bound up with our trade-policy. With these qualifications, the factors of Inter-British trade resolve themselves into geographical groups whose area and population are as follows:—

Groups.	Area.	Population.	Area in Square Miles.	Population at last Census (1891).
(1) European			121,511	38,037,029
(2) North American			3,498,383	5,031,173
(3) Australasian			3,173,198	4,793,533
(4) West Indian			128,626	1,666,933
(5) South African			707,449	1,530,687
(*a*) Transvaal	113,642	769,000	161,968	976,503
(*b*) Orange Free State	48,326	207,503		
(6) Indian Empire Group			964,993	221,172,952
(*a*) Native States			595,167	66,050,479
(7) Straits Settlements			86,993	4,378,767
(8) Red Sea and Mediterranean			85,182	434,474
(*a*) Egypt			394,240	9,000,000
(9) East and Central Africa Protectorates			1,500,000	28,000,000
(10) West Africa Protectorates			750,000	
(11) West Africa Colonies			58,771	1,647,000
Total			12,225,481	382,724,530

I have compiled the table chiefly from the data given in the Statistical Abstract (1897). For the reasons given, they differ somewhat from the results set forth in the "Statesman's Year-Book" for 1900, which (p. xxvi) says that the Empire, considered in itself, contains 11,726,217 square miles, nearly one-fifth of the land-superficies of the earth, and that its population amounts to 385,782,293, a little more than one-fourth of the human family according to Wagner and Supan's estimate.

A word in further explanation of the classification. Group (1) includes the British Islands, Man, the Channel Islands, &c. In the second, I rank Canada and Newfoundland. The seven Australian Colonies and Tasmania, now the Commonwealth of Australia, New Zealand, Fiji, and the British part of New Guinea fall under the third. The fourth contains Honduras, Guiana, Jamaica, with twenty principal islands. Cape Colony and its dependencies, Natal and Rhodesia, make up the fifth. In the Straits Settle-

ments Group I have included, besides the place of that name, Ceylon, which some might rank with the Indian Empire, Labuan, North Borneo, and Hong Kong without its recent accession, the population of which is not yet definitely ascertained. Under the eighth group fall the Somali Protectorate, Aden, Cyprus, Malta, and Gibraltar. Numbers (9) and (10) are under the administration for the most part of companies, and call for no special remark in this place. Again, I have ranked the Orange Free State and the Transvaal in group (5). They were incorporated into the Empire this year by Lord Roberts' Proclamations. Notwithstanding recent troubles, the same commercial forces which brought together the fiercely contending provinces of Upper and Lower Canada in 1841 will, no doubt, in time amalgamate all South Africa for the purposes of traffic, if not otherwise. I have reckoned the Feudatory States of India with the British Provinces. These States are not British property, but are subject to British over-rule. Their status is very similar to that of the States formerly subject to the Roman Empire along the Mediterranean and in the East. Any way their external trade is in British hands. A somewhat formidable objection may be taken to the inclusion of Egypt in the Red Sea group. England's rights in, to, or over Egypt may be difficult of definition in accepted terms of international law, but her rights in respect of trade and finance are definite, effective, and predominant. That is sufficient for us. So long as the control continues, the land of the Pharaohs may not unfairly be considered to fall within the scope of the Empire in its commercial aspect. Is the valley of the Yang-tze-Kiang to be the next accession?

2. The same abstract enables us to find what are the exports and imports of each group, that is, the

amount and volume of its foreign trade. In the following table I set in one column the returns of foreign trade for several independent nations in terms of total value for 1896, and, in the other, the returns for the same year for several British Empire groups. I omit group (1) because its trade is beyond comparison. I also exclude Egypt and its group with East and West Africa, because they are secondary and not primary factors within the Empire. With these deductions we may get a fair general average. The first part is taken from pages 29 and 34 of the Statistical Abstract for the Colonies, 1898; the second from the "Statesman's Year-Book" for 1899:—

I. British Empire Groups.	Total Trade. 1896.
Indian Empire Group	£198,221,513
Australasian Group	130,097,124
North American Group	51,729,536
Straits Settlements Group	56,011,170
South African Group	39,872,223
West Indian Group	14,930,883
Total	£490,862,449
Average	£81,810,408

II. Foreign States.	Total Trade. 1896.
Russian Empire	£213,119,375
Italy	112,409,876
Spain	68,731,085
Japan	57,503,446
Denmark	37,100,000
Sweden	36,429,141
Norway	21,554,980
Portugal	15,710,000
Total	£562,557,903
Average	£70,319,738

The return for the Indian Empire is exceeded only by nations of the first class, as the German Empire, France, the United States. The trade of the West Indies, the

smallest in the list, exceeds that of Greece, Bulgaria, Roumania, not to mention South American Republics. The average commerce of a British Empire group on these figures amounts to £81,810,408, and the average for the independent States enumerated is £70,319,738. These States were selected because they were considered to be fairly representative. On the whole, therefore, one may say, without straining the argument, that the trade of the several British Empire groups attains international proportions, and compares favourably with that of kingdoms of the second rank.

3. Now take a globe or Mercator's projection and follow the groups around the world; from England to the West Indies, from the West Indies to Canada, from Canada along the All-Britannic cable line to Australasia, from Australasia to the Straits Settlements, thence to India from Bombay, avoiding Egypt and the Protectorates, to South Africa, and so homewards. You have completed the circuit of the globe. You have found the groups separated from each other by vast distances, varying from 2000 to 6000 miles. You have found the groups themselves to be relatively compact, notwithstanding their vast areas. Now these are the natural or geographical conditions of an international trade: compactness within the group, distance between group and group. Professor Bastable, speaking on this subject from the standpoint of this country, uses these words in his latest volume: "The trade between England and her Colonies is undoubtedly international."[1] The argument is, if possible, still stronger for us because we take the standpoint, not of a group, no matter how great it be, but of the whole Empire. Our query, then, what is the character of Inter-British trade, might seem to be answered. It is an international trade.

4. But, the Professor adds, "in all cases, the political

[1] "The Theory of International Trade," p. 11, note.

element is, to some extent, to be found." In many cases the political element determines the situation. What is its operation on our Empire Groups? It reinforces their natural or geographical condition. They are, or are becoming, political units. The United Kingdom is one since 1801, and her solidarity for purposes of trade is growing greater year by year. India is practically one. British North America is federated except as to Newfoundland, and her accession to the Dominion is a question of terms and is imminent. Australia has completed her scheme of union which the necessities of the situation will, no doubt, extend to the Australasian group. The Straits Settlements is already the centre of a considerable Confederacy whose circumference is rapidly widening. The progress of events is less marked in the West Indies. There are many causes for it, and many remedies are suggested for her almost desperate condition. I do not wish to enter into the discussion, but this point is clear; her many and highly-salaried governors, her isolated and costly administrations, her high and mutually hostile tariffs must go, and some substantial measure of consolidation be introduced. The same forces which unified Canada, which are now unifying Australia, in great measure trade-forces, are at work, and may be expected to produce the same result in the West Indies. South Africa, also, has many difficulties to overcome, but she is cognisant of them, and her Customs-Union is an earnest of better things. Leaving aside the Red Sea Group and the Protectorates and viewing the subject broadly, one may say then that the movement of the Empire is towards aggregation in large masses around local centres far removed one from another. In other words, the political element is intensifying the international or group-character of inter-British trade.

The consideration of mass is almost as important

in politics and commerce as it is in physics. It is hard for us to realise the actual magnitude and significance of the local masses of the Empire, whether for trade or otherwise. I have already given some figures, but figures when they mount to millions and become familiar cease to carry with them any definite conception. By way of illustration, let me refer to the current discussions on Imperial Federation. The most advanced of these that have come to my notice picture a combination of the Mother Country and the Colonies somewhat on the scale of the United States. The political union of 70,000,000 of people, a territorial jurisdiction that embraces 3,000,000 of square miles, is no doubt a vast achievement and is worthily held up as an object for emulation. The advantage which commerce gains under these conditions is obvious. But, in the purview of the British Empire, the formation of a United States, or a series of them, does not approach the dignity of an Imperial question; it is distinctly local. When Canada excogitated her plan of union in 1867, she had as large a population as the United States possessed at the adoption of the present constitution. The Dominion has to-day a vaster territory than her neighbour. The merits or demerits of her federation-scheme was, and was deemed to be, a question primarily for her. No British statesman interfered with Australia in the construction of her Commonwealth which will be the United States of the far south. Only one clause of the bill was questioned —the appeal clause. Here the interests of the Empire as a whole were directly affected. The negotiations resulted in a compromise so far forth as concerns the Commonwealth Act. On the other hand, the Government of the United Kingdom has undertaken to establish one appeal tribunal for all parts of the Empire. In like manner South Africa and the West Indies have their destinies in their own hands. The

same remark may apply to the Straits Settlements and to India, though in a lesser degree. When Imperial Federation, then, arises or demands treatment, the problem will not be how to organise a United States from primary elements, but a problem on a far vaster scale, how to weld into one dominion in addition to the United Kingdom and India. five or six, it may be seven or eight, combinations of the rank of the American Union. It will be a new problem in the world's history, a new problem in the world of commerce. To put the same view in another form, it will be the consolidation, as it were, of so many Europes, in each of which first-class Powers as Germany, France, Austria, in respect of territory, will rank as provinces. The foundations for that time are being laid, and laid solidly. I have no doubt the fitting superstructure will arise in due course, for the British peoples are seldom wanting to the exigencies of their day. But, meantime, its precursor is trade, and our views of inter-British trade should expand to meet the conditions of the present and immediate future.

5. The practice and policy of England in regard to Colonial tariffs are in accord with the geographical, international, or, as I would prefer to say, the group-situation. The self-governing Colonies are naturally the test on this phase of the question. Canada and Australia, Natal and Newfoundland, Cape Colony and New Zealand may regulate their taxation according to their own exigencies or their own views of these exigencies. If, with the physiocrats of the last century, they think that a single tax is the least oppressive mode of raising revenue, and that land is the most proper object to be charged, they may make the experiment. They may assess income or leave it free. If they approve indirect taxation, as the majority of Colonies do, they may distribute their customs-duties over many articles, or limit them to narcotics. If they

are inclined to protection, incidental or explicit, the Empire is wider than the Cobden Club and is broad enough to give them scope. At the same time, it casts the responsibilities for their actions on their own shoulders. The situation is international in the economic sense of the word, and the communities to which it applies have under their control seven million square miles of territory, and are that portion of the Empire which is developing most rapidly in wealth and population.

But it may be asked, Does the same rule apply to Protectorates, Crown Colonies, and India? The essential portion of it does. This country does not impose her tariff on her dominions oversea; neither does she exact tribute or revenue from them. The recent cotton duties are a case in point in regard to India. They called forth a protest from Lancashire on the score of protection, but the late Government declined to intervene, and the late Parliament approved their abstinence. The present Government disallowed the particular duties, but consented to others in substitution, which, whether they be better or worse, are no less protectionist. If one may gather the sense of the community from the declarations of the press, the general attitude of this country towards India might, I think, be expressed somewhat thus: that while broad questions of policy are properly subject to Parliamentary discretion, the experienced men, in whose hands is the actual administration of the great dependency, are in the best position to judge both as to the necessity and expediency of particular imposts. Crown Colonies are a late innovation in this Empire, and, I fear, an unhappy one. Some other machinery of government is eagerly desired, but meantime the scale of duties they impose is very greatly in the hands of local authorities. Their action may be supervised, but is supervised not for the benefit of this country, but to meet more effectually the real or supposed

requirements of the locality. If the Protectorates and Spheres of Influence be taken into account, we should remember that trade with them differs, and, from the circumstances of the case, can differ in nothing from foreign trade with peoples in a low stage of civilisation, whether protected or unprotected. It is necessarily international in the broadest sense in which that term is used in political economy.

6. Imperial practice goes still further. The general position is that a treaty with a foreign nation which is to bind a Colony shall be ratified by the colonial legislature. It has been exemplified time and again in the case of Canada and Newfoundland, and was officially declared by Lord Palmerston in 1857. Such self-governing Colonies as may desire to enjoy the benefits of a treaty of commerce which her Majesty may conclude with any Power, may enjoy them by making application through the proper channels. An enabling clause for the purpose is now generally included in treaties, as may be seen in any late volume of Hertslet's "Collection." Again, the power of a Colony to make commercial arrangements with outside nations, and the procedure in that case to be adopted, engaged the attention of the Colonial Conference at Ottawa in 1894. Lord Ripon devotes a circular letter to the subject, which is dated 28th of June 1895. By despatch of the same date he deals with the question of differential trade-arrangements as between Colony and Colony. Now that all legislative restrictions are removed by the Australian Colonies Duties Act, 1895 (58 and 59 Victoria, c. 3), the two subjects fall under the same rules. The identity of the rules is itself a striking evidence that the Empire admits of internationalism within its own bounds. Generally expressed, these rules are: "The strict observance of existing international obligations, and the preservation of the unity of the Empire." To

come to particulars, a Colony may, with the assent of her Majesty's Government and by means of her Ambassador, with such assistance as may be thought needful, make trade-arrangements with a foreign State. Thus Canada concluded a treaty with France two or three years ago, and a Commission is appointed to deal with outstanding questions as between the United States and British North America. But no arrangement so made shall be allowed to go into operation which discriminates against the Mother Country or another Colony, or injuriously affects "the most favoured nation" standing of other States within the negotiating Colony. The Blaine-Bond Treaty between the United States and Newfoundland was disallowed on this ground at the instance of Canada. Similarly, two or more Colonies may conclude commercial agreements, but they may not thereby prejudice the Mother Country, another Colony, or a foreign Power. In each case, and as the ultimate test of sovereignty, the Imperial Government reserves to itself the right of determining what is discrimination, what is prejudice. There is no substantial disagreement on the question between Lord Ripon and the Ottawa Conference, between parties in the Colonies or parties in this country. His lordship's statement of principles is accepted, and marks an epoch in the evolution of the Empire, for two reasons: because (1) it sums up the Empire's policy and practice in regard to (*a*) the Colonial groups, (*b*) their mutual trade-relations, and (*c*) their relations to external governments; and (2) because it sets forth explicitly the principles that now govern and are to obtain in future. These principles consecrate on one side the essential element of inter-British union, and, by giving free play to local activities upon the other, they preserve the international character of inter-British trade.

7. Some persons fear to look on the commercial system of the Empire as it exists, because they think it

tends to dissolution; and they date the process of disintegration from the incoming of free trade in England. They forget two facts. They forget that the Empire in its vastness, the Empire as it was exhibited at the Jubilee, is essentially modern. One may almost say that it is the creation of her Majesty's reign. It matters little from what year you count the introduction of free trade, from the end of the second Peel administration or from its beginning, from 1846 or 1842; or whether, as seems to me more proper, you go back to 1823, the date when Huskisson first assumed the post of President of the Board of Trade, upon whose fiscal measures Sir H. Parnell founded his "Financial Reform" and, with wonderful prescience, forecast the course of English trade-policy; whichever time you prefer, it was the day of small things in so far as concerns the Colonies. India was under the rule of a company. The West Indies were isolated and unimportant. Canada was little noted except for the disturbances she created or might at any moment occasion. The Cape was a conquest with a small Dutch population, a half-way station to India, and Australasia was valued chiefly as a convict compound. Statesmen of both parties talked familiarly of "those wretched Colonies," and asked each other how they might get rid of them. In none were the native energies called forth or the native resources developed. The era of colonial activity, of colonial expansion, had not begun, or was only beginning. The necessities which call so loudly to-day for some scheme of union, some plan of welding the Empire together, of consolidating the British peoples in all parts of the world, had not arisen.

They forget likewise that England's colonial policy is not a thing of late date. While its modern developments have been great and rapid, its main features are of venerable aspect. You can draw no sharp division-

line between her practice of to-day and her practice in former years. The proper contrast lies, not as between two systems of English policy, but between the system of France on the one hand and the system of England on the other, as well in the centuries that are past as in the century that now is.

A French Colony may to-day have municipalities, communes, syndics, and may enjoy representation in the National Assemblies; but otherwise its government follows the model formulated by Louis XIV. Thus the cost of military services within the Colony is defrayed by the Metropolis. Canada bore the expenses of her North-West Expedition just as the old Thirteen Colonies were accustomed to wage war with the Abenikis and pay its cost. South Africa and New Zealand have knowledge of the same responsibility and of the privileges it confers. The civil officers of a French Colony are appointed by the central government, and its administration is moulded on the formula and proceeds according to the same rules as the internal administration of the Republic. The present Colonial Minister might copy *verbatim* Colbert's directions to Frontenac and send them to Algeria: "Vous devez toujours suivre dans la gouvernement et la conduite de ce pays-la les formes qui se pratiquent ici."[1] The budget of the Colony is framed in France, and is governed by the policy and exigencies of the Mother Country. The Governor-General of Algeria and his Council have no more power over the local tariff than had the Governor-General of New France and his Council. Even local taxation for purposes civil is supplemented by metropolitan subsidies. Warburton tells us that the revenue of New France, immediately before the last war (1756), amounted to £14,000, and that its supplement from the King's treasury, apart from military expenditure, was £4670. The Colonial

[1] Lareau, "Hist. du Droit Can.," tome i. p. 233.

civil list imposes on France to-day a burden of 89,768,262 francs.[1] You do not find anything similar to this in English history. The author of "Les Colonies Françaises Illustrées" sums up the general situation when, speaking of Algeria, he says: "Elle ne constitue pas un etât ayant son gouvernement propre, son autonomie; elle fait partie de la France" (p. 60). Even M. Rameau, who is thoroughly cognisant of the failure of French colonisation in the past, cannot raise himself out of the trammels of officialism and dependence. In his book on "France aux Colonies," he undertakes to suggest means of better success, but his suggestions are confined to increased home expenditure, State deportation of settlers, trade-preferences. From end to end of the French method there is no provision for local effort, local initiative, self-help, self-taxation, self-development; the Colony must adapt itself not to its immediate environment, but to the conditions of the Mother Country. To-day, as two centuries ago, "il n'est pas même permis aux habitans des Colonies de s'imposer eux mêmes"; "c'est un droit de souveraineté que Sa Majesté ne communique à personne."[2] A century and a half of preferences and subsidies on the one side, and administrative uniformity on the other, left French Canada with a population of only 65,000 persons, including enfranchised Indians, in 1763, a date when the old Thirteen Colonies of England numbered nearly 3,000,000 of inhabitants. Under substantially the same form of rule, the French Colonies of to-day—Algeria, Réunion, Guadaloupe, Martinique, Tonquin, &c.—have less than 900,000 French subjects, including naturalised citizens, but excluding indigenous tribes.[3] European subjects in the present English Colonies number 12,000,000 in round numbers.

[1] "Statesman's Year-Book," 1900, p. 525.
[2] Lareau, "Hist. du Droit Can.," tome i. p. 358.
[3] "Statesman's Year-Book," 1895, p. 511.

The American Revolution is sometimes said to cut English colonial history into two periods. But in neither period did any Colony form a part of the "realm of England" in the legal acceptation of that term—a part of the state, to use the French word. The early charters may appear defective in constitutional machinery, but express provisions were made for their liberal interpretation, and the legal officers of the day knew well that, while the patents were granted for the regulation of trading companies, they were applied to the government of peoples. The new settlements moulded, and were allowed to mould, themselves after the British pattern, and soon there appeared a single executive, a legislature of two branches, and a judiciary more or less independent. Rhode Island was so well content with the powers of her charter that she retained it unaltered till the middle of this century. You may say that a limitation was placed on their legislative authority, that their laws should not be contrary to those of England; but how was this a restraint upon the colonists? Their chief desire was to realise the laws of England—the privileges of Englishmen—in their new homes. Again it is said that the Navigation Acts extended to them, and other taxing laws were passed by Parliament "for the regulation of their commerce"; what then? Hutchinson tells us that there were no custom-houses in America for the collection of taxes till near the reign of Queen Anne.[1] Grenville, writing at so late a date as 1765, says that the average amount of taxes collected yearly "in all the Colonies for thirty years is not above £1900, while it costs £7600 per annum to collect them."[2] The burden on the Colonies was not great. Their principal products, as fish and sugar, "were unenumerated," that is, did not come within the scope of the Navigation Laws.

[1] "Hist. of Mass. Bay," ii. p. 447.

[2] Regulations with Respect to the Colonies Considered, p. 57.

Walpole added timber to the list of exemptions, so that their commerce in staples was practically free. While the bulk of their transactions was necessarily with England, and did not offend against any restriction, they enlarged their foreign trade in "enumerated" articles by extensive smuggling, and were enabled to do so the more easily because that branch of their business was carried on by means of British capital. Professor Seeley says "the Colonial system hampered them but slightly." One might go further and say that in many respects it was a gain, and was so esteemed in New England; for it kept the Dutch out of their carrying-trade, and fostered their shipbuilding at no cost to them. But the chief point for us is this, that their power of self-taxation for internal administration and defence, for roads, bridges, and improvements generally, was unrestrained, and became effective by increase of their wealth, their population, and their necessities.

9. The great schism in the Empire which began so unfortunately and ended so disastrously in the last century does not particularly concern us here, because the present Colonies come under the "Supremacy Act" of 1778 (18 Geo. III. c. 12). Its provisions are three. There is first a declaration that "the King and Parliament of Great Britain will not impose any duty, tax, or assessment whatever, payable in any part of his Majesty's Colonies." This general position is limited by an exception: "except only such duties as it may be deemed expedient to impose for the regulation of commerce." It thus puts an end to the archaic conception of tribute, of a "revenue from America transported hither," for the payment of Imperial liabilities without consent. The exception itself is limited by a proviso: "the net proceeds of such duties to be always paid and applied to and for the use of the Colony, Province, or Plantation in which the same shall be respectively levied, in such manner as other

duties, collected by the authority of the respective General Courts or General Assemblies of such Colonies, Provinces, or Plantations are ordinarily paid and applied." The proceeds of Imperial taxes raised in a Colony are thus subject to the disposition of the local authorities. These terms were acceptable to the "Loyalists," became the rule of government in British North America, and, had they been formulated earlier, might have averted the great disaster. They are not a new law, but a declaration of ancient practice.

The declaratory Act did not restrict the self-taxing powers of the colonists. Thus, it was quite competent for Upper Canada, established under Pitt's Statute (1790), to raise the greater portion of her revenue by direct taxation. She was within her right also in levying duties on imports, no matter from what part of the world the goods may have come, and notwithstanding the fact that they had already paid toll in New York. The Upper Province had no sea-board. The operation of Imperial taxation may be seen more broadly in the history of Lower Canada, for there the Crown and Parliament entered on the full prerogatives of the French king. Till 1791 all imposts were Imperial; but, in inaugurating the new system the Governor, by instruction, informed the Assembly that the existing Acts would be repealed as soon as the House made suitable provision for their displacement. In fact, they were not repealed till the Union (1841), because the taxes imposed were equitable in the circumstances of the country; but they were added to. Thus the net revenue for 1791–92 was £5000, of which 100 per cent. was Imperial. By 1811, the income had risen to £70,000, and the Imperial share had fallen to 18 per cent. It fell to 8 per cent. in 1835, when the total taxation realised £150,000.[1]

[1] Christie's Hist. of L. C., vol. i. pp. 152, 164, 186, 212; vol. iv. p. 141.

Again, special taxation under Act of this country even "for the regulation of commerce" was quickly found to be a crude mode of procedure, and fell to the ground. A more effectual means to obtain the same end was discovered in the revising or disallowance power over colonial tariffs, which continued in more or less active use till after the union of the Canadas. As Great Britain sought no revenue from her Colonies, as the proceeds of taxation must be applied to local purposes, as the interests of trade did not depend on the Imperial taxing or revising power so much as on provincial good government, the framing of the tariff and the disposition of the revenues passed into colonial hands subject to a "permanent civil list." Again, as the list was not for Imperial purposes, but for the support of the Canadian administration, chiefly the judges, it was properly remitted to Canadian hands under responsible government. The "civil list" portion of the Union Act was repealed in 1846. By 1849 the older theories of commerce and its regulation lost their hold on this country, the Navigation Laws and differential arrangements were abolished, and colonial commerce opened to the world on equal terms. Thus the power of taxation, originating in necessity in the English colonies and at first indefinite, developed step by step, covering first internal taxation, then external taxation, until of late years it has become exclusive and extends to all matters that affect commerce. The system of local trade-autonomy, established in its present form first in Canada, has become the natural incident of a self-governing Colony, and may now be said to be the rule of the whole Empire.

10. The broad distinction, then, between the colonial policy of France and the colonial policy of England is this. France has administered, and now administers, her Colonies as part of her home territory. She ignores, or endeavours to override, geographical conditions as

well as economical theory; hers is a fight at once against nature and science. England, on the other hand, to use the broad language of Viscount Bury, "always treated her Colonies on the same footing as foreign nations;"[1] in other words, she has recognised their international standing, implicitly if not explicitly. It is worthy of note in this connection that the era of colonial prosperity and expansion dates, not from the incoming of Free Trade in England, but from 1859, when the policy I speak of was elaborated on both sides, in the Mother Country and the Colonies. It has since been marked with almost uninterrupted progress except, probably, in Newfoundland and the West Indies,[2] whose conditions are peculiar. Mr. Mulhall draws up a minute of those portions of the outside Empire where the international principle is most developed—Canada, Australasia, South Africa—and, treating them as groups as we do, contrasts their position in 1873 with their position in 1893. I take from his interesting article the following table:—

	Population, 1873.	Population, 1893.
Australasia	1,925,000	4,070,000
Canada	3,830,000	5,030,000
South Africa	870,000	2,210,000
Totals	£6,625,000	£11,310,000

	Revenue, 1873.	Revenue, 1893.
Australasia	£12,400,000	£28,200,000
Canada	4,300,000	7,800,000
South Africa	2,300,000	6,100,000
Totals	£19,000,000	£42,100,000

He adds: "In the hurly-burly of British politics, the incessant cares and occupations of everyday life, we

[1] "Exodus of Western Nations," ii., c. 2, p. 32.

[2] See the following papers in the "British Empire Series," vol. iii.: "The West Indies: General," by Mrs. Ernest Hart; and "Newfoundland," by the writer of this paper.

are apt to lose sight of the marvellous advancement of these three great Colonial settlements, which are in some respects without parallel in ancient or modern times."[1]

II.—The Economic Principle and Degrees of Internationalism.

11. I have dwelt thus far on the international character of Inter-British trade, not merely because the fact is frequently lost sight of, not merely because internationalism is the most prominent feature of Imperial commerce, but because it determines what principle applies to the present situation, and provides us with a key to the practical problem, how may the trade be best developed? Inasmuch as the trade-problem of the Empire is a problem of international trade, the theory to be applied to its solution is necessarily the international trade-theory. I purposely abstain here from a verification of the doctrine in a theoretical point of view; the argument would lead us far afield. What I have to say upon it will appear in another form in the course of the article. For a full discussion of the questions involved, I must refer to the labours of Mill and Cairnes, Edgeworth and Bastable. Probably Part III. of Professor Cairnes's "Political Economy" contains the most popular exposition of the doctrine. Professor Bastable discusses its latest phases in his "Theory of International Trade." Those who desire mathematical proof with cases and deductions scientifically rigorous, would do well to consult Professor Edgeworth's articles on the subject in the *Economic Journal* for 1894, pages 35, 424, 606.

The general principle is well established. Inter-

[1] "Our Colonial Empire," *Contemporary Review* (1895), vol. lxvii. p. 632.

national trade is an extended barter, the oldest form of traffic, and its basis is, in its main aspect, the antithesis of the basis of a domestic or strictly national trade. Thus, where Article A is produced in a civil community, a nation unified, a group consolidated, the exchange value of that article depends directly on the cost at which it is, or may be, produced in the domestic market. Whatever A be, whether coal or iron, boots or shoes, hats or caps, that statement holds good so long as the domestic market furnishes it. International trade is much more complicated. Here you must consider three points: (1) The cost of producing A in the home market—its exchange being represented by two terms; (2) the cost of producing in the foreign market the articles for which A is exchanged—the whole transaction being represented by at least four terms; (3) the difference of these respective costs. To use Mr. Cairnes's nomenclature, domestic or national trade is governed by "cost of production," foreign or international trade by "comparative cost of production." The ultimate profit of the latter consists in the respective local advantages, original or acquired, in the accumulated results of these advantages, and in the enlarged means given for their utilisation. On the other hand, its development may depend on the removal of hindrances or the facilitating of intercourse. The difference between the two becomes practical when you ask the question, How shall Inter-British trade be furthered? Shall it be on a national basis or on a basis international, in the view of economic science?—along the lines of French policy, or upon those which we have seen to be English?

12. Trade-internationalism may admit of degrees. Thus, when the organisation of society was tribal, the trading unit was the blood-community, and tribe dealt with tribe in an international way. When many tribes were brought under the power of one ruler, trade

did not cease at once to be international. In Western Europe, long after the tribal régime had given way to the territorial, we find the internal traffic of a political unit retain many characteristics of internationalism, for it was under the control of local sections, or in the hands of exclusive guilds and brotherhoods. If we set aside for the moment the relations which this country and each of the colonial groups have with foreign peoples, there remain three phases of internationalism in the trade-problem of the Empire:—

(1) The relations of the British Islands with each of the colonial groups;

(2) The relations of the colonial groups one to another;

(3) The relations of each group to its parts. We shall take these in their reverse order, and consider them in connection with certain proposals which have been made to extend the commerce of the Empire, Customs-Union and differential tariffs.

13. *The Group in its Internal Relations.*—I have spoken of the groups as quasi-nations on the European model. That conception is correct for these groups where the process of unification is complete, as the United Kingdom, India, Canada. It applies also, though with less strictness, to the Straits Settlements, but it does not apply to Australasia. Until the Queen proclaims the Commonwealth, New South Wales, Victoria, Queensland, each of the Australian Colonies, with New Zealand, is an independent nation with tariff-control. The type, not for the whole group, but for each of its parts, is, therefore, France or Germany, Austria or Spain. In this light we may obtain a clearer view of their present position, and form a fairer conception of the work accomplished by Canada in 1867, and Australia in 1900—the conversion of many nationalities into one, or the change of a multiple international trade into a unified trade of an Empire

group. The same problem confronts the West Indies. The conditions calling for union are practically similar in the several cases. On the one hand, you have relative contiguity of parts, approximately equal stages of development, together with the ties of common blood, common language, common constitutional methods, common allegiance; in a word, common sovereignty. On the other hand, there is the waste of money and energy, the dissipation of force, involved in maintaining autonomous units that have outlived their usefulness in many ways, and have developed necessities which they are unable to cope with. Our cousins under the Southern Cross would fain have set up a Customs-Union to meet the new situation. But when the statutory obstacles to that experiment were removed, and the question was grappled with closely, they found, as Canada found in 1867, as the United States found in 1789, that the trade difficulty was the essential one; that, unless it were overcome, a customs arrangement was not possible, and, if it were surmounted, none was needful, for a federal union followed as of course.

The situation in South Africa is somewhat different, and, prior to the present war, suggested a Customs-Union. Her States were contiguous, their stages of development were approximately equal, the wastefulness of hostile tariffs was mutually felt, but the element of common sovereignty was lacking. Her position, therefore, resembled in many respects the position of German European States at the date of their zollverein. As enlightenment spread, population increased and interests intertwined, it was expected that the feeble Customs-Union then existing might extend not to two or three but to all States, not to specified articles but to a common tariff. It might in time have been the precursor of federation as in Germany. Its immediate advantages for those States which were wise enough to adopt it were: (1) economy in customs

machinery; (2) tariff uniformity over an extended area; (3) facility of intercourse within the group; (4) slight obstruction to intercourse beyond the group-area.

14. We may anticipate the course of events, and assume that Australia, South Africa, and the West Indies are unified. What will the change be? Canada affords the most recent example. Tariff-walls, which numbered seven in British North America, are done away, free intercourse is established from the Atlantic to the Pacific, and, instead of many frontiers, there is one which is coincident with the boundaries of the entire group. Within the new area, as within the old areas, the questions native to a national trade will arise and be debated. We may witness a revival of the controversy between free-trade and protection; to what extent, if at all, internal production may be stimulated by external taxation? Communities that under either system raise a large proportion of their revenues from imports cannot escape the question. Given an undeveloped country suitable for manufactures, given power to adapt a tariff to local conditions, given a sufficient market, the fostering of industries by way of protection seems to follow naturally. The first systematic experiment of the kind on a large scale within the Colonial Empire was Sir Leonard Tilley's tariff of 1879. To what extent protection should go, how it should be applied, when it should begin, when it should cease, are points to be determined by the exigencies of the locality. Direct means of developing the resources of the whole group will likewise arise for consideration; the facilitating of transit and communication by railway and canal, by telegraph and telephone, by cable and steamboats; utilisation of water-powers and mineral resources; the fostering of agricultural interests by way of experimental farms and industrial processes by tech-

nical schools. Mining and fisheries call alike for scientific treatment. In applied chemistry the groups have much to learn from Germany; in farm-enterprise from Denmark; but, with their greater opportunities will, no doubt, in time better the instruction. The Canada cheese industry affords a concrete example of what I mean. A few years since there was no such trade. It began with co-operation among farmers in the western province, and was encouraged first by agricultural societies, then by the Ontario Government, and lately by the Dominion. The theory and practice of cheese-making is now an important branch of the Agricultural Department's activity, and is sedulously taught from Halifax to Vancouver. Its export last year to this country was valued at 17,000,000 dollars. This growth indicates the chief sphere of internal group-action in relation to Inter-British trade, the utilisation of local advantages. Subsidiary to it, we may place the records of industry, the statistics, not of import and export merely, but of production on the one side and consumption on the other.

During the last decade the sphere of government has perceptibly widened among the peoples of Greater Britain. Under the Southern Cross as in the Western Hemisphere, quick transit in all its forms, cold storage on land and by water, artesian wells and draining, improvement of live-stock and vegetable products, preservation of forests, development of mines and fisheries, utilisation of water-powers, technical instruction in staple industries have become the policies of administrations. Prominent among these is the recently promulgated programme of Mr. Ross, Premier of Ontario, whose new departure, bold in conception and well calculated to effect its end, deserves success. It is a gauge which tells how far Liberal statesmen have moved from the position so common thirty years

ago of *laisser faire* or State-abstinence in matters of industry.

Recent investigations by Mr. George Johnson show the growth of the internal group-trade of Canada. It rose from four million dollars in 1867 to eighty millions in 1889, and to one hundred and fifty millions in 1899.

15. *Relations of the Groups outside Great Britain.*—This is the smallest Inter-British trade. The total interchange of the Colonies with each other amounted in 1893 to £100.461,289, and in 1896 to £84,227,400.[1] Their commerce with foreign countries was £118,276,097 in 1893, and £112,996,266 in 1896.[2] India and Canada give the largest returns for foreign trade. In order to ascertain the intercourse of group with group, of Australasia with Canada, of Canada with the West Indies, Australasia with South Africa, we must deduct from the Colonial Office figures the inter-colonial trade of the several Australasian States with each other. The same remark applies to the West Indies and South Africa. Reduced by these abatements, the inter-group trade outside the British Islands becomes inconsiderable when you consider the vast extent of the Empire, its mineral resources, its varied soils, climates, and productions; the number of inhabitants, their needs, energies, available capital and acquired skill. On the other hand, it opens a wide, if not the widest sphere for trade-expansion within the British dominions. Its possibilities engaged the attention of the Ottawa Conference in 1894 in connection with the project of direct steam and telegraphic communication on the Pacific. The appendix to Lord Jersey's Report (pp. 18–20) contains a list of products in which a profitable exchange may take place between Canada and Australia. The establishment of the Huddart line of

[1] Colonial Office List, 1895, p. 18; 1898, p. 20.

[2] Ibid.

steamers was the first important step taken to develop the commerce; the nomination of a Canadian commercial agent in Australia and the West Indies was the second. This year the Dominion offers differential tariff-rates to the West Indies in the hope of securing her import of breadstuffs. For every dollar's worth of provisions the West Indies took from Canada last year she drew thirty-five dollars' worth from the United States. An improved steam-service following the vote of the Imperial Parliament is a desideratum.

16. Though this inter-group commerce is yet in its early days, it is important to us because it brings into view a second phase of internationalism, a phase which is one remove further than a Customs-Union from a national status, and one remove nearer to internationalism pure and simple. Its means are commercial treaty and reciprocal legislation. A Customs-Union cannot obtain, because the groups are not contiguous. They are far apart. But while distance deprives them of the benefit of a single tariff, they may obtain advantages by way of bargain, sanctioned by treaty or mutual legislation, because their economic development is fairly uniform. A commercial treaty is among the possibilities for Canada and the West Indies, Canada and Australasia, Australasia and South Africa as for Canada and France, Canada and the United States. Lord Ripon's despatch of June 1895, sets down the conditions on which it may be framed.

17. *Relations of Great Britain to the other Groups.*—This is the chief Imperial trade. The Colonies produce for the Mother Country and in turn consume her products. Mr. A. W. Flux gives a general view of colonial imports in triennial periods, and the percentage of these that falls to this country and to foreign nations.[1]

[1] "Commercial Supremacy of Great Britain," *Economic Journal*, vol. iv. p. 596.

IMPORTS OF BRITISH POSSESSIONS (MILLIONS).

	1879-81.	1884-86.	1889-91.
India	44.4	55.1	62.8
Straits Settlements	14.2	18.2	22.7
Ceylon	4.3	3.7	4.6
Mauritius	2.0	2.1	1.9
Australia	25.7	36.1	36.9
New Zealand	7.3	7.3	6.4
Cape of Good Hope	8.5	4.7	9.8
Other South African Colonies	3.3	2.8	5.7
Canada	16.9	21.5	23.0
Other American Colonies	8.2	8.1	8.1
Total	134.8	159.6	181.9
Percentage of Great Britain	60.1	60.0	58.7
,, Germany	0.5	1.0	1.8
,, France	1.2	1.3	1.3
,, United States	12.2	15.5	17.7

The following table, which I take from Sir George Baden-Powell's article on "Imperial Free Trade,"[1] and is drawn up in fourteen-year intervals, represents not unfairly the comparative export of the Colonies to Great Britain and foreign countries:—

EXPORTS (00.000 OMITTED).

	To Countries within the Empire.			To Foreign Countries.		
From	1867	1881	1895	1867	1881	1895
India	44.0	50.5	63.6	9.5	30.2	57.3
Tropical Colonies	13.6	15.5	15.9	4.9	11.0	18.4
Australasia	30.2	46.1	56.6	0.4	2.4	7.4
South Africa	2.6	9.0	16.5	0.1	0.2	0.6
North America	9.6	12.9	14.4	10.2	9.5	10.3
Totals	100.0	134.0	167.0	25.1	53.3	94.0

[1] *Fortnightly Review*, 1897, p. 944.

On these figures, it may be said that the rise from 100 to 167 indicates an increase of only 67 per cent. in Inter-British trade, while the rise from 25 to 94 shows an augmentation in the colonial foreign trade of 266 per cent. Well, what then? Is not a foreign trade profitable to the Colonies, and therefore to the Empire? Is not its increase to be sought as well as increase in the foreign trade of the United Kingdom? The roundabout trade is often the most lucrative form of traffic. Again, the rise in export is most marked in India and the tropical Colonies, and in these cases, as may be seen from the table, is not an instance of displacement. The excess of British over foreign purchases was, in the first year selected, £75,000,000, in the second £81,000,000, in the third £77,000,000, and is therefore fairly constant. To look to percentages only may lead one far astray in commercial affairs; for the addition of £1,000,000 to a trade of £1,000,000 is a rise of 100 per cent., while the addition of £2,000,000, or double the amount, to a trade of £10,000,000 gives an increase merely of 20 per cent. On the whole, whether you consider imports or exports, colonial interchange with the Mother Country is the most important branch of Inter-British trade. It is an international trade pure and simple. There is no contiguity between the trading parts; there is no equality in their conditions; their developments are as diverse as their situations. It lacks, therefore, the elements which are commonly associated with a Customs-Union and a commercial treaty. This will appear more clearly when we examine certain propositions that have been put forward for its promotion.

18. The first is that the Colonies should assimilate their tariffs and trade-methods to those of the United Kingdom. I take Mr. Ashton's essay on "Imperial Customs or Fiscal Union" to be the best exposition of

this theory.[1] The argument he relies on is the wonderful prosperity of England under free-trade. He dwells upon the great increase of English commerce from £268,000,000 in 1854 to £682,000,000 in 1894, or, if you take into account the fall of prices as estimated by Sauerbach's tables, to nearly twice that sum; the comforts that are now within reach of the masses, a subject to which Sir Robert Giffen has devoted careful attention; the savings of the people, which reach ten and a half millions yearly; the accumulated property and profits of the trading classes as ascertained by the income-tax returns, which have more than doubled in forty years; the expansion of the shipping interest and its increased efficiency from the use of steam; the steady lessening of the national debt through a term of years; and the advance in investments abroad, which now reach the enormous sum of three thousand millions sterling. Having thus shown that the free-trade system has been of incalculable benefit to the United Kingdom, and "that to depart from it would make this country a laughing-stock among the nations," he proceeds to frame tariffs for the several Colonies on the basis of the existing tariff of this country. He adds, "If we could get the Colonies to adopt our fiscal policy, a Customs-Union might be more easily established."

19. Now, if the "Colonies adopt our fiscal policy," you might get customs uniformity in an attenuated way, but in what sense could you get a Customs-Union? The object of "our fiscal policy" is to do away with customs generally; while a Customs-Union is meaningless except among peoples who are predisposed to maintain duties at least on imports. The basis, therefore, for that form of international agreement is wanting as between the Mother Country and the colonial groups.

[1] *Statist* Supplement, 9th May 1896.

20. England is not the only free-trade nation in the world; she is not the only free-trade nation that has prospered enormously during the last fifty years; nor is she the only prosperous free-trade nation that has colonies. Why should we forget our close neighbour, Holland?—our former foes, our blood-relations, the Dutch people, whose language is most akin to ours? They adopted free-trade earlier than we did, continued it longer, and, if figures may be depended on, have gained more by it. The volume of our commerce exceeds theirs, but if you take it per head of population and accept Mr. Mulhall's estimate, the ratio stands in their favour as 390 to 900.[1] They extended their fiscal policy to their Colonies, they obtained uniformity as the French did, though on another basis; but with what result to their Colonies? They are commercial establishments; in the sense of empire they do not count. The Dutch are the Carthaginians of modern times; they exploit a region rather than settle a country. The English may be a nation of shopkeepers too, but they are a nation of shopkeepers in whom the Imperial instinct of ancient Rome works strongly. They build up communities, new Englands, wherever they go. If there be one feature of their over-sea policy more distinctive than another, it is not the effort after uniformity, but the adaptation of tariff-systems to autonomous necessities within each group or taxing unit.

21. The tariff of England is the outcome of local conditions and local growth. Beginning with Huskisson's time, when 1400 articles were taxed, we may mark the stages of her progress in the order of time thus:—

(*a*) Reduction of duties on raw materials used in manufacture, ending in their entire abolition;

(*b*) Release of the principal foodstuffs from taxa-

[1] "Dictionary of Statistics," p. 128, Plate III.

tion, though preserving a few insignificant imposts on currants, figs, raisins, tea, and coffee;

(*c*) Equalisation of excise and taxation on alcoholic compounds and narcotics, followed by increased rates;

(*d*) Movement to direct taxation:

(*z*) The income-tax is begun, increased, and made permanent;

(*y*) The succession, probate, estate, and death duties are equalised, graduated, consolidated and expanded.

This progression was dependent upon, and was concomitant with, the growth of England's industry, which we may indicate broadly by the advance in her foreign commerce from £81,000,000 in 1820 to £746,000,000 in 1897. The most remarkable, the most significant part of it is, probably, the latest, Sir William Harcourt's financial measures, which have astonished both friends and foes by their wonderful productiveness, the ease of their collection, and the equity of their incidence. They are the greatest triumph we have yet had in the application of free-trade principles to practical concerns. All men approve them now, but how many were there in the last Parliament who had faith in Sir William's proposals, or foresaw the manner of their operation? Even within the Liberal ranks they were regarded as a leap in the dark. What chance of acceptance would they have had in the House of Commons in the sixties, the era of Mr. Gladstone's great reforms? Would Peel have considered them for the purpose of legislation? And for Huskisson, would they not have been wholly out of the question? Setting aside the fact that a Customs-Union of the Empire would have made their adoption in the United Kingdom impossible, it is clear that they depended, as financial measures generally depend, on time and opportunity, on the stage and character of the nation's industrial development. If

you first equalise the conditions of the Empire-groups in their myriad-fold diversity, you will then obtain some foundation for a uniform system of raising revenue.

22. In elaborating new tariffs for the Colonies on the English model, Mr. Ashton finds their customs' revenues amount to £13,000,000. He estimates that his system will yield £7,000,000, leaving a deficit of £6,000,000 in round numbers, say 46 per cent. Is not that enough to show its impracticability? Again, in order to obtain so close an approximation at 46 per cent. he has to exclude India, the Crown Colonies, and the Protectorates. But, passing by the exceptions, how will he make up the deficiency? He argues upon the wastefulness of Protection and the internal gain which would result from a more enlightened method. This argument proceeds on the assumption that the outside Empire levies customs for the purpose of artificially encouraging home industries. But is not the statement too broad? Out of fifty-two or fifty-three British governments over-sea I find that only four or, at most, five adopt Protection as a tariff-principle: Canada, Victoria, West Australia, the Cape, and, to a slight extent, India. You may say Newfoundland should be added to the list; but if so, should not Canada be taken from it, now that she has come under the sway of the Free-trade party? Under any circumstances, the general fact is that the majority of Colonial governments taboo the protective system, and that whatever evils, actual or possible, may be laid to its account, its abolition could have but little effect in filling the deficit of 46 per cent., which would result from the transfer of the English tariff to the colonial groups.

23. To my mind, by far too much importance is attached to the difference between protection and non-protection within the Empire and outside of it; the

dominant factors of commerce to-day seem to me to stand apart from tariff-regulations. For instance, I find Germany to have prospered in almost as great a ratio as England, notwithstanding her tariff. Mr. Mulhall investigates the "Wealth and Power of the United States,"[1] and tells us that she possesses "by far the greatest productive power in the world"; that that power has "more than trebled since 1860, rising from 39 to 129 milliards of foot-tons daily"; and that her "accumulation of wealth averages $7,000,000" a day. He adds in conclusion: "English statisticians estimate the ordinary accumulation in Great Britain at five pounds, say twenty-five dollars, per head, whereas we have seen that the American average is forty-one dollars per head." The United States is pronouncedly protectionist. What elements there may be in the German and American situation which enable these countries to prosper in spite of their fiscal policy is a question into which Mr. Ashton does not enter. But this is plain, that advance on the one side and retrogression on the other may well depend on influences that are independent of tariff or the incidence of customs.

24. Again, Sir Robert Giffen, in a recent number of the *Economic Journal*,[2] demonstrates very clearly that, under the most favourable conditions, protection can have little influence in stimulating production in communities where the population, as in the majority of the English Colonies, is less than a million or a million and a half. Their home market is too small. An ardent protectionist might say this is the reason why the Colonies are for the most part Free-traders. So far, let us agree with him. But what does it matter to a British exporter whether he pays, if he does pay, a customs-levy as a contribution to colonial

[1] *North American Review*, 1895, p. 641.

[2] March 1898.

revenue only, or as a mulct that is intended to operate in favour of the local manufacturer? In so far as the particular transaction is concerned, the destination or object of the tax is nothing to him so long as its amount remains the same. Now, strange as it may appear, he is treated more gently in Colonies that are called protectionist than in those which profess free-trade. In judging this question, I do not take isolated Colonies on either side, but form an average of the two classes. I exclude Newfoundland because her protectionism is only of a few months' standing. I set aside India also because she is protectionist to a slight degree merely, and in an average would tell too favourably on the side of trade restriction. The proper test seems to me to be, not nominal tariff-rates, as between the two classes, but the percentage of actual customs to total revenue, a view which should operate in favour of the open door. Well, then, how stands the situation according to the "Colonial Office List" for 1895 and the "Abstract" for the Colonies of the same year? In the four protectionist Colonies, 38 per cent. of the revenue is derived from customs; in thirty-eight other governments whose returns are given—all free-trade in principle—the average percentage is 48. The case of Gambia is peculiar. Her public revenue is said to be (1893) £4952, and her customs revenue £26,946.

25. Mr. Chamberlain says that if we wait for commercial union till the Colonies adopt the English fiscal policy we shall wait till the "Greek Kalends."[1] There need be little doubt on that point. Meantime, a suggestion is put forth that there might be free-trade within the limits of the Empire, just as there is free-trade between the States of the American Union. From the standpoint of the Mother Country there is no economical objection to the proposition. It is distinguished

[1] Foreign and Colonial Speeches, p. 182.

from Mr. Ashton's because the Colonies would be at liberty to impose what duties they chose on foreign goods. On the one side, you would have a vast extension of the free-trade area, nearly 12,000,000 square miles of territory, containing more than 380 millions of people, the same expansion that we should have under Mr. Ashton's proposal. But what should we have on the other side? A United States? I have already given my reasons for thinking that a union, commercial or political, on the scale of the United States, would be much too narrow to meet the exigencies of the British Empire. Would you get even a United States? There would be as many tariffs against foreign peoples as there are Colonies, while the chief member of the Confederacy would have, practically, no tariff at all relating to outsiders. The citizens of the projected Union, therefore, would have no such equality as subsists between the citizens of Maine and those of Oregon. The condition would be one of unstable equilibrium. Again, if the Colonies exempt British and Inter-Colonial trade from contribution to their revenues—I presume, for the moment, that other peoples would not exploit Inter-British channels—one of two results would follow. The first presumes that indirect taxation, as it is now practised, is to continue: in that event, as the foreign imports of the Colonies would bear the burden of the local administration, you must tax them very highly, and raise beyond the realm a Chinese wall of extraordinary magnitude against the rest of mankind. To whose advantage could this be? Setting aside Canada's relations with the United States, you would strike a severe blow against the foreign traffic of India and the Tropical Colonies, a traffic that does not displace, but, on the contrary, fosters interchange with this country itself. The circle of exchanges, the widening of which is the object of free-trade, would be contracted under

the operation of this method. The other alternative is direct taxation within the colonial groups. But the suggestion we are reviewing is made for the purpose of getting over the necessity of direct taxation in the Colonies. As we are upon the point, I quote the following remarks from Sir Rawson Rawson, who has studied the "Tariffs and Trade of the British Empire" more thoroughly, probably, than any other man in this country. He says, on page 12: "In newly-settled and sparsely-populated countries, such as most of the British possessions, the most convenient, if not the only, source of revenue is indirect taxation; and the most certain, regular, and abundant source of that revenue, the duties most easily levied and the least felt, and consequently the most acceptable to the population, are, beyond doubt, customs duties. It is, therefore, doubtful whether in any part of the Empire recourse will for a long time be had to any substitute for customs duties, or to any material change in the constitution of the tariffs."

26. From the international trade standpoint, we may say that both theories aim at treating the Empire in its vastness as a single group of that Empire, ignoring at once difference in situation, difference in development. The next proposition I refer to emanates from the Ottawa Conference of 1894. Its latest advocate is Mr. Colmer. He sees the impossibility of a fiscal union, a uniform tariff and of a zollverein on that basis, for the whole of her Majesty's dominions. But he seeks a "Commercial Federation," and, in drawing out his scheme, presents us with what at first sight seems to be a contradiction. The following are two consecutive sentences in Mr. Colmer's essay, and the turning point of his argument: "The fundamental basis of Commercial federation must be preferential treatment of the products of the Empire within the Empire, in some form or other, and no other plan can

be regarded as practicable. But there is no necessity to do violence to the principles of Free-trade, or to pander to what is called Protection, in the sense in which it is regarded in Great Britain."[1] The following are detached sentences on pages 14 and 15: "In considering the question, the theories of Free-trade and Protection must equally be placed on one side"; "there must be a certain amount of give and take in any arrangement, if success is to be the result." There must be "give and take," "preferential treatment," bargain and sale, in any commercial treaty which the colonial groups may form, either between themselves or with foreign nations. But does "give and take," "preferential treatment," accord with "the principles of Free-trade" as Free-trade "is regarded in England"? Does it not "pander to what is called Protection"? The object of the Free-trade system of England, as well as its historical result, is to do away with preferences of every kind; we might almost say, to do away with customs duties.

In his Appendix I. (p. 42) Mr. Colmer gives us a detailed list of the "Colonies affected by proposed import duties in the United Kingdom," and of the articles he proposes to tax. The articles consist of thirty general classes, and may be summarised under the headings, foodstuffs, and raw materials of manufacture. What theory of Free-trade justifies the taxation of foodstuffs? What theory of Protection sanctions impositions on raw materials of manufacture? From the standpoint of the United Kingdom, therefore, the placing of duties on foreign products that compete in the home market with colonial products can be justified under no theory. On the other hand, it is plain that such discrimination, if obtained, would be an immediate gain to colonial producers of cereals,

[1] *Statist* Supplement, May 2, 1896, p. 15; see also *Economic Journal*, vol. vi. p. 553.

wools, wines, sugars, fruits, &c., and, it may be, to the Colonies generally. On this ground Sir Charles Tupper has based his plea for a preferential tariff within the Empire, and has urged it eloquently upon the electors of Canada and her Majesty's Ministers. If the advantage of this country from the course proposed were as evident as the immediate advantage of the Colonies, the project would be well within the bounds of practical politics. It fails, as the opposing scheme of Mr. Ashton fails, because it does not take due cognisance of both sides of the problem to be solved. If you tax foreign imports you strike a severe blow not merely at the domestic production of the United Kingdom, but also at certain phases of her commerce which are rapidly increasing in volume and importance to-day, *e.g.* :—

(1) The trade of import and re-export, and the carrying trade generally;

(2) The returns from loans to foreign governments, chiefly foodstuffs and raw materials of manufacture;

(3) The returns from investments abroad in lands, mines, factories, railways, &c., in both hemispheres.

You would likewise attack her standing as the financial agent of the world's over-sea trade, a position once held by Holland. There is scarcely a consignment of staple goods—of tea or coffee, of silk, wool or cottons—moved from port to port except by bill on London. She reaps on each transaction, it may be, from a quarter to a half of 1 per cent., a small sum if you look only to the individual transfer, but an enormous revenue if you consider the aggregate of business in which the world's shipping is engaged.

27. Sir Wilfred Laurier introduced a new phase of the problem in 1897. In place of asking for differential treatment for Canadian products in the English

market, he offered to English goods entering Canada after 1st August a rebate of duties amounting to 25 per cent. The rebate was advanced to $33\frac{1}{3}$ per cent. on the first day of July 1900. Its original purpose was to extend the same advantage to all communities trading with Canada on equal or lower terms of tariff. That object was found to be impossible of attainment, because of the operation of the "most favoured nation" clause in treaties, about thirty in number, which affect the Dominion. By Order in Council, the United Kingdom, New South Wales, India, Ceylon, and, at the request of the Imperial Government, the West Indies, came under the new arrangement. It does not aim at a commercial union of the Colonies. It does not profess to indemnify the Mother Country for expenditure in Imperial defence. From an historical standpoint, it inverts the old conception that Colonies should have preference in the Metropolis, a policy that bolstered up the mercantile theory for some time, but was of doubtful value either to the Mother Country or her offspring. Its chief economic feature is that it aims at promoting trade by way of tariff, and, for this purpose, introduces a higher and lower scale somewhat after the French system. To that extent it departs from the principle that customs levies should be adapted to local necessities only.

The question, how have the preferential clauses worked, has naturally excited keen debate in Ottawa. All parties admit that the trade of the Dominion has expanded enormously during the last four or five years. To ascertain the effect of the preference on that expansion, one must eliminate all foreign traffic, whether import or export, and, secondly, the increased purchases of Canadian goods in this country. On these the rebate has no direct bearing at all. It affects primarily certain manufactured goods, whose values I tabulate from a *Globe* leader of the 2nd of July 1900,

for the years which the chief Liberal organ regards as test years:—

Manufactures of	1897.	1899.	Increase.
Wool	$5,576,859	$7,686,366	$2,109,507
Cotton	2,693,114	3,906,676	1,213,562
Flax, Hemp, Jute	1,158,809	1,610,210	451,401
Silk	1,396,015	2,062,428	666,413
Iron, Steel	1,649,081	1,865,642	216,361
Machinery	193,750	453,728	259,918

A more favourable representation could scarcely be made, for the year ending June 1897 was the year of the general election, the year in which, the Reform Party being returned, tariff changes were expected, and importations from this country were remarkably low. Thus, the total of English goods entered for consumption in 1895 was, in round numbers, 31 million dollars' worth, and in 1896, the last year of the Conservative régime, was valued at 32 millions. They fell to 29 millions in 1897, recovered to 32 millions in 1898, and rose to 37 millions in 1899. The actual increase therefore under Mr. Fielding's administration, so far as the returns go, we might not unfairly put at 5 million dollars. But how much of this is due to the general expansion of trade? How much to special causes affecting Canada, as the opening of Klondike, and the consequent inrush of English capital which would naturally take the form of imports? How much is to be attributed to the preferential clauses as a tariff-scheme? Mr. Fielding does not answer these questions directly, but, on page 27 of his budget-speech, gives a table from which we may infer that he attributes one-third of the increase to the tariff. If so, its operation is reduced to modest proportions, and

we need scarcely inquire here whether the third displaces foreign importations or home products. Probably the conclusion of the *Ironmonger*, in regard to its own trade, may apply to English industries generally, namely, that the control of the Dominion market depends mainly on causes that are independent of the rebate, such as the quality, finish, pattern of goods, and their suitableness to local requirements.[1]

The arrangement is artificial, and does not realise the intention of its authors. Thus, to obtain the benefit of the tariff, 25 per cent. of the invoice value of goods must consist of labour applied to them in the United Kingdom. Very good; but what of the remaining 75 per cent.? The *Iron Age* tells us that the Germans, who now refuse to accord to Canada the "most favoured nation" clause, are astute enough to take advantage of it. It is even claimed that their manufactures of iron and steel leave Germany in a finished state, pass through England and enter Canada at the preferential rate. The fraud is evident, but how can you prevent it, except at great cost and minute investigation into each consignment? Again, a notable feature of the recent statistics is the growth of United States' imports into Canada. A large proportion of them enter under the free clauses of Mr. Fielding's tariff; but to a considerable part of them the British preference applies as to wool, cotton and flax fabrics, iron and steel. Iron and steel imports during the last five years rose from £1,290,000 to £2,895,000, an increase of £1,605 000 sterling. So likewise, in the case of cottons, there was an increase from £285,000 to £1,097,000 during the same interval. The American Consul at Niagara might well report to his government under these circumstances: "It will require more than a preferential tariff to shut out American manufactures from Canada" (1899).

[1] See *The Ironmonger* Supplement, "Hardware Trade in Canada."

28. The several proposals we have been considering operate on tariffs. But have tariffs, in modern times, that wide influence over trade that they had, or were supposed to have, in days gone by? Has the "McKinley Act," with the apparatus of the Blaine treaties, done that quantity of mischief to the English market that was anticipated a few years ago? It should have ruined Canadian commerce, but has proved a blessing in disguise. Export duties, except in the case of monopolies, are gone; export bounties are kept in remembrance by beet-root sugar; embargoes are confined to Russia; prohibitive import duties have given place throughout Christendom to tariffs which Sir Robert Giffen rightfully calls "Cobden tariffs." In these days Protection, be it high or low, aims at admitting freely an increasing number of commodities, notably raw materials. What are raw materials? In a young country where manufacture is almost absent, the line of division between what is and what is not raw material is tolerably plain; but, as industry develops, that distinction grows dim and retreats farther and farther away. The term is relative, and the manufactured product of one industry to-day becomes the raw material of another industry to-morrow. No matter for what purpose you levy import duties, to foster home industries or for revenue only, to discriminate in this direction or in that, two practical difficulties confront you: (1) the incidence of the tax shifts from point to point and restricts the output of secondary products; (2) this result is the more evident and the more disastrous the greater is the expansion of a country's industries. The range of operation, therefore, which modern conditions allow to a tariff in the regulation of trade is restricted and grows narrower with time. If you take it at its best, it can provide but a weak support for Inter-British trade. As we shall see farther on, it takes no account

of "the dominant economic factor of the age," to use Professor Marshall's language.

29. The proposals ignore the degrees of internationalism which we have found to subsist within Empire. You have first an internationalism within a geographical group, as in Australasia and the West Indies, which tends to culminate in a national condition of which Canada is the type. You have, again, an internationalism as in South Africa, which may temporarily admit a common tariff or Customs-Union for the group. There is, in the third place, the internationalism which may obtain as between the several colonial groups, an internationalism which does not permit a single tariff because the element of contiguity is wanting, but may allow a commercial treaty with "give and take," because their stages of development are approximately equal and all of them raise revenue on imports. We have, fourthly, an internationalism as between the Mother Country and the colonial groups where contiguity of parts, approximate stages of development, are wholly wanting, while the tie of common sovereignty remains. In point of tariff, there is nothing on which to work in bringing about a Customs-Union or negotiating a commercial treaty. It is said sometimes, "we have thrown away our arms"; but, if you think of it, the first is possible only by introducing the French system of uniformity to the ruin of the Colonies; the second by the destruction of the industries of the Mother Country. What Government could propose to tax foodstuffs and raw materials of manufacture, or to increase indirect taxation? The movement of English civilisation, the needs of industry, point in the opposite direction. Even so innoxious an arrangement as the Cobden Treaty, though it operated by way of remission and not increase and was confined to alcohols, has no substantial chance of renewal or advocacy from any party in the

State. To reach a measure of unanimity, the Associated Chambers of Commerce of the Empire found it necessary this year to reduce their resolutions concerning preferential trade to a pious negative. This brings me to the concluding portion of my paper.

III.—Application of the International Method to the British Empire Groups as a Whole.

30. Mr. Cairnes provides us with the clue to this branch of the inquiry. He views the main question from a negative standpoint, and endeavours to enumerate the hindrances which prevent the expansion of international traffic. We must regard the subject positively in order to convert hindrances into furtherances and indicate how Inter-British trade may be promoted. We may leave out of account certain aspects of the question on which Mr. Cairnes naturally dwells, as differences in language, because their application to our purposes is not immediate. On the other hand, we may add one or two which he deems of minor importance. The details of application admitted by the international principle are necessarily infinite. I confine myself to three or four principal headings.

31. A. International trade is hindered by restrictions on the easy flow of capital; Inter-British trade will be promoted by facilitating the flow from group to group. It is said that £700,000,000 of English moneys is loaned to governments and corporations within the Colonies, while an undefined sum is placed in the hands of private persons. Vast as these amounts may be, they do not exhaust the loan-fund of this country, meet the exigencies of the English "over-sea," or touch the limit of profitable investment. It is for each group to open additional avenues for the employment of new capital and to attract investments. A steady decline in

the rate of interest on colonial loans of late years, shows that money is flowing in increasing volumes to the utmost bounds of the Empire, that the security enjoyed is satisfactory, and that the returns obtained are ample.

A Bill passed this year empowers trustees to invest in colonial securities. So far forth as concerns Government action, the chief point that seems to call for comment is the regulations which refer to the granting or guaranteeing of loans to young communities for public works, steam services, and other improvements.

32. B. Conflict of laws affecting trade, industry, personal liberty and safety are a hindrance to free exchange. For its development, therefore, the legal methods of the Empire should, as far as possible, be brought into accord. This opens a wide sphere of activity and usefulness to Chambers of Commerce, Colonial Conferences, the Agents-General. The laws of the Empire, in obedience to the course of trade, already tend to uniformity; and it should be no difficult task for a body of experts to agree upon, consolidate, and even codify a considerable number of the more important legal provisions. Such a collection might include, among others, the following subjects:—

(1) Weights, measures, legal tender, and currency;
(2) Commercial, including company and shipping law;
(3) Bankruptcy, insolvency, distribution of assets;
(4) Patents and copyrights;
(5) Inheritance and succession, naturalisation;
(6) Criminal law and procedure;
(7) Military law and form of administration;
(8) In order to preserve and extend the range of uniformity, there should be an Imperial Court of Appeal, which should have full jurisdiction over all local tribunals wherever situate. The establishment of such a Court is now engaging the attention of her Majesty's Ministers.

I need not dwell on these points; their advantage is apparent. I make one remark only. A reasonable and uniform patent law, founded on the United States pattern, or, better still, on that of Germany, would do more to utilise the resources of the Empire, and thereby advance its trade, than all tariff-contrivances that could be devised. The *Scientific American* in a late number says that nine-tenths of the United States' production is under patented processes.

33. C. Ignorance of the requirements and capabilities of the foreign market is a hindrance to profitable commerce; to further Inter-British trade, then, the needs of the local markets in all groups must be mutually known, the changes in these needs from year to year, the new avenues for investment and exchange that are constantly opening. Exhibitions have been of service to this end; the Imperial Institute has an important function to discharge in connection with it; the reports of the Agents-General to their Governments have produced good results, and the recent circular of the Colonial Secretary is a model for the future. What we require is an organised consular system within as well as outside the Empire, and easy access to its reports. What is there that the Empire in its vastness and variety cannot produce? What is there that it cannot utilise?

34. D. The chief hindrance to international trade is distance. The abridging of distance will, then, be the principal means of promoting Inter-British trade. Professor Marshall [1] tells us that "the dominant economic factor of the age" is not the industrial or productive agencies, on which tariffs are supposed to operate, but the transport agencies, where they have no place. The recent action of the Rhine-Westphalian and Upper Silesian coal-owners, mentioned in the Annual Report on our trade with Germany, lately issued by the

[1] "Principles of Economics," i. pp. 354–7, 763–9.

Foreign Office, is interesting in this regard. They are alarmed at the import of coal from England. In 1896 it amounted to 4,307,463 tons, and rose in 1897 to 4,808,900 tons, an increase of 11.6 per cent., while the entire German import from England increased by 8.3 per cent. only. Though the policy of Germany is protective, they do not ask for additional taxes, as they might have done in other days in order to compete successfully with their English rivals, but for cheaper rates of transit.

The drop in American railway rates per ton per mile between 1870 and 1890 exceeded 60 per cent.;[1] the haulage of one ton per ten miles on Australian railways fell from 75 pence in 1864 to 18 pence in 1887;[2] the export price of a bushel of wheat at New York was approximately five and three-quarter times the cost of its transport from Chicago eastwards in 1867, and seventeen and a quarter times that cost in 1897;[3] while the reduction on ocean freights, both on the Atlantic and Pacific of late years, is matter of common notoriety. It is said that the deepening of Lake St. Peters so as to allow vessels of large tonnage to ascend to Montreal cheapened English goods at that port and to the West by nearly 20 per cent. *ad valorem*.[4] But the effect of this factor, translated into terms of tariff or preference, should not be calculated on one side only, but on two sides, not on particular articles entering a country, but on those for which they are there exchanged; not on the cargo, but on the return cargo, and on those commodities for which both cargo and return cargo are bartered in either country. It thus reduces the level of exchange all round at home and abroad; its operation, instead of being single, is

[1] *Contemporary Review*, vol. lx. p. 597.

[2] Mulhall, "Dictionary of Statistics"; see "Freight."

[3] U. S. Rept., 1898; Dept. of Agric. Div. of Stat., see tables in Price of Wheat.

[4] See Pam., Sir A. T. Galt, Canada, 1849–1859, pp. 26, 46.

really quadruple. Quicker and cheaper distribution is the urgent demand of our age, and its influence on freights, prices, and commercial enterprise is increasing yearly. In comparison of this dominant factor a preference of 5 or 10 per cent., as the Ottawa Conference suggested, or a rebate on one side of 25 or $33\frac{1}{3}$ per cent., is of little moment. The deepening of the Soulangés Canal will exert a much more powerful influence on Canadian traffic than the preference clause.

35. The factor takes three forms when applied to our subject. First, we have the transmission of news by cable from group to group—a work which is going on, but is going on piecemeal. The inquiries which have been made since 1894 into the cost and feasibility of Sir Sandford Fleming's scheme of an All-Britannic circuit have been decidedly favourable. The opposition to it to-day is confined to a monopoly. What an advantage would this country have reaped during the South African crisis had the undertaking been prosecuted with any reasonable measure of diligence! The outlay would have been recouped many times over, cheap rates established, and a reliable service instituted.

The factor's second phase is a cheap and rapid postal service for the Empire. Mr. Henniker Heaton's work in connection with this branch of the subject is well known, has been heavy, continuous, and worthy of all praise. He has exhausted the argument. A penny postage now embraces the greater portion of the Empire, and will soon extend to its farthest limits.

The third mode of abridging distance for purposes of commerce is cheap and rapid transport of persons and goods from group to group. The Ottawa Conference devoted much time to its consideration in regard to the Atlantic and Pacific. Lord Jersey's Report treats it favourably and at length. It is obviously

a supplement to existing means. A new service between Southampton and Jamaica will be inaugurated on the 1st of January 1901, under subsidy from the Imperial Government of £40,000 a year. A fast line of steamers, of the type of the *Lucania* or *Deutschland*, is a necessity between Canada and England in order to compete with American services. Lord Jersey[1] tells us that, by using "vessels of 20 knots average continuous speed, mails may be carried to Halifax in 36 and to Quebec in 24 hours less than to New York." With an average speed of 25 knots, now attainable, the gain would be still greater. From either of these points mails can be delivered at New York in much less time than now, and their distribution throughout the West would be immensely facilitated. It is said that a further saving might be effected by making some point in eastern Newfoundland the steamer-terminus, and cutting across that island by rail. You might thus at one stroke shorten the sea-passage to three days, and avoid the danger and unpleasantness of the Atlantic voyage. From the North American group there might be two other quick services—one from Halifax to the West Indies, another from Vancouver to New Zealand and Australia. The binding together of Australasia to the Straits Settlements, the Straits Settlements to India, India to South Africa by the Mauritius, and each by the shortest route to this country, would complete a circuit of fast exchange such as the world has never seen—a fast exchange which could not but promote, strengthen, and consolidate the might of the Empire as well as augment its commerce.

36. The geographical position of Canada between the Atlantic and the Pacific, her solidarity, population, and influence in the outside Empire mark her as the natural leader in the movement of quick transit. Time and again her Parliament has voted the necessary

[1] Report, Ottawa Conference, 1894, p. 10.

funds without hesitation. Thus, for an improved weekly service on the Atlantic, and a fortnightly service on the Pacific, she undertook to pay £175,000 a year, the United Kingdom contributing £75,000, and the Australasian Colonies among them £50,000. The offer was generous in the circumstances. Much has already been done in this respect. What is needed for its full realisation is a courageous policy backed by energy. Sir Charles Tupper's recent manifesto to the electors of Canada foreshadows such a policy. While he adheres to his desire for a mutual preference between the Mother Country and the Colonies, he expands the platform of the Conservative party and brings it into line with the latest requirements of Inter-British trade in all that concerns fast transportation. The immediate benefit to the agricultural community he estimates at 50,000,000 dollars. Whatever the proper sum be, it will necessarily increase in an accelerated ratio year by year.

But it will be said that the establishment of an All-Britannic cable, fast steam communication between group and group, with due facilities for cold storage, &c., will impose a very considerable cost upon the Empire at large. What then? The Empire at large is very large, and might easily bear the expense for several reasons. In the first place, the work is needful to consolidate and insure the Empire in a naval and military point of view. It will be remunerative because it is along the main trade-routes, and its continued expansion will mean continued development of traffic, increased profit, increased ability to pay. If we suppose efficient communications between group and group to be inaugurated; if to do this we add steam, cable, and postal services within each group; if we throw the maintenance of these routes upon a common fund, and spread its liquidation over a series of years so as to

take the form of annual payments; or if we suppose these payments to be made by way of subsidies to companies, the companies conforming to the Admiralty regulations in regard to steamboats as the Cunard Line now does, and, in regard to cables and postal services, to such conditions as Government may deem needful—in these circumstances, it is very doubtful that the sum to be assessed on the whole Empire would reach a million a year. No Customs-Union that may be devised could bear so lightly on industry. France pays a larger figure for less extensive facilities.

37. We need not enter into the question how such a sum may be equitably assessed, for, under the conditions of the Empire, any scheme of the kind must be begun tentatively, be provided for by special vote of the groups interested, and carried out as commerce expands, as "the circle of exchange" widens, as the profit of the groups from the interchange increases. Canada's vote to which I refer is indicative of the temper of the outside Empire. In regard to the United Kingdom, Lord Jersey assures us that her quota need involve no addition to her present outlay: she might divert to this purpose the subsidies she now pays to foreign lines, that is, about £200,000 a year; or "without granting an actual subsidy at all, effect the same result (so far as steamships are concerned) by the united action of the Post Office and Admiralty Departments." The United Kingdom has shown her readiness to bear her share of the outlay. The new burden, the cost of the new movement, at least in its initial stages, may fall on the Colonies, but, if so, it will fall on them to their own advantage and in such a way as at once to meet their requirements and fulfil their wishes.

To facilitate the flow of capital from group to group; to collect and disseminate to all information of the needs, productions, and possibilities of each;

to accelerate their inter-communication in their great diversity — in a word, to proceed by way of the international principle in the development of Inter-British trade—what is it but to base your system on "the dominant economic factor of the age"? This principle may not give us a specific for trade advance, but it does indicate a policy. On the one side, it involves no disturbance of foreign relations, no discrimination against other peoples, no crippling of external traffic; on the contrary, it would promote profitable exchange abroad. On the other hand, it will work and attain its end independently and with the means at hand. It accepts frankly the present condition of the Empire. It leaves each part in full enjoyment of its powers and privileges, free to raise its revenue and adjust its taxes in its own way. It proceeds not so much by way of legislation as by administration. It introduces no questionable problem into the Empire, and calls for no central imposition. It relies on local effort, local agencies, those powerful factors of industrial growth which England alone of nations has been wishful to utilise in her colonial system. It is along the trend of Imperial policy to-day and in days past. It is nothing more than an extension of that policy which has been so successful, an adaptation of it to present conditions. The applications I have given are put forth by way of example only. The principle itself applies to necessities that may arise as well as those which now call for consideration.

SPORT AND ATHLETICS, AND THE BRITISH EMPIRE

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It would be possible to write large volumes on this subject without exhausting one-half of its aspects. Here I shall be obliged to select only a few points, namely, those which I consider to be of the greatest interest to the largest number of readers. The scheme of the essay will be as follows.

First of all, I shall try to show that we do recognise the importance of Sport and Athletics for ourselves as individuals, as a Nation, and, above all, as a ruling and imperial Nation.

Secondly, I shall admit the bad side of Sport and Athletics, partly because it is only fair to do so, and partly in order that this bad side may be gradually removed.

Then, after exposing a few of the fallacies which are still very common with regard to the effects of Sport and Athletics upon individuals and upon the Nation and upon the Empire, I shall proceed to give their good effects, on the winning of our Empire and upon the maintenance of it both in the past and in the present and in the future.

I shall then show that we cannot claim to hold

our Empire or to justify our Empire without being ourselves a fine Nation of men: that is to say, if we expect to rule others and to have a right to rule others, we must ourselves be good men and set a good example. I shall therefore consider the general effects of Sport and Athletics in making us a fine Nation of good men, pointing out clearly that all the effects I mention are not necessarily intentional; for there are plenty of things that can do us good without our being conscious that they do so.

I shall make the effects clearer by a contrast. I shall show how our Sport and Athletics, and Games in particular, differ essentially from the German Gymnastics: for the two are apt to be confused by many people in Great Britain as well as outside it. The Germans are apt to suppose, for instance, that our Sport and Athletics and Games do nothing more for us than their Gymnastics do for them.

There will follow a very brief general history, including one or two reasons why England has been and is so devoted to these branches of exercise.

After this will come a special account of certain branches of these exercises, such as Sport in the sense of Shooting, &c., Rowing, Football, Cricket, Lawn Tennis, &c., and Athletics.

In conclusion, I shall sum up those points which I consider likely to be new to many readers, and I shall try to point out the direction in which we should shape our future policy with regard to Sport and Athletics and Games and, in general, with regard to amusements and recreations.

Games and Athletics and Sport are recognised as of very great importance to our well-being as individuals, as a Nation, and therefore also as an imperial Nation: for we cannot be a good imperial Nation without being ourselves good individuals and a good Nation. Let me give a few proofs of this recognition.

Looking at language, we notice the meaning attaching to "a real sportsman," "fair play," "play the game," and many other phrases: they tell us a little history in themselves. Mere "Walking" and mere "Gymnastics" have no such forcible meaning attached to them.

Another proof of the importance of these kinds of exercise would be the large sale of Athletic and Sporting Papers, and the thousands who are attracted to watch Cricket, Football, and other Matches. This applies not only to ourselves, but also to America and to our Colonies: in fact, the Australian crowds that come to watch Cricket matches are as great as ours and even greater. The interest in such competitions is scarcely less marked on the Continent.

Another very noticeable sign would be our action when we take some new place. We do not merely strengthen it and set up fortifications, government-buildings, and churches. What else do we do? We begin a Cricket ground, and perhaps a ground for Football, Lawn Tennis, Polo, and so on; these come hardly second to the fortifications and government-buildings. The Englishman out there must be kept healthy in body and mind, and he finds that Games and Athletics are the best means towards this end.

Look again at our great Public Schools, which have been compared to the very heart of our Nation. It would be terrible to think of what would happen to us if our Public School system were swept away, or if—and this comes to very much the same thing—from our Public School system were swept away our Athletics and our Games.

Again, how do we choose our Public School Masters? Simply for their social qualities? Simply for the masses of information which they have absorbed? Simply for their power of teaching? No. The first and the second points are taken into con-

sideration, but the third hardly as yet. We choose them partly for their Athletic qualifications. Those who are admittedly the very pick of our Nation, those who shall govern in our Colonies and in our Civil Service department in India and elsewhere, those we, with perfect confidence, give up to be trained by men of whom some have scarcely any qualifications apart from the fact that they are gentlemen and athletes and not absolutely ignorant. I would not see the system altered for worlds, except that there would be no *harm* if Public School Masters first learnt how to teach!

More generally, we respect Athletes and "Sportsmen" all the world over, wherever we meet them, in any country. In Great Britain, in France, in Germany, in America, as well as in our own possessions and Colonies, we honour them immediately and make friends with them. We may possibly feel some antipathy to a German because he *is* a German, but when he has been beaten in a Game of Lawn Tennis and comes up to his opponent cheerfully and congratulates him, then we say "Here is a Sportsman who plays the game." Although we know nothing else about this opponent, yet we respect him simply on the strength of his sportsman-like feeling.

I spoke just now of our (compulsory) Games at Public Schools. Are they good? Probably thousands of mothers would say "No; poor Tommy may get hurt." But we disregard such mothers, for we know better; if little Tommy is to become a real *man*, he must be made to play Games. By the mere fact that nearly all Englishmen who have submitted to compulsory Games have advocated the system, we show how important we feel these Games to be.

Indeed, it might almost be asserted that, if we abolished Games and Athletics, as certain unhealthy people would have us do, and if we put in their place

more brain-work, more absorbing of information, or if we only did "Gymnastics at the word of command," we should soon cease to rule the sea and much of the land as well, and, what is more, we should richly deserve to lose our Empire. For it would be better for the world not to be ruled by us if we gave up our Sport and Athletics and Games; it would be better for the world to be ruled by those who had not given them up or by those who would consent to develop them.

But these forms of exercise have their dark side; it is of no use to deny the evils, for they stare us in the face. If I were to pass them by, not only should I call down upon myself a storm of criticism for my unfairness and gross exaggeration, but I should be failing to point out the lines of reform on which we certainly ought to work. I need not enter into these evils in detail; a few points may be selected.

First of all there is the *betting*. The betting is not confined to horse racing, but extends to a good many other branches of Sport and Athletics; and in its train there follows, though less in England than elsewhere, a certain amount of bribery and cheating. Undoubtedly, also, he who knows our poorer districts thoroughly must also know the fascination which betting and gambling have for the masses in our great cities. Australia and other Colonies have suffered, and are suffering still, from this scourge.

Secondly, there is the dark side of *professionalism*, which involves a good deal of local feeling and jealousy, as we see in many Football Matches. It breeds a rather disgusting spirit of pugnacity, and above all it is apt to leave the brain undeveloped. One's idea of a professional is that of a man who develops his limbs, especially his muscles, at the expense of his brain.

Without denying these and other facts, we must

yet remember that objections of the latter type apply also to the ordinary system of feeding which prevails among those who can afford it; we must not condemn eating and drinking because so many people over-eat and over-drink, and thus misuse what should be a blessing.

No, the question is rather this: "Granted that Sport and Athletics and Games have their disadvantages, are these greater than, and do they outweigh, the advantages?"

It would not be fair to proceed to the advantages until we have also mentioned *the cruelty and brutalism* which is associated with a good deal of what is called Sport. But here once more we have to ask whether the killing of animals is a greater disadvantage than ill-health; or we have to ask what the men who shoot and hunt and fish would be doing if they were not shooting and hunting and fishing? If the answer is that they would very likely be smoking and idling and drinking whiskies and sodas at their Club, or perhaps doing something worse, then we shall decide that perhaps it is better *for the present* that they should be shooting and hunting and fishing. We can scarcely look upon it as the ideal of Sport, but to me at least it seems the better, far the better, of the two alternatives.

Shooting may bring another evil, in that the land thus used (or, rather, for a great part of the year unused) might be distributed among some farmers and gardeners. But to-day, at any rate, there are not enough small farmers and gardeners who could make these allotments pay; we have to educate the classes first before we distribute the land.

Let me finish this section with the mention of perhaps the worst type of Sporting man. Now there are some who call themselves Christians, and at the same time are among the most uncharitable and

narrow-minded and cruel people in the world; they stand in the way of every kind of real reform. We recognise their existence, but we call them *caricatures* of Christianity. We say, "You must not judge Christianity by them, any more than you must judge a man's appearance by the likenesses of him in the Comic Papers." And so it is with those terribly "horsey" men who idle about, often with their mouths wide open, and their heads quite empty; who wear riding-breeches and perhaps spurs, and who are frequently to be heard betting or swearing, or to be seen drinking whiskies and sodas and smoking. They seldom take exercise: the worst types hardly ever ride. These are not Sportsmen, they are merely caricatures. We recognise their existence, but we do not class them as real Sportsmen or Athletes, or even as gentlemen.

Having mentioned a few of the evils, let me now expose one or two *fallacies* about Games and Athletics and Sport. And let me first guard against any exaggerated views on the subject.

Thus it is a fallacy to suppose that these kinds of exercise are either altogether good or altogether bad. In some respects they are excellent and indispensable: in other respects they are bad or even execrable. In fact they may, according to the way in which they are used, develop some of the very highest and noblest feelings of which man is capable, or some of the very lowest and basest.

There are many fallacies about the true *object and aim* of these branches of exercise. Some hold that mere success is *the* object and aim. As we think of professionals, and of those amateurs who are almost professionals, a number of such people are brought before our mind: their great object seems to be to win at their particular branch of Sport. This means that they aim at acquiring skill, strength, endurance, and so

on, in this particular branch: they train for this and for this alone.

Scarcely less fallacious is the view that these exercises are mere recreations, to give us relief after hard brain-work; that their sole object is to enable people to rest their brains, so as to work better with their brains afterwards. There are thousands who hold that Games do nothing whatever to develop the brain, *e.g.* the power of reasoning and the moral character; they say that Games develop only the muscles. I have never yet been able to convince a German that our Games do more for us than their Gymnastics would.

Or some may say that, directly or indirectly, Games conduce towards physical health, and that they are for this reason justifiable. The open air, they say, is a good thing, and so is exercise, for these improve the circulation, and so on.

These views as to the objects and aims of Games, Athletics, and Sport are to some extent true; though each gives only one aspect of the truth. It is indeed important to improve and succeed in one's particular branch of Sport; it is indeed important to use it as a means of recreation and as a help towards brain-work; and it is still more important to regard it as a means of physical health: all this is true, but there is much more that is equally true, as we shall see directly.

So far from Games necessarily militating against brain-work, as some would have us suppose, they ought rather to be a help towards it, and they ought to be nearly the best kind of brain-work that there is. That they are not so, is partly due to the fact that we do not yet realise their true spirit, that we have never had before us the ideal, that we have omitted to note the many intellectual and moral excellences which they might develop, as well as the physical excellences and the enjoyment of life; without which develop-

ments we shall be unable and unfitted to gain further Empire, to hold what we have, or to rule it as we *should* rule it.

Having exposed these few fallacies, we may now consider some of the advantages which these exercises have brought for the British Empire.

One of the most urgent topics of the day must be, "What is the connection, at the present moment, between ourselves and our Colonies: what has bound us together, what binds us together now, and what will bind us together in the future?" For we may be sure that what has bound us together in the past will be likely to bind us together in the future.

Among the chief bonds of union are points of resemblance. We resemble the Australian colonists, for example, in our appearance, our dress, our traditions, our customs, and so on; but among the strongest points of similarity are our forms of Sport and Athletics. Neither of the two peoples cares for the Gymnastic system, neither of us cares for mere brain-work. In both England and Australia there is a love of Sport in general, such as fishing, shooting, and hunting; of Rowing, of Cricket, of Football, of Lawn Tennis, and other Ball-games; wherever we see these forms of Athletics, to some extent we feel ourselves at home. But this is far from being all that we owe to them. They are far more than a bond of union.

I shall pass over many minor points, though some of them might be of great interest: thus I shall not dwell on the effect of Sport upon discovery. A good deal of country has been opened up by those who have gone chiefly in search of game; this search has led to discovery incidentally, and the excitement of it has fostered a spirit of pluck, daring enterprise, and self-reliance.

The South African War has shown us the close analogy between War, Sport, and Athletics. Those

who have excelled in the latter have been among the first to volunteer and to succeed in the former. One can recall many instances where a bold dash by a soldier has seemed almost exactly the same thing as a bold dash by a Huntsman or a Football-player.

Nor shall I say much about Rowing, although it has done very much to help our naval power. We might almost say that our naval power was begotten upon our rivers and upon our coasts, which will still supply it with its materials ready-trained for the open sea. We are richer in naval reserve than other Nations can hope to be; and this is partly (though far from entirely) due to our cultivation of Rowing as a branch of Athletics, for instance at Regattas. If we think for a moment of what a mighty power our navy has been in History, even in land-battles, we shall see that the effect of Athletics upon our Empire is by no means small, if we consider this point alone.

But the real effect goes far beyond this. Games and Athletics are admirable practice in the right way of *bearing defeat* and "playing a losing game." He who is used to being defeated in Games and Athletics, and to bearing defeat like a man, with the intention of correcting his weaknesses between this competition and the next, has learnt a very great lesson; and, by the very training of his limbs, he will have lessened the chance of defeat in the future. It has been chiefly by Athletics that so many of our soldiers and sailors and colonists have learnt never to be beaten.

Victory also has been helped by Games and Athletics, which, as we shall see below, have developed certain qualities indispensable to victory.

But they have also trained us to use our victories, which is a still more important matter. The Spartans of old were great victory-winners, but they were poor victory-users. They failed to hold and to make their own that which they had bravely won by training, by

bravery, and by obedience. The fact that we *do* know how to use our victories and conquests is partly due to Athletic competitions.

The Romans of old were not mere conquerors, but held the conquered peoples as willing subjects, imparting to them the blessings and privileges which they themselves enjoyed. And we do the same. To those whom we conquer we impart our blessings and privileges, and among them not the least are Games, and Athletics, and Sport.

We cannot realise this until we look into the German colonies. No one would deny to the Germans very great military ability: they can win land well enough, and their discipline is admirable; but it is not likely that their rule will ever suit the Southern races: it is too heavy and ponderous. Now *we* do not merely rule people with the rule of iron, but we admit them to our own life; we do not treat them like slaves, but we say to them, for example, "Come and play Football," or "Have a try at Cricket." This is surely one way to their respect and also to their affection and loyalty. We bring them something which is not only useful, but also pleasant.

For they *do* respect us as Athletes and Sportsmen. Let hostile Nations say what they will, these qualities must be respected wherever they are found. In such competitions conquerors and conquered can meet on equal terms without that familiarity which elsewhere might breed contempt.

Besides this, our Sport and Games make us a healthy people, and they tend to make us *open-minded*; and rulers always should be healthy and open-minded. Open-mindedness is not much encouraged by our brain-education in England, but it *is* encouraged by our Games and Athletics. Here a player has a right to do that which will "score," that which common-sense urges him to do, provided that it is not unfair.

In other words, our Games are open to changes for the better; in them we do not, so slavishly as elsewhere, follow the fashion, the ideas of past generations. The rule of such people who are thus trained to judge things by their merits, and to accept what is new, provided only that it is good for the particular purpose and also fair, must be a far greater blessing to the ruled, than the system of those who force upon alien races the customs which they have found best for their own country. We have still much to learn here, but our method is at any rate more open-minded than that of any other Nation.

We shall see below that those Exercises into which the spirit of competition enters will *help to break down barriers between various classes.* This point I leave for the present, except to say that, with an imperial Nation, Games may have a similar effect in reconciling it with other Nations. They may help to do away with the exclusive national spirit which is only the petty jealousy of one Greek City-state (like Athens) for another (like Sparta or Thebes), magnified and on a large scale.

Perhaps it is not every one who has realised that Football, Lawn Tennis, Cricket, and Athletics are likely to make us friendly with other Nations, and to make us appreciate their good points, and to remove our jealousy and hatred and contempt for them and with theirs for us. The recent Athletic Competition between Harvard and Yale and Oxford and Cambridge, four great Universities, opened the eyes of English people to qualities which they had scarcely suspected in Americans: for instance, the power to bear defeat in a manly and sportsmanlike way. Few things will do more to make us respect the Germans than the Football-Matches and the Lawn Tennis Tournaments, in which latter, at any rate, there is little or nothing to choose between the Germans and Austrians and many

other peoples, and ourselves, so far as fair play and manliness are concerned.

Between Nations there is a great deal of unfairness and treachery: we may call it diplomacy, but that is only a thin veil for dishonesty. The law of honour, though stricter now than it was of old, is not yet nearly strict enough; there is too much of the *commercial* and grasping spirit. An antidote is sadly needed, and this antidote is to be found in Games and Athletics. Here one Nation can meet another and contend with absolute honesty and good-feeling; the struggle is by no means unimportant, and may rouse the interest and partisanship of thousands or millions; yet the competition, whether it be yachting or some Game, may go on with perfect good-feeling; there need be no dishonesty. The conquered may congratulate the conquerors, and the conquerors may respect the conquered. So far from the victory or defeat producing a bad feeling, as a War or a commercial rivalry or almost any rivalry is nearly bound to do, so far from this being the case, Athletic Competitions may bring the Nations far closer together and make them more real friends than before.

But we have not yet justified our Empire in the eyes of the world. I have read in numerous Papers and Pamphlets lately that our Empire is a curse to the world. The world must admit that we are one of the strongest Nations: it would be useless for the world to deny it, as useless in fact as it would be to deny that we *have* won our Empire and do still hold it, and that it brings us in a vast mass of trade, commerce, and wealth, and a great deal of power besides. Every one will admit that it is ours by right of conquest, that it is very large, and a mine of wealth; but we must not be content with this. We must justify our Empire by showing that it is for the benefit of our subjects and colonists.

The manner of our winning our Empire and the primary motives and reasons for its conquest or acquisition, are not always so easy to justify: in fact, I doubt if we *can* justify it on strict grounds of morality; this is a very vexed question, and, however we may defend the manner and the motives, some will be sure to dispute our arguments. No: we had far better justify our imperial rule by its *results*, which means to say that we had far better answer our critics by showing that we are a good Nation, a healthy Nation, a fair Nation, and not mere bullies; that we are ready to give others our own blessings. This is much safer than to assert that in winning our Empire we have always been in the right.

If we can prove that we *are* a good Nation, then we can justify ourselves in continuing to hold what we have, and possibly even in extending our Empire. "International Morality" is not yet sufficiently a Science to enable us to dogmatise.

Here I need only consider how far the good qualities of our Nation are due to Sport, Games, and Athletics. It is worth while to inquire into this, if only in order that we may know just what to encourage and what to discourage. Let us therefore consider the good effects of these kinds of Athletics upon us as a Nation and as a collection of individuals.

First of all comes *physical fitness*, much of which, however, might be the result of Gymnastics and mere walking and running. But there is this point to be constantly borne in mind. Most people refuse to take exercise simply for the sake of health; they demand some object. Germany has military success as her object for her Gymnastics. England encourages people to take exercise by means of Sport and Games and Athletics; these must have saved the health of thousands of men who would otherwise have been merely rich loafers and good-for-nothings. Such people *will*

not go out for a walk; still less will they go into a Gymnasium; many of them will not even ride for the sake of riding; but they *will* play Games and they *will* hunt, for here they have an immediate object, the pleasure and the excitement and the social intercourse.

Thus there come to thousands or even millions strength, endurance, and activity, and also health; *and physical health means an increased health of mind and health of moral character.* Past History tells us that Nations have been healthy in body before they have been brilliant in intellect, and healthy and sound in *morale*, and that, conversely, their bodily and physical health and excellence have decayed before their intellectual and moral excellence.

One of the reasons would be that the blood which supplies the brain passes through the limbs of the body as well. If these limbs are sluggish and unexercised, the blood which flows to the brain will be of a poor quality, and perhaps laden with poison.

Much of the blood's purity depends on the taking in of the *open air*. In a hot Lecture-room, and in an average Church, we notice that people's veins sometimes stand out with the dark and poisoned blood; this is not that bright red blood which is rich in oxygen. Open air is a real necessity for health; we are beginning to recognise this in England in the treatment of Consumption. Now it is chiefly exercise that will give us this air, and the form of exercise which people prefer is a Game, or some other kind of Athletics, or else some branch of Sport.

By this means, also, people see our beautiful country instead of staying in their own rooms in the city. We might extend the words *γνῶθι σεαυτόν* "Know yourself," and say *γνῶθι τὰ σεαυτοῦ*, "Know all that is your own." Every one ought *to know his own country* as well as his own character, and he will see a great deal of the best of it, *e.g.*, in Lawn Tennis

Tournaments, on Cricket and Football tours, and when he hunts or fishes. It is a duty of every Englishman to know his own country: it is true that by this means he will only know it incidentally, and perhaps without intending to know it at all, but he will none the less be benefited by the knowledge.

And *patriotism* must come from the knowledge also. For who can know our country without loving it?

We shall soon recognise the importance of *enjoyment* as well. Experiments have been made which show that during enjoyment, and during anger and discontent and other feelings, the quality of the blood is completely different. Those who are aware how the blood permeates the whole body must see that enjoyment, which affects its very nature most favourably, must be good for the whole body. Now among enjoyments we must reckon such amusements as the reading of Novels, many of which are grossly unwholesome, and the music-halls, and so on, as well as Games and Athletics. There is no need to say which kind of enjoyment and amusement is likely to be the healthier for the body and the mind.

But Athletics, Games, and Sports do not merely give us physical fitness, strength, endurance, activity, and health; they do not merely bring us into the open air, where we can breathe in oxygen, and admire our own country, and come to love it, and where we can get wholesome pleasure: for they can also serve as a nerve-educator.

A hard Match or a long-distance run may be a grand exercise for the nerves. It is hard to define what is meant by the nerves, and it may be better to say what the nerves include.

Promptitude is one sign of good nerves: it is not the same as rapidity, for a fast runner is not always prompt and ready to start. It is in promptitude that we contrast so favourably with the Germans, who are

very good when once they have *begun* to move, but are too apt to wait for the word which shall start them.

Good nerves also mean *calmness*, which is necessary when no particular promptitude is needed. Here we contrast favourably with the French, who seem always excited and on the *qui vive*, even where there is no cause for excitement.

Thirdly, good nerves must include *self-control*, which comes to people not only through Athletics, but also partly through the training for Athletics, where a man learns to say sternly to himself, *e.g.* for a whole fortnight: "You want to smoke and drink, but *you shall not*."

Patience, which is closely akin to calmness and closely akin to self-control, could also be acquired by mere Gymnastics, but it is acquired by Games as well.

Pluck can also be developed by mere exercise and Gymnastics, but not to the same extent. Englishmen are the pluckiest people in the world, though the French may be considerably more rash.

But, above all, Games and Athletics develop *a strict sense of honour*. Not only have the written laws to be obeyed, but the unwritten laws also, and this—generally speaking—marks off Athletics and Commerce distinctly from one another. For, in the latter, the unwritten laws of honour are too often sadly neglected. When I was in Homburg lately, at the Lawn Tennis Tournament, I was very much struck with the way in which Germans and Austrians and others would correct the umpire's decision when it had been given wrongly and in their own favour. This is in Lawn Tennis, and it seems appropriate *here*. We should not often expect such nobility in Commerce.

Games and Athletics also give us great respect for other Nations (as we saw above), and also for *other Classes*. In this sphere we see competition in its ideal

form: nowhere else is defeat so well taken, nowhere else is victory so well taken.

And perhaps here only in life do we find anything like a really fair system of "*Handicaps*": elsewhere the weaker too often goes to the wall. But in Games and Athletics, to an increasing extent, people are judiciously handicapped so that the weakest are put on a level with the strongest. Handicaps should be used even more freely than they are at present.

These Athletic competitions give the ideal, not only of Competition, in which they set a pattern for Commerce, but also in mutual help and *co-operation*. In Cricket and Football, each player tries to do his best in his own sphere, but also his best as a member of his team. He helps others, and they help him, all contributing together to the success of the side. This is a sign—if not *the* sign—of advanced civilisation.

Another sign of it is that, besides this mutual help, there is a great deal of *independence*, especially in Sport, in racing, and in "Singles" at various Games. Originality and "Self-activity" (as Froebel called it) is essential in Education, and it is found especially in our Games.

They also encourage us to look ahead beyond the immediate present, somewhat as Chess should do. Thus a cricketer should bowl not only with a view to a particular ball, but also in order to lead up to another ball: *e.g.* he sends three fast balls so as to prepare the way for a slow ball.

The *social influence* of Games can scarcely be overestimated. Football perhaps comes at the top of the list, even though it is very liable to abuse. Games and Athletics will do a world of good in abolishing the barrier between Class and Class. The poor are apt to hate or envy the rich who are luxurious and idle, and these in their turn are apt to despise the poor as being uneducated and dirty. But in Games

and Athletics the two meet on equal terms: merit at once comes to the fore. No favour is shown to the man who has eaten a huge champagne-lunch and smoked expensive cigars, as compared with the man who has only had his bread and cheese. Games and Athletics are splendid levellers.

Besides this they bring the sexes together in a pleasant way. It is much better that they should meet at some form of Athletics than at the typical crowded At-Homes: the mere intercourse is good at all times, but it is best that it should be in the open air and that the occasion should be healthy.

The most hopeless classes of all in our land are the idle rich men and the idle rich women: to the former, Sport will perhaps appeal, and, to the latter, Bicycling. It seems almost the only chance, the only redeeming feature, in these wretches, that they take exercise. We must bless the incentive which makes them do so, and we must bless Athletics also as a means of giving other people a healthy profession in the open air: they are excellent for this reason.

And so we come back to health once more, and we *must* come back to it and insist upon it to-day, because *city-life is taking the place of country-life*; although, of course, the suburbs of cities are growing and are in easy connection with the cities. But there is none the less a real need for "artificial" exercise, that is to say, for Games and Athletics. If we are to be a great Nation, we must get some substitute for our farmer and free labourer classes, which used to be the very backbone of England, and was the backbone of early Greece and Rome. We need more indoor Games (by electric light in the evenings) in well-ventilated buildings in cities. New York and Boston set us a good example here.

All this is ideal. It leaves out of sight a great deal of the bad side of Games and Athletics and Sport: the advantages are rarely realised, and often are not to be

seen at all, but yet it is as well that we *should* see the ideal and the full advantages, and work towards them. Thus, if a Football-player thinks that Football is merely a means of earning a sum, *e.g.* ten shillings, and that it is nothing beside and beyond this, then Football will do him only a small amount of good. But once point out to him that it has a higher side, that he, as a Sportsman, is doing for his country perhaps as much as the soldier is doing in War, perhaps more, and you turn that Football into something better than it was before, viz. into a means of educating the man; you put Football on its highest level, which is its proper level: the man *must* play it, and it is as well that he should see its noblest side. The executioner's job is an unpleasant one, but the executioner gains nothing by dwelling upon this side of it: he had better dwell upon its less ignoble side.

The above points will be made clearer by contrast; and therefore I now proceed to a twofold contrast.

First let us consider *the German Gymnastic System*. Does this produce endurance? Yes. Skill? Yes. Discipline and obedience? Yes, a great deal of this. But originality? Very little. Promptitude? Very little also, except "at the word of command." Honour and fairness? Scarcely at all. Enjoyment? It is very difficult to say; we Englishmen should say no.

Brain-work, again, must be contrasted with Athletics, although of course one can only speak very generally. A common English idea of brain-work is chiefly (alas!) to reproduce the ideas of some other people, especially when these ideas are given in a Text-book: originality is little encouraged. I speak from the experience of five years at good Private Schools, of five years at a good Public School, and of many years at the University: throughout all this education there has been scarcely any exception to my experiences. Originality and "Self-activity" were incessantly discouraged.

Does such an education develop endurance? Yes. Skill? Possibly a little. Discipline? Yes, plenty of it. Promptitude? Very little, except in so far as reproducing certain "Answers" is concerned: a new question, which means that the old material has to be quickly rearranged, will often puzzle the average learner. He will say that he has not learnt the answer to that question. Does it encourage originality, then? No, scarcely at all. Nor yet does it encourage open-mindedness, and the readiness to learn what is best in the new and to unlearn what is worst in the old: it does not encourage people to change what is customary, even when conscience says that this is utterly wrong. Does it encourage honour? Perhaps a little, though it is hard to say; but certainly not to the same extent as Games and Athletics do. It is not thought to be clever to cheat in Games and Athletics, as it sometimes is thought to be at lessons.

Many lessons then would be a great contrast to these kinds of exercises.

And what of the social influence of such Education? Does it tend to do away with class distinctions, does it tend to make people who are educated understand and sympathise with the uneducated and illiterate? Does it reconcile Nation with Nation? Most remarkably little.

The reader will naturally ask why, if Sport *can* do all this, it has not actually produced more effect in the past? I answer that it has produced very great effects in the past, and that it will produce still greater effects in the future, as soon as we thoroughly realise what can be done by means of it. At present it has not been able to produce anything like its proper effects, because its importance has been underestimated by many of those who are managing affairs for us in this country.

I can only devote a few lines to the history of

Sport and Athletics; but the history can easily be obtained in detail from the special treatises in special books, for instance, in the Badminton and Isthmian Libraries. Shorter accounts will be found in the "Encyclopædia Britannica."

Some kinds of Sport and Athletics have developed naturally: for example, throwing, walking, and running are all natural for us, and hunting and fishing must have originated partly in the search for food.

Some kinds have originated in some one place, or in some one county, or in England itself, and these have spread to other places and other counties and other countries, and to other Nations. Dr. Schmidt, the great German authority on Sport, candidly recognises the vast debt of other Nations to England with regard to Rowing Athletics. Scotland has originated Golf, or at least has nursed it—Golf which gives such splendid open-air exercise and interest to those who are advanced in life.

From us many kinds of Athletics have spread to our Colonies, and even to other Nations, and they have become, and will become more and more, year by year, a help towards international peace. How few would have dreamt in the distant past that Football would ever have been a means to this desirable end! I believe that International Congresses for Athletics and Games will do more for mutual understanding, and therefore for mutual respect among Nations, than almost any other single influence.

Besides this extension of Athletics, we notice their adoption in education, of which as a rule they now form an integral part. Even a foreigner like Froebel could recognise Games for children as an essential factor in their education; though in England, and to a greater extent in Germany and elsewhere, exercise of this kind is still too often regarded as "frivolous" and as opposed to true Education with a big E. This is

the opinion of those who think that Education means to absorb a vast number of facts by reading and listening.

As we have seen, some people, and they by no means few in number, consider a great deal of Sport to be brutalising in its effects. This is true of some Sport, especially of that which gives the animals no chance whatever to escape. Football and Boxing can also be brutalising. But there is this to be noticed, that whereas these Sports, or at any rate the brutal parts of them, are scarcely on the increase, Games and Athletics are increasing with almost incredible rapidity; that is to say, *the very meaning of the word Sport is altering.* Abroad it includes a large number of Games and Athletic Competitions in which there is scarcely any, if there is any, degrading tendency. It is no longer a term confined to the killing of animals. It might be desired that eventually this aspect of Sport will die out altogether; it certainly will, I think, if we can make the other branches of Sport and Athletics equally *interesting* and equally healthy.

Why should England have been the birthplace of so much of Sport and Athletics? I will only suggest one or two reasons, though it would be an interesting topic to discuss in detail.

First of all, ours is a small Island, and within it there is much rivalry, much love of competition: this asserts itself partly in Games. In many Greek States it asserted itself in political quarrels.

Moreover, our country is a good country for every kind of Athletics: whether it be Walking, Running, Shooting, Hunting, Riding, Fishing, Rowing, Cricket, Football, Lawn Tennis, we could scarcely wish for a better land. It is a cold country too, and its climate is such that many people feel seedy; for instance, they get a "liver" if they do not take exercise: their liver compels them to move, and their favourite movement is Sport or Games or Athletics.

The Nations of the world have hardly realised yet what they would lose if *we* lost our independence and with it our free system of Games, or if we lost our Empire. I hope that these pages may meet their eyes and may enlighten them a little.

The evils of Games and Sport still continue; indeed some seem to be actually on the increase. But, before this aspect in the history be thoroughly condemned, let us look for a moment at Commerce, and I think it will be found that the evils there are far greater. Moreover the evils in Athletics and Games are being removed by various Societies and Clubs such as the Rugby Union, the Lawn Tennis Association, and the Marylebone Cricket Club. And, above all, the evils are outweighed by the manifold blessings.

These blessings will perhaps be made a little clearer, and brought a little nearer home to the reader, from a few examples. I will therefore now give a few notes on special forms of Sport, from which I must exclude Gymnastics (for instance, the Swedish Health Gymnastics), and walking, running, and riding when they are practised merely as exercise. Of course all these exercises have important effects, but they are not included in the words Sport or Games or Athletics, the two latter of which terms refer especially to competitions.

Sport, in the sense of game-killing, improves endurance and strength, and encourages people to travel and see the country instead of the city. It is in the open air and brings with it much enjoyment; and it is a great incentive to walking. Beagling may also be included here. There are many to whom the whole thing is repugnant; these have much reason, but they should also weigh the other side of the question. As we said above, Sport is an apt preparation for soldiering.

Hunting is an inducement to riding; but the advantages of riding are too numerous to be mentioned here. Hunting, apart from its social influences, chiefly justifies itself as being an incentive to induce those people to ride who would not ride otherwise.

Rowing is good training for many purposes, and partly for the Navy. It enables the rower (or the rowed) to see some of the most beautiful parts of the country and gives them pure cool air: moreover it is splendid exercise.

Football at its best is perhaps nearly the perfection of a Game: and it breeds so many of those qualities which every Nation should have. Thus, if I were asked what would be the best test that a person could give of being able to rule in India, I should say that he had been Captain of a Football eleven or fifteen, or of a Cricket eleven. Such qualities as co-operation promptitude, discipline, and pluck, and the power of playing an uphill game—all these may and should be developed by Football.

Moreover it employs huge numbers of players; the Game is over quickly; and it is admirable exercise. Besides this, we can think of nothing better which the players would be likely to be doing if they were not playing Football.

And this is not all: for Football makes hundreds of people come into the open air to watch it; this is better than that they should be listening to a Lecture in a badly-ventilated room, and better still, than that they should be spending their afternoon at a club or at a music-hall or theatre; for Football at its best is a fine game to watch. And it is spreading among other people; for instance, among the French and Germans.

But, unfortunately, it cannot (as a rule) be kept up till late in life, and accidents are not infrequent.

Cricket also develops many of the above qualities, such as promptitude; it also is in the open air, and

draws people out into the open air to watch it. It also is a good Game to watch, and is spreading among other people. But it takes too long for busy men, and in it there is a good deal of idle waiting. These Games are splendid for the Nation, in that they tend to do away with class-distinctions.

Golf is a less violent Game, and appeals to those thousands who cannot or will not play Football, and especially to the older men, and to many ladies, who would not take much exercise otherwise. But it is very expensive.

Cycling, like Golf, can be tried by older men, and it is in the open air, and gives a good chance of seeing fine scenery. It has its millions of devotees who before used to move about by carriage or tram or bus or train. But Cycling, except for racing purposes, is hardly a "Sport"; and for racing purposes it is hardly a Sport either—at least as it is practised at present!

All *the Ball-Games* are branches of Sport, and, of the Racket-Games, Lawn Tennis is far the most popular. It is usually a gentle and social form of exercise, which is good for ladies. Of its many merits I have spoken in "Lessons in Lawn Tennis" (published by Upcott Gill).

Fives differs from most other Games in that it exercises both sides, the left hand and arm as well as the right: it is very healthy also, and, like Lawn Tennis, can be kept up till fairly late in life.

As to Tennis, Rackets, and Squash-Rackets, I am prejudiced in their favour; but I consider them to be ideal Games in every way except that they are expensive and are seldom in the open air. Squash-Tennis (an American Game) is one of the best and cheapest Games in the world. It can be played in cities in the evening by artificial light.

Boxing is splendid exercise. The man who can defend himself has more confidence in protecting the

weak, and this is a most valuable quality in any Nation of rulers: he is self-reliant; and, if he does not abuse his power, the good boxer is much nearer to what a man should be.

As to Athletics, such as putting the weight, throwing the hammer, and running, they are good partly for the training they involve (which, however, might be more scientific), and partly for their encouragement of endurance and speed and other excellences.

Let me now sum up those points in the above pages which may be most useful as well as most new to many of my readers.

Sport, Games, and Athletics are valuable not merely because they produce success, and especially skill, strength, and endurance; nor merely because they produce health, though health in itself would be almost a sufficient object to justify the exercise; nor merely because they are in the open air, and help people to know their own country, and thus to love their own country; nor merely because they bring pleasure of an innocent and wholesome kind; nor merely because they improve the nerve-power, the promptitude, calmness, self-control, patience, pluck, honour, and fairness, and respect for others, qualities most essential in any Nation which is to rule others; nor merely because they show almost the ideal of competition and of co-operation; nor merely because they are a great social influence, breaking down barriers between sex and sex, and between class and class; nor merely because they have helped to train many for the Army and Navy, and have led to travel and enterprise and discovery.

Their value has been beyond this, though it has included a great deal of this; for they have shown people how to bear defeat, how to get victories and to use them, not by imposing an iron rule on the conquered, but by making the rule popular and the rulers respected and imitated, by making the subjects

healthier, and by forming with them a bond of union which is already one of the strongest and is likely to grow stronger every year. Moreover—and this is a vital point—such a bond of union within the Nation itself and between it and its Empire will not cut off the Nation and its Empire from other Nations, but will rather help to bind the whole world together. For in Games and Athletics, and scarcely in any other sphere, can Nations compete without ill-feeling; and by this especially will they come to respect and to admire one another. Games and Athletics are *the best International Language which the world has ever seen.*

Not only have Games and Athletics helped us to gain an Empire, but they have also helped us to keep it, and to rule it well. They have made the rulers fit to rule, for they have made them healthy and honourable, and in fact have developed in them such qualities as all ruling peoples of the future will have to possess if indeed their rule is to be permanent.

Let me conclude, then, with a few warnings based on the above remarks.

I need hardly ask the reader to read these pages with an open mind: to criticise and alter my views as freely as he likes, but first to weigh them fairly in the balance, and to try to avoid any of those extreme views which he will so often hear advocated.

He must not listen to those who would have exercise take the place of brain-work, especially if the brain-work be the mere absorbing of information. If it be, then I consider the other extreme to be the safer. I would sooner have Jack a healthy athlete than a weedy pedant.

No: now especially, when country-life is giving way more and more to city-life, let him not in any way support those who would increase the amount of brain-work for our Nation, and for our young in particular, who would decrease the amount of exercise, especially

of exercise in the form of Sport and Athletics: for this is its most interesting form.

On the other hand let him resist any attempt to let idleness or loafing take the place of exercise. Any movement which will foster this type of "amusement" is to be discarded: exercise is far better. Above all, let him oppose the worst type of "amusement," and let him work against the ascendency, *e.g.*, of the many unhealthy entertainments in badly-ventilated buildings. These are as vile a disgrace to us as our Athletics are a glorious credit.

In order to achieve this work, he will have to justify the claims of Athletics, and he will better be able to do this if he removes from them their chief faults, *e.g.* the pursuit of Athletics for the sake of money or prizes or mere victory, the low play of professionals, the brutalism of Sport, and other evils.

Let him see the ideal of Athletics, and let him then make it clear to every one else; let him recognise our debt to it in the past, and let him acknowledge the increasing value of Athletics in the future as city-life grows, and as our Empire grows, and therefore as more people are to be affected and influenced by us as individuals and as a Nation.

For, as we are, so they in their turn will become, while we are their rulers. And this, we hope, will be for many a century to come.

The World, and America and our Colonies in particular, little realise their vast debt to England. Our National Debt seems great, but the debt of the World to us is far greater: we have given our Athletics to the World. Is it not time that in our turn we borrowed the best and most adaptable ideas that other Nations can offer us? Can we not study with advantage how a thousand Americans can get healthy exercise in a single building, in a crowded city, when business hours are over? We love Sport

but we have yet much to learn about it and about other matters. "Freely ye have received, freely give." England has freely given. Now let her change the text, and say to her subjects, "Freely ye have given, freely receive." Let England freely choose and freely take what lies open. There is no monopoly of exercise—thank Heaven! There never will be an Exercise "Trust." By adopting new ideas, England will benefit herself without hurting any other Nation.

MOHAMMEDANISM AND THE BRITISH EMPIRE

By R. G. CORBET

It is a hackneyed saying that Great Britain is the most important Moslem Power in the world. At first sight, when the imagination conjures up a vision of the vast areas under the Tsar, the Son of Heaven and the Sultan peopled by Mohammedans, this assertion appears somewhat rash: but a glance at statistics, so far as these are obtainable on the subject, will soon satisfy us that it is not.

The Ottoman Empire has but something over three million Mohammedan subjects in Europe, and twelve in Asia: so, if we add to these the entire population over which Abdul Hamid Khañ rules in Africa—and which, like that of Bokhara and Khiva, is practically all Moslem—we merely bring the total to a little over sixteen millions. In the Middle Kingdom the Mohammedans are estimated at about thirty-two; and they do not attain to six in Russia, even when its vassal States are joined to it.

Let us look a moment at the figures:—

Moslems in European Turkey . . .	3,350,000	
Moslems in Asiatic Turkey	12,000,000	
Population of African Turkey . . .	1,010,000	
		16,360,000 Ottoman Empire.
Moslems in Russia . .	2,600,000	
Population of Bokhara .	2,500,000	
Population of Khiva .	700,000	
		5,800,000 Russian Empire.
Moslems in China . .	32,000,000	32,000,000 Chinese Empire.
		54,160,000

On the other hand, as we shall presently see, the Moslems in India alone exceed this number by over three millions; while, supplemented by their co-religionists under our ægis elsewhere, they double it.

The last census taken in India[1] gives, approximately, one-fifth as the proportion of Mohammedans to the 287 million souls of whom it was able to obtain particulars, and we may assume the ratio to be the same in the case of such of the natives of India as were scattered at the time over other parts of the Empire, or dwelt in Indian border lands where, owing to the prevailing wars, detailed returns could not be compiled. In the Peninsula and, indeed, in the Indian Ocean as a whole, we have comparatively accurate information to go upon, and it may be as well to tabulate our results there, and wherever there is at least approximate certainty, before passing on to places where we shall have to fall back largely upon guesswork.

A	Moslems.	
India	57,321,164	
Frontier tracts	174,000	(one-fifth).
North and Central America	20,500	
South America	29,000	
Australia and Oceania	19,500	
Ceylon	220,000	
Maldives	30,000	
Laccadives	14,440	
Beluchistan	500,000	
Bahrein	25,000	
Socotra	12,000	
Aden and Perim	41,910	
Mauritius	34,763	
Cape of Good Hope	15,099	
Indians in other colonies	14,605	(one-fifth).
	58,471,981	

When we reach the Straits we must put into requisition the races the inhabitants belong to; for,

[1] The figures for the British Empire are based on the census of 1891, this paper having been written before the succeeding census was taken.

from the abstracts available, it would appear that their religions are not given by the census. We may roughly set down every Malay, for instance, as a Moslem, and every Chinaman in the Archipelago as a non-Mohammedan. Thus we get :—

B	Moslems.
Straits Settlements . . .	243,828
Federated Malay States . .	249,938
British North Borneo . .	174,000
Brunei	17,500
Sarawak	450,000
Labuan	5,560
	1,030,826

While we have exact returns of Cyprus and Egypt, again, there are several regions in British Africa where not only the religious census, but that of the population as a whole, is left to conjecture; and there is at least one (Somaliland), of which it is declared that even a surmise is impracticable. Here we have hardly anything to guide us: all we know is that some of these untold human swarms are in great part, and others almost entirely, made up of Mohammedans, that Islam is daily strengthening its hold upon the hordes of negroes who people the coasts and *hinterlands*, and the like. On such meagre data, then, must we base the following estimate :—

C	Moslems.
Cyprus	47,926
Egypt	8,978,775
Egyptian Soudan	10,050,000
Nigeria	25,000,000
Lagos	372,000
Gold Coast Colony	150,000
Gambia	23,300
Sierra Leone	70,996
British East Africa	2,250,000
British Central Africa Protectorate .	281,000 [1]
Uganda	100,000 [1]
Zanzibar and Pemba . . .	200,000 [1]
Somaliland	50,000 [1]
	47,573,997

[1] Added while in the press.

Putting the three reckonings together, we have:—

A	58,471,981
B	1,030,826
C	47,573,997
	107,076,804

This total, which is probably below the reality, is the more remarkable when we consider that it comes to a little less than half the entire Mohammedan population of the world, reckoned at 215 millions, and, what concerns us more nearly here, that the Moslems in the lands scheduled above form already over 29 per cent. of the 363 millions inhabiting them, and are steadily increasing.

Religious freedom, coupled with every opportunity of keeping abreast of the times, is theirs to a degree unparalleled elsewhere; whilst in wealth, as in numbers, they carry away the palm. Even if we confine ourselves to India, indeed, Sir Richard Temple tells us that all the other Mohammedan nations combined fall far short of "the agriculture of [her] Mohammedan peasantry, the navigation in the hands of her Mohammedan sailors and boatmen, the trade conducted by her Mohammedan traders." The Peninsula, moreover, is marked out to be the moral and intellectual, as well as the commercial, centre of the neighbouring countries, just as Egypt is fitted by its geographical position and advanced rule to enlighten the regions surrounding it; and nothing would be more natural than to see the religious, educational, and political ideas of an awakened Mussulman India filtering into Yunnan, Kashgar, Afghanistan, Beluchistan or even Persia. All these things, amongst others, should enable the Moslems in the Empire to exert an enormous influence for good, both within and without its borders, and to claim that place in the counsels of Islam to

which they are entitled. The means are ready to their hand: will they stretch it forth?

The matter is one which concerns us more nearly than we perhaps imagine. As the foremost of Moslem States, we have a paramount interest in the question whether Mohammedanism is to be an instrument of progress or of reaction, and we are in a manner responsible for it to the other nations of the earth. Besides, the followers of Islam hold so large a stake in the Empire, and its interests and fortunes are so intimately identified with theirs that, to quote Sir Richard Temple once more, "it is impossible to distinguish Anglo-Mohammedan power from that of Britain herself." Englishmen, though generally prone to live in a Fool's Paradise, have lately had one rude awakening, to say nothing of others, in the fact that our competitors have succeeded in wresting from us foreign, and even colonial, markets which we thought for ever secured to our trade; and there are signs that we are ceasing to believe that we can ward off whatever does not suit us by shutting our eyes to it. Under the circumstances it is just possible that the time has at last come when something better than suicidal apathy may be expected of us in our dealings with our Moslem compatriots.

In the mere negative avoidance of causes of offence, it is true, we have made great strides in India since the days of the Mutiny, when Syed Ahmed Khan, afterwards Sir Syed Ahmed Khan Bahadur, K.C.S.I.—one of the ablest of our loyal Indian Mussulmans—complained of the Government's entire estrangement from the people. Still, we learn from the late Dr. Leitner that much more recently the "Mohammedan law officers of the Sadr Diwáni and Nizámat Adálat" were abolished, with the result that "we have not the same touch with the conservative elements of Mohammedan society, whilst the decisions

of our courts are often away from the real point, owing to ignorance of Arabic, without a knowledge of which language it is difficult to have any influence with Mohammedans, and impossible to decide any question connected with their law." The "Kazi" was little more than tolerated, and numerous Mohammedan endowments were curtailed, misapplied, or even confiscated. These, as suggested by the learned Orientalist, must be "restored, and their educational side be developed in accordance with the practical, as well as the religious, requirements of the Mohammedan community;" and we must remedy our other administrative errors. Not the least among them has been the educational policy which kept away the Mussulmans, the former rulers of the Peninsula, from the Government colleges, and consequently from public office. Fortunately they have themselves suggested a way out of the difficulty. "The Moslems of India," said those of the Punjab to Lord Roberts in 1893, "hope that your long experience of our service will prove a good testimonial in favour of the warlike spirit, military genius and loyalty of our nation; and if the circle of civil employment has become too straitened for us, the military line may be generously opened to us." The request is highly reasonable, and should be complied with to the best of our ability; the more so, to put the question on the lowest grounds, as the attention of the Government of India has long been awakened to the great political danger of leaving the Moslems there without an outlet for their energies.

The late Sir Syed Ahmed, to whom belongs the credit of bringing the anomaly to the notice of the authorities, also tried to put an end to it by removing its cause. In 1875 the Anglo-Oriental College at Aligarh, based on principles resembling those of our public schools, was opened for the purpose of

giving young Mussulmans a sound modern education—that should tend to make them eligible for service under Government—accompanied by an intelligent study of their religion. The college, which the project of a Moslem University followed as a natural corollary, has called forth unstinted praise from Viceroy after Viceroy, not to mention other eminent visitors, and even a man so hard to please as Sir William Muir has borne witness to the wide and liberal basis upon which it was established. It was in fact Sir Syed Ahmed's object, in the words of Lord Elgin, to "provide not merely for instruction, but also for the formation of character, for the encouragement of manly pursuits, for the promotion of a feeling of self-respect among the students . . . for fostering among them an active sense of their duty as loyal subjects"—and, it may be added, for the inculcation of that true piety which is the foundation of firm loyalty. Institutions like this should be furthered by every means in our power; moreover, we can do much in a number of other ways for the advancement of the Moslems who owe allegiance to Edward VII., drawing them nearer to us by sympathy and encouragement no less than by actual aid, and, as Sir Syed Ahmed once said of the Indian Mussulmans, making them and Englishmen brothers.

But, besides repairing our blunders and favouring all that tends towards the development of our Moslem fellow-subjects, we must do our utmost to give a healthy tone to Mohammedan thought, the best means of preventing its perversion by possible enemies. Mr. M'Laren Morrison tells us, for instance, that "from all the mosques of India her Majesty's faithful Mohammedans in their millions sent up their prayers for the success [against the Boers] of the men of an alien faith, who though aliens in blood were brothers in the

Empire—the first time that Mohammedans had ever prayed for the success of the arms of an unbeliever;" and this is only one of the many striking proofs of loyalty they are constantly giving us: but is it fair to them that they should be left without any antidote to the poison which, there is every reason to believe, the occult emissaries of another Power never tire of trying to administer to them? We all know, in like manner, how much depends upon the part the Afghan and kindred border peoples might play in a war with Russia; it remains for us to realise that our present precarious understandings with them, which are liable at any moment to give place to secret treaties with our rival, may, if we only know how to set to work, be firmly cemented by the Mussulmans under the Kaisar-i-Hind. Then again, to turn from Asia to Africa, we have been warned more than once that the Senusiya were leaving no stone unturned to extend their influence, which is certainly hostile to us. If we take no steps to counteract it, we shall have only ourselves to thank for the consequences.

The way to secure our position in Asia and the Dark Continent is to bring our Mohammedan populations to realise more and more that the interests of their religion and of Britain are identical, so that they are serving the cause of the one when promoting that of the other; and to this end both they and we should understand what Islam really requires of them. "A large part of what Moslems now believe and practise is not to be found in the Koran at all," and many of them bring utterly apocryphal criteria to bear upon religious problems. "The present stagnation of the Mussulman communities," says Syed Ameer Ali,* one of their own number, "is principally due to the notion which has fixed itself in the minds of the generality of Moslems that the right to the exercise of private judgment ceased with the early legists, that its exercise

in modern times is sinful, and that a Moslem in order to be regarded as an orthodox follower of Mohammed should belong to one or other of the schools established by the schoolmen of Islam and abandon his judgment absolutely to the interpretations of men who lived in the ninth century and could have no conception of the necessities of the nineteenth." Such was not the example given them by Mohammed. "When Muaz was appointed Governor of Yemen, he was asked by the Prophet by what rule he would be guided in the administration of the province. 'By the law of the Koran,' said Muaz. 'But if you find no direction therein?' 'Then I will act according to the example of the prophet.' 'But if that fails?' 'Then I will exercise my own judgment.' The Prophet approved highly of the answer of his disciple, and commended it to the other delegates." It were well if our Mussulmans, many of whom are superstitiously careful to imitate Mohammed in the minutest particulars, were to take this lesson to heart; for it is essential that they should free themselves from their present bondage to the opinions of mediæval doctors and of contemporary religious guides, often quite as ignorant as themselves, if they are to turn their opportunities to proper account. A return to the well of Islam undefiled is their great want, and our co-operation would go a long way towards bringing this about. The Briton, if he but choose to lay aside his prejudices, is perhaps more capable than any one else of thoroughly appreciating the genius of Islam, which is pre-eminently the religion of practical common-sense; and he can do his Moslem brethren yeoman service by helping them to recognise its true spirit and apply it to the questions of the hour. But, in order to do so, the Man of the West must himself first learn to judge the Eastern creed rightly.

The task is not an easy one. Most of us have

imbibed prejudice against Islam with our mothers' milk, and the information usually within our grasp —for it is not given to all to get it at first hand from the original Arabic documents—is calculated to increase, not lessen, our bias. Not only professional detractors, whose mercenary motives are easy enough to understand, but persons in high official positions whence their allegations derive weight, have lent themselves to the grossest misstatements. These have often been brought home to them, but, instead of causing them to be held up to execration as they deserve, appear to be taken quite as a matter of course; indeed, one finds their authors described as "fair" and "impartial" by those who have, almost approvingly, drawn attention to their calumnies. Other writers, again, whose anti-Mohammedan prepossessions are apparent on their every page, are, merely because somewhat less bigoted, taxed with being too favourable to Islam. Let us leave contemporaries out of the question, and confine ourselves to an example or two of the methods of their predecessors. On one occasion the infamous Maracci finds in the twelfth chapter of the Koran a term one of whose score of meanings —the richness of the Arabic language often gives a word an even greater number—is capable of being rendered obscenely, does so forthwith, fathers his version upon the passage in defiance of the context and of traditional interpretation, and then exclaims, with feigned prudery: Oh immodest prophet! Another day Grotius, as he himself has unblushingly admitted, invents the fable of the pigeon taught to personate the Holy Ghost by means of peas placed in Mohammed's ear—a tale faithfully perpetuated, with erudite disquisitions on the heinousness of the imposture, by one scribe after another. Not a word of protest is issued against these slanderers; on the

contrary, another author, simply because he does not vie with them in fabrication, is stigmatised as "the almost Mahometan Mr. Sale." No wonder it is well nigh impossible to get at the truth in an atmosphere like this!

Yet, as the Nawab Imad Nawaz Jang said some years ago in a letter to Dr. Leitner, "those Europeans who, being profound Arabic scholars, and bringing to bear on the subject a mind impartial and free from prejudice, have read the Koran with the aid of commentaries, and have had sufficient material before them to distinguish those points on which *Fatwas* exist from those on which there are none, have always written respectfully of Islam;" and he suggested a conference of "such unprejudiced European scholars" and of well-informed Mohammedans to inquire into "the real nature of Islam." Such conferences, besides making plain the apocryphal character of the excrescences foisted upon Mohammedanism by superstitious adherents and insincere adversaries, ought to go a long way towards ridding us of our unsympathetic attitude towards its tenets, which too often makes it impossible for a Moslem to discuss them with us.

We are told that a celebrated missionary, amongst others, without having read a word of the Koran, even in English, constantly argued with Mussulmans about it, calling it an "imposture," the "work of the devil," &c. We must really dispense with this spirit of "Christian charity" if we are to do any good. We cannot—more's the pity—see some of our controversialists with the eye of a Moslem, but we may be able to form a faint idea, sufficient at any rate to deter us from taking them as our models, of the disgust with which they cannot fail to fill him. It is impossible for him, who believes Jesus to be the Messiah and the Word of Truth, to recriminate—and their attacks are the more cowardly because they know this—but fancy, for argument's sake, how

he would ingratiate himself with Christians were he to come among them and speak of Christ and Christianity in the tone they adopt towards his faith and its founder, striving to imitate their despicable insinuations, their assignment of the basest motives in everything, and their unremitting assumption of superiority. Can we really believe that, because he is tongue-tied by his profound reverence for the Son of Mary and leaves a monopoly of vituperation to his adversaries, he is brought nearer by charges which must make his blood boil as they do that of every person who knows anything of Mohammedanism? What can we expect him to think of the two weights and two measures that are constantly called into requisition for the purpose of establishing contrasts between it and Christianity, especially the ridiculous comparisons drawn between a travesty of the Arabian prophet and an Occidental and contemporary Christ, with a gospel explained away till it says neither more nor less than happens to fit in with the caprices of the moment?

If, on the other hand, we can bring ourselves to part with some of our cherished prejudices, we may be sure that the Moslem's heart will go out to us; for, as all familiar with him are aware, he is full of esteem, which quickly ripens into affection, for the Englishman who knows something of that Islam he loves so well and can speak of it without reviling what he holds most sacred. Men like this would find no difficulty in getting the Mohammedan to join them in the dispassionate examination of its teachings and the consideration of their practical bearings; the more so as he would be acting according to the instructions of the Koran, whose words, "dispute not with the people of the Scriptures"—so often quoted, with the customary bad faith, as a proof of its intolerance—are followed by the immediate context, "unless in the kindliest manner; except with the oppressors among them." How well

this last proviso إِلَّا الَّذِينَ ظَلَمُوا مِنْهُمْ characterises certain overbearing champions of Christianity, by the way, especially as the Arabic word includes the idea, not of hard measure in the vindication of right, but of positive injustice. The extent to which they carry the latter may be gauged by its being too much on one occasion even for the long-suffering Mr. Bosworth Smith, himself emphatically a Christian, and drawing from him the indignant remark, "As if such a writer would feel scrupulous in making any statement upon any subject!" Argument would be thrown away on people of this kind; but Moslems are otherwise quite ready to discuss their creed.

True Islam seeks light, not darkness; that it is the natural ally of knowledge and friend of progress has been abundantly proved by the facts thus epitomised by the authority just named: "During the darkest period of European history the Arabs for five hundred years held up the torch of learning to humanity. It was the Arabs who then 'called the Muses from their ancient seats;' who collected and translated the writings of the Greek masters; who understood the geometry of Apollonius, and wielded the weapons ground in the logical armoury of Aristotle. It was the Arabs who developed the sciences of agriculture and astronomy, and created those of algebra and chemistry; who adorned their cities with colleges and libraries, as well as with mosques and palaces; who supplied Europe with a school of philosophy from Cordova and with a school of physicians from Salerno."[1] Their faith, rightly understood, was the

[1] The sayings of Mohammed which show his own attitude towards science cannot be too strongly commended to the notice of his followers. Here are a few of them: "Acquire knowledge, for he who acquires it for God's sake performs an act of piety; he who speaks of it praises the Lord; he who searches for it worships God; he who imparts it offers sacrifice. . . . Knowledge is our friend in the desert,

mainspring of their actions; why should it not inspire those upon whom their mantle has fallen, especially the Moslems of the British Empire, endowed with so many advantages, to walk in their footsteps and spread abroad the civilisation which springs from the genuine precepts of Mohammedanism? But it is time to turn our attention from them to the system itself.

Although we are more nearly concerned here with those aspects of Islam which have a direct relation to Imperial questions, a glance at some of the others may not be amiss. And first the state of things to which it put an end must be clearly understood, for the circumstances under which the doctrines of the Koran were promulgated are one of the most important keys to its interpretation.

A recent maligner of Mohammed has been at great pains to insinuate that the Arabs were monotheists at the advent of the prophet; whereas all who have written upon the subject agree in telling us that Sabæanism and Magianism had both degenerated into idolatry, while the "grossest Fetichism," to borrow the phrase of Mr. Bosworth Smith, was "probably more popular and more prominent than either." The three hundred and sixty odd idols in the Kaaba, moreover, ought alone to show how far from monotheistic the Arabs were. Neither is it true that the "Impostor" robbed Arabia of its Christianity. "After five centuries of Christian evangelisation," says Sir William Muir, "we can point to but a sprinkling here and there of Christians." It may be pertinent to ask, in addition,

our companion when friendless, our ornament among friends, our armour against our enemies." "The ink of the scholar is more holy than the blood of the martyr." "To listen to the words of the learned, and to instil into the heart the lessons of science, is better than religious exercises." "Him who favours learning and the learned, God will favour in the next world." "He who honours the learned honours me."

whether those who are so ready to hurl this imputation at Mohammed are equally prepared to acknowledge as true Christians the Collyridian and other sects he had to deal with. "It has been the fashion," says Deutsch, "to ascribe whatever is good in Mohammedanism to Christianity. We fear this theory is not compatible with the results of honest investigation. For of Arabian Christianity at the time of Mohammed, the less said, perhaps, the better." As for the moral condition of the Arabs at that time, it cannot perhaps be better described than by extracts from Mr. Bosworth Smith. "To forgive an injury was with the Arabs the sign of a craven spirit: revenge was a religious duty; blood feuds were handed down from father to son . . . and the claim was sometimes not considered to be satisfied till the whole tribe had been swept away. . . . Drunkenness was . . . very common, and very fatal in its effects. The passion for gambling was so reckless that a man would often stake all his possessions, and . . . his freedom. . . . But the most barbarous practice . . . was the burying alive of the female children as soon as they were born; or, worse still, as sometimes happened, after they had attained the age of six years. The father was generally himself the murderer. . . . The majority [of women] were in the most degraded position . . . a woman had no rights; she could not inherit property; her person formed part of the inheritance which came to the heir of her husband, and he was entitled to marry her against her will. Hence sprung the impious marriages of sons with their stepmothers and others of an even worse character which Mohammed so peremptorily forbade. Polygamy was universal and quite unrestricted; equally so was divorce. . . . A father not unfrequently sacrificed his own child to appease an angry god. . . ." These things, the same writer says further on, were abolished by Mohammed, as was also wanton cruelty to slaves; and it may be

observed that Islam succeeded in carrying out these great reforms where both Judaism and Christianity had for centuries been impotent. The times were not ripe for the absolute prohibition of polygamy and slavery, but it encompassed them with restrictions, of which more anon. Meanwhile it is interesting and encouraging to find that Mohammedanism, even as it is popularly understood in our day, has not lost its original power over barbarous nations. Canon Taylor informs us in the *Times* of October 7, 1887, that "an African tribe once converted to Islam never reverts to paganism, and never embraces Christianity. Islam has done more for civilisation than Christianity. Take, for example, the statements of English officials or of travellers as to the practical result of Islam. When Mohammedanism is embraced by a negro tribe, paganism, devil-worship, cannibalism, infanticide, witchcraft at once disappear. Polygamy and slavery are regulated, and their evils are restrained." Surely we must rejoice at having within call so potent an instrument for good, and be disposed to utilise it to the advantage of those whom their more enlightened Moslem brothers can begin by turning from beasts into men, and, with our help and guidance, can raise yet higher in the scale of progress.

As the calumny has again lately come to the front that Mohammedanism does not include a true conception of the Godhead, it may be as well to devote a few words to it. The threadbare argument is given prominence that Moslems do not term the Deity "Father": a puerile quibble one would not have expected from its latest exponent, who poses as a Semitic and Oriental scholar, and who cannot help knowing full well that the word, although perfectly harmless in the mouth of a European, is associated in the East with the most grossly anthropomorphous ideas. Further, is it quite so certain that the vindictive Moloch too often

portrayed to Christians—styled "Father" in unconscious irony—shows parental affection equally with Him of the Beautiful Names? "God is more loving to His servants than the mother to her young," said Mohammed; and the Koran repeatedly recurs to the many proofs of His tenderness for us. The reciprocal love of the believer is expressed, *inter alia*, in the following prayer, handed down by tradition: "O Lord, grant me the love of Thee; grant that I may love those that love Thee; grant that I may do the deeds that win Thy Love; make Thy Love to be dearer to me than myself." Neither is this Moslem spiritual communion barren. Some of its fruits have wrung even from Sir William Muir, whom Syed Ameer Ali well describes as "an avowed enemy of Islam," such tributes as this: "Never, since the days when primitive Christianity startled the world from its sleep, and waged a mortal conflict with heathenism, had men seen the like arousing of spiritual life,—the like faith that suffered sacrifice, and took joyfully the spoiling of goods for conscience' sake." And again: "Mahomet, thus holding his people at bay, waiting, in the still expectation of victory, to outward appearance defenceless, and with his little band, as it were, in the lion's mouth, yet trusting in the Almighty Power whose messenger he believed himself to be, resolute and unmoved, presents a spectacle of sublimity paralleled only in the sacred records by such scenes as that of the prophet of Israel, when he complained to his master, 'I, even I only, am left.'"

In this connection it should be mentioned that the rigid fatalism of certain Western systems of theology does not form part of Islam, as has been falsely asserted with the utmost persistency. The authoritative commentary of Jalālain sheds a new light on a passage of the Koran which is perpetually being put forward in the erroneous form: "Every

man's fate have we bound about his neck," وَكُلَّ إِنْسَانٍ أَلْزَمْنَاهُ طَائِرَهُ فِي عُنُقِهِ. The words really are: "And every man have we hung his bird (*gl.* his works which he carries with him) about his neck, and on the day of resurrection we will bring it face to face with him as a written document. Read thy writing: thyself art to-day a sufficient witness against thee." The context shows the meaning to be that a man cannot rid himself of the sins he has committed, and that they follow him into the next world—unless, of course, he repent, as the Koran says elsewhere, over and over again. As for the responsibility for human acts, the Koran lays it down that "Whatever good betideth thee is from God, and whatever betideth thee of evil is from thyself:" which comes to the same thing as the Christian phrase: "Without God ye can do nothing."

This digression may serve to show that the propagation of true Islam is not that of a servile formalism: we must now return to the investigation of its doctrines on subjects more nearly connected with our Imperial interests. Let us first pause, however, to insist once more upon the necessity of bearing in mind that the Koran was not written in Europe in the twentieth, or even in the nineteenth, century, and that it had to be suited to its surroundings if it was to be anything more than Utopian. It is Oriental, and it can best be understood by enlightened Orientals like Sir Syed Ahmed Khan, to whom we should accordingly go for instruction.

In a country where polygamy had no limits, and where incest and every form of immorality, amongst other evils, were rampant, it was not advisable expressly to introduce strict monogamy at once. Implicitly, however, Islam made polygamy almost impossible to a conscientious Moslem by the following decree: "Marry . . . two, three, or four; but if ye fear lest ye may

not deal equitably, then one." Thus no one is to take more than one wife but he who feels that he can behave with equal justice and love to more, and, a little further on, the Koran itself says that, even with the best will, he will not have it in his power to do so. The leave given is therefore tantamount to a prohibition. Divorce, which was practised without any restraint whatever till Mohammed's time, has been retained, but has been so hedged about with provisos as to be no easy matter; and his opinion of it may be gathered from his saying that, as nothing pleases God more than the freeing of slaves, so nothing displeases Him more than divorce. Woman, until then a chattel, was given the right of possessing separate property, and was raised to a perfect equality with man in the exercise of all legal powers. These facts Mohammedans will not be slow to recognise if they are set before them in the right way, and honour is given where honour is due: the more so as divorce and plurality of wives are the exception among them, and not, as might be supposed, the rule. Especial stress should be laid upon the point that the spirit of their law is even more opposed to these practices than the letter, beyond which many of them have never learnt to go of themselves—in this manner their civilising mission may be extended and intensified.

Slavery, with which fanatics have too often saddled Islam, bears a similar relation to it. "Mohammed," says Mr. Bosworth Smith, "did not abolish slavery altogether, for in that condition of society it would have been neither possible nor desirable to do so; but he encouraged the emancipation of slaves: he laid down the principle that the captive who embraced Islam should be *ipso facto* free, and, what is more important, he took care that no stigma should attach to the emancipated slave." The late Dr. Leitner—whose lecture on Mohammedanism, with its appendices,

should be read from the first word to the last—points out that capture in battle in a religious war can alone make a man a slave, and that even in this case he is eventually, in the ordinary course of things, to be freed. The Tafsīr Jalālain throws additional light on one of the texts cited by the doctor. "And when ye shall be opposed (*gl.* in battle) to the unbelievers let there be a striking of the neck (*gl.* do not cease till the outcome is certain, as when a man puts his foot on his adversary's neck) until you have overcome them; and keep the captives, either to restore them to liberty or to exchange them for captive believers, until the war has thrown down its load (*gl.* of arms, inasmuch as they either make peace or a truce; for this is the end of war and of the retention of captives.)" It cannot be too strongly impressed upon our Mohammedan populations that in no other case has slavery any warrant in their religion, and that the sale of human beings has been severely condemned by "the great Arabian." This knowledge will fill them with antagonism to the slave trade in all its forms. At present many Moslems are under the false impression that nothing is required by their creed save that none of their co-religionists should be enslaved; and, to do them justice, they are very thorough so far as they go Mr. Joseph Thomson, in a letter to the *Times* dated Nov. 14, 1887, writes: "I unhesitatingly affirm, and I speak from a wider experience of Eastern Central Africa than any of your correspondents possess, that if the slave trade thrives it is because Islam has not been introduced to these regions, and for the strongest of all reasons, that the spread of Mohammedanism would have meant the concomitant suppression of the slave trade."

The extract given above from the Koran brings us to the subject of religious war. In this passage, as throughout the volume, it is a war of self-defence that

is commanded. "And fight for the religion of God against those that fight against you; but attack them not first: God hateth the aggressor. . . . If they attack you, slay them . . . but if they desist, let there be no hostility except against the oppressor." "They will not cease fighting against you until they make you give up your religion if they can." Words like these speak plainly enough for themselves, but they are made still clearer by the circumstances; for they applied, as every one knows, to war which the first Moslems were forced into in order to safeguard their lives and liberty, in jeopardy on account of their profession of faith. Nothing but complete discomfiture could induce their adversaries to keep the peace. The lengths to which they went are shown in the following complaint, commented upon by Jalālain: "How can there be a covenant with the polytheists . . . if, when they gain the ascendant over you, they observe (towards you) neither oath nor treaty (*gl.* but do you all the harm in their power)." Yet even then the Moslems were only to fight as they were fought against, and to sheathe the sword as soon as a token of non-resistance was given them. Thus religious war, according to the Koran, is one undertaken to defend liberty of conscience, and has no motive unless this is attacked. There are so many erroneous ideas on the subject floating about that it would be well if our Mohammedans knew exactly what to think of it. Written opinions have been obtained from the teachers of the four schools of divinity at Mecca, says Mr. Theodore Morison (*Spectator*, Dec. 29, 1900), to the effect that India is a *Dar ul Islam*, to whose rulers Moslems "are bound in conscience to be loyal." These *Fatwas* should be published far and wide, not only on account of the effect they must produce on our own subjects, but also as a means towards an alliance of Mohammedan States for defensive purposes, "under the ægis of Great

Britain, instead of that of Russia," suggested by Dr. Leitner as far back as 1886. But of course, with our usual supineness, we do nothing.

One point that must not be forgotten is that, while certain other people talk a great deal about universal brotherhood, Moslems practise it. Caste distinctions, which Christianity fails to overcome, do not exist for them; and, if an Indian Mussulman has any doubts on that score, they are soon set at rest. An example will best explain this. A learned man from Mecca, who was holding a reception, saw a washerman humbly standing near the threshold. On its being explained that the dhoby belonged to a low caste, the Moulvie made him sit at his right hand and eat with him, remarking that all Moslems were brothers, and were equal. Such action does far more than theories, and here Mohammedans have before them a field of civilisation whose tillage is practically their monopoly.

At least twice as much time as can here be devoted to the matter would be needed for even a cursory view of all the ways in which Moslems, by following their religion as they originally received it, might benefit themselves and every one with whom they come in contact. A generation ago it would have been worse than useless to expect British concurrence towards this end, but in our day a spirit of toleration, betokened by facts such as the Gordon College at Khartoum and the Mosque built in connection with the Oriental Institute at Woking, is fortunately gaining ground amongst us, and it may presumably not be too much to hope that unreasoning hatred of Islam will make way for an intelligent interest in it. The conference pleaded for by the Nawab Imad Nawaz Jang, for instance, ought not to be out of reach, and as Dr. Leitner remarked of it when it was first proposed, would "remove many misrepresentations that now exist" and "pave the way for a better understanding

between Christians and Mohammedans"; thus contributing to a less impossible attitude on our part towards the latter, the preliminary to our acquisition of an influence disposing them, in their turn, to lend a willing ear to our suggestions for their welfare. Alarm is already beginning to be felt in certain quarters at the activity prevalent in Mohammedan countries; would it not be better for us to guide it towards a just appreciation of the spirit of Islam than to force it, for want of another outlet, in the direction of unfriendly fanaticism of the Senusi type?

Educated Mohammedans must be enlisted in this cause; and here a word about those at Liverpool may not be out of place. Much is to be had for the asking by a community like this, which, on the one hand, is almost wholly composed of Englishmen, and, on the other, may be supposed to be in touch with the millions of Moslems throughout the empire; a perhaps unique position, which admits them to intimacy with both Western and Eastern thought, allowing them to apply the canons of the one to the other and gauge their present and their former creed by the same standards. They should be able, while giving their countrymen the benefit, from an English point of view, of their inner experience of Islam, to put English ideas authoritatively before the family councils of their co-religionists, and bear their part in showing how well the Koran and the primitive traditions can be applied to the requirements of our time, and how much they are in keeping with its spirit. Let the Moslems within our dominions once grasp this, and their proper place in the empire and in the world is assured.

Note.—Since this was written an interesting account of the progress of the Indian Mussulmans during the nineteenth century, by Mr. S. Khuda Buksh, B.C.L., has appeared in the April number of the *Imperial and Asiatic Quarterly Review*.

CHRISTIAN MISSIONS

ESPECIALLY IN THE BRITISH EMPIRE

By GEORGE SMITH, C.I.E., LL.D.

The British Empire is based on religion and on the toleration which the Christian religion alone teaches and secures. It is religion which has given the comparatively small United Kingdom its imperial power and responsibilities. The English-speaking race, or races, including those of the United States of America, are conscious of a mission or destiny, by recognising which the Empire has grown to its present position in the history of humanity. The spawning power and the adventurous instinct of Englishmen, Scotsmen, and Irishmen, which have carried them so far and have marked their administrative and commercial career, are not directed by blind force. The national character has been built up, the national life is regulated by ideas. And of all ideas that which has most dynamic force is Religion. When that religion claims to be at once supernatural and universal, missionary and yet tolerant of all others whom only it would persuade and benefit, Foreign Missions come to be an essential part of the foreign politics and history of the Empire.

Hence the expansion of the British Empire has been accompanied by the progress of Foreign Missions. The work really began at the Reformation of the Church four centuries ago. What the Roman Church lost in Europe it sought to make up by missions to the lands discovered by Spain and Portugal. The

Jesuits were a missionary order with a military organisation. The Franciscans and Dominicans followed them to the dark races, often as their rivals. The Reformed Churches meanwhile prepared the missionary's message in the Greek text, the Latin version, and the vernacular translations of the Scriptures. In 1641 Oliver Cromwell founded the first Missionary Society, to the Indians of America, under John Eliot.

Two historical events checked that enterprise, but opened the door far wider. The American War of Independence at once set Great Britain free for the expansion of its empire in Asia and Africa, and it called into existence the second great missionary power. The French Revolution broke up the feudalism of Europe, and England became master of what are now some of its greatest dependencies and dominions.

Modern Christian Missions to the dark races, who form the majority of mankind, took their origin in the throes of the wars of the Revolution and Independence. After ten years of preparation, William Carey founded the first general Missionary Society in 1792. From that time Reformed Missions have grown with the growth of the Empire. The Baptist Society began in Northern India. In 1795 it was followed by the London Missionary Society, which began in Hawaii and the islands of the Pacific Ocean. In 1796 the Scottish Missionary Society selected first Western and then Southern Africa as the scene of its operations. In 1799 the great Church Missionary Society was founded, and soon sent evangelists out to West Africa, Madras, and Calcutta. In 1804 the British and Foreign Bible Society became the catholic publishing house of the missionaries' translations of the Bible. Gradually the two older agencies of the Church of England, the Wesleyans, and the Church of Scotland became more missionary or foreign in their work—the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, the Society for the

Propagation of the Gospel, the Scottish Society of the same name, and the Wesleyan Society. The same missionary philanthropists who created what was called "the era of benevolence" from 1792 to 1813, when the East India Company received a more tolerant charter than before, carried through Parliament the abolition of the slave trade, which had stained the nascent empire and made its healthy growth impossible. As the people of the United States of America increased, they, too, founded corresponding missionary organisations, although the burden of slavery with which at the first Portugal and Spain had saddled them was not removed till Lincoln's Civil War long after.

The constitutional law of toleration in the Empire was not practically established until Queen Victoria assumed the direct government of India on the Mutiny and the removal of the East India Company. Then, in the Royal Proclamation of 1st November 1858, the Queen with her own hand wrote this addition to the Secretary of State's draft: "Firmly relying ourselves on the truth of Christianity, and acknowledging with gratitude the solace of religion, we disclaim alike the right and the desire to impose our convictions on any of our subjects." Eighteen years after, when H.R.H. the Prince of Wales visited South India, and was welcomed by ten thousand native Christians at Tinnevelly, he said: "It is a great satisfaction to me to find my countrymen engaged in offering to our Indian fellow-subjects those truths which form the foundation of our own social and political system, and which we ourselves esteem as our most valued possession. The freedom in all matters of opinion which our Government secures to all is an assurance to me that large numbers of our Indian fellow-subjects accept your teaching from conviction."

When William Carey made his missionary survey in 1786, publishing the results in his famous "Enquiry"

in 1792,[1] he estimated the population of the world at "about 731,000,000." Of these only 174,000,000 were Christians. Of the other 557,000,000, the number of pagans was 420,000,000; of Mohammedans 130,000,000, and of Jews 7,000,000. In the 114 years since that survey, it is known that the number of mankind has more than doubled. The estimate of Mr. E. Ravenstein, F.R.G.S., made in September 1890, and brought down to the close of the nineteenth century, is at least 1,550,000,000. Of these 510,000,000 are Christians, in the three classes of 200,000,000 of the Reformed Church, 200,000,000 of the Roman Church, and 110,000,000 of the Greek and Eastern Churches. Of the 1,040,000,000 of non-Christians, 9,000,000 are Jews, 200,000,000 are Mohammedans, and 831,000,000 are pagans.

There is thus an apparent increase of Christians, in the 114 years, of 336,000,000. Whereas there were 174 Christians to every 557 of the human race, there are now 510 Christians to every 1550. Roughly, every third human being is now a Christian in name. The increase is due (1) to the superior energy of the principal Christian races; (2) to the secondary civilising effects of Christianity; (3) to the direct influence of Christian missions, in obedience to the great commission of the Founder of the Faith and His universal claim and supernatural power and presence. The Teutonic peoples, and especially the English-speaking, and more particularly the British, have led the way during the century, so far as Reformed or Evangelical Missions are concerned, these being always tolerant. The Latin peoples, especially those of France, have been identified with Roman Missions. The Church of the Greek rite, chiefly in Russia, has had a missionary influence in Siberia, while rigidly intolerant to all other organisations of the

[1] Reprinted by Hodder & Stoughton in 1891.

kind, except the Bible Society. We shall notice these three mission forces and their results in succession. There are few data for the third.

I. Reformed Missions

The Christian missionary expansion, which makes the century remarkable, is divided into two well-defined periods of sowing and growth. The first covers the period up to 1859. The second, of the forty years to the present day, started under the double impulse of the Indian Mutiny and the first return of David Livingstone from tropical Africa. In 1799 William Carey, after seven years' labour, had not a convert, nor had the Scottish and the London Missionary Societies. The Lutherans had a few in South India, and Kiernander had several hundreds in Calcutta. The Wesleyan Methodists had gained some negroes, and the Moravians had won several converts from the depressed races.

First Period—Sowing, 1799–1859.

	1799.	1820.	1830.	1845.	1859.
Income	£10,000	£121,756	£226,440	£632,000	£91,8000
Missionaries (men) .	50	421	734	1,319	2,032
Missionaries (unmarried women) .	...	1	31	72	76
Native ministers . .	...	7	10	158	169
Other native helpers .	80	166	850	3,152	5,785
Native communicants .	7,000	21,787	51,322	159,000	227,000
Native disciples or catechumens . .	5,000	15,728	102,275	185,000	252,000
Missionary organisations	6	20	25	65	98

The first of the Missionary Congresses, that of Bengal, was held at Calcutta in September 1855. In all British India there were then only 386 missionaries, in feudatory India there was not one. The Punjab had 5 only against 182 in Madras, 103 in Bengal, and 60 in the North-Western Provinces. There were only 34

in Bombay and 2 in the Central Provinces. "Can you wonder," wrote the Conference in an appeal to Europe and America, "then, that we ask for larger agencies, that for this holy service we appeal to you for more men and more means; and that we ask the Church to aid us by more repeated and more fervent prayers?"

In less than two years our Eastern Empire was at stake till Delhi fell in September 1857. Our native country was roused by massacres and the penalties of the worst form of war, till the national conscience quickened the Churches and Societies into redoubled life.

All this affected Asia chiefly, but at the same time Africa was at last brought into the conflict of Christendom with the darkness. David Livingstone returned from his first journey across that continent, to tell all—the Queen, the Universities, the Christian Churches—of multitudinous tribes, and peoples, and tongues, enslaved at once by the powers of darkness, and the demand for the harems of Islam. A "new era of universal benevolence" was again begun for the dark races. America stood shoulder to shoulder with Great Britain, Germany, and Huguenot France in the missionary march. The seed of sixty years was bearing its fruit, while new fields were sown by new agencies, with this result up to the close of the nineteenth century:—

Second Period—Growth, 1859–1900.

	1859.	1889.	1895.	1898.
Income	£918,000	£2,130,000	£2,865,662	£2,952,724
Missionaries (men)	2,032	4,135	6,369	6,746
Missionaries (unmarried women)	76	1,889	3,390	3,421
Native ministers	169	3,327	4,018	3,958
Other native helpers	5,785	41,754	61,124	64,198
Native communicants	227,000	850,000	1,057,000	1,321,561
Native disciples or catechumens	252,000	650,000	864,155	1,148,905
Missionary organisations	98	262	365	365
Schools	...	...	...	19,476
Scholars	...	...	...	988,660

These figures exclude all Bible and Christian literature work, Missions to the Jews, to decadent Christian Churches, and the Colonies, and the wives of missionaries, the majority of whom double the efficiency of the men. If these be added, the expenditure for 1898 will be £3,248,874, and the total number of foreign missionaries will rise to 12,000 in 1898, of whom 5500 were women. Dr. James S. Dennis, the author of a well-known work in three volumes on "Christian Missions and Social Progress," submitted to the Ecumenical Congress in New York in 1900 a remarkable array of statistics of Foreign Missions of all classes. His calculation is that there are now 15,460 foreign missionaries, 1,317,684 native communicants, 20,375 mission schools, 1,046,168 pupils, 537 missionary organisations, £4,231,000 missionary income, 2,000,000 copies of Scriptures annually circulated.

Stated broadly, the Churches of the Reformation at the close of the nineteenth century spend annually £4,000,000 sterling in sending Missions, Bibles, and Christian literature to non-Christians, as against £10,000 at its beginning. They send out above 7000 men, two-thirds of whom are married, and 4000 unmarried women, against 50 only a century ago.

Then there was not one ordained native convert, now there are upwards of 4000. Then there were hardly a hundred native Christian workers, now there are 70,000. These figures take no cognisance of four of the most powerful forces at work in the civilisation of the non-Christian races. These are, educational, medical, and industrial missions, and the cheap circulation of the Bible and of pure literature, vernacular as well as English.

Of the sum of £3,000,000 sterling spent in 1897 by the Reformed Churches of Christendom on missions

to the dark races, the British Empire supplied one half, the United States of America nearly a third, and Germany, the Netherlands, Switzerland, and the Scandinavian countries gave the rest.

II. Roman Missions

The quest by sea for the wealth of India was the beginning of the missions of the Latin Church, and also of the African slave-trade. Portugal sought and found India by the eastward route round the Cape of Good Hope, following up the discoveries of its distinguished son, Prince Henry the Navigator. In 1442 Pope Martin the Fifth's Bull assumed to confer on the Portuguese crown all the land it should conquer from Cape Bojador eastward to the Indies—that is, all Africa and India. The first result was the capture of ten negro slaves, as "souls" that "might be converted to the faith." These, the first African slaves, were presented to that Pope, and by 1537, under another Bull, a slave-market was opened in Lisbon where from ten to twelve thousand negroes were sold every year for transport to the West Indies. Spain, on the other hand, sought India under the Genoese navigator Columbus by the westward route, and found America for Ferdinand and Isabella. Los Reyes obtained from the most infamous of the Popes, Alexander the Sixth, by the Bull of May 1493, recognition of their lordship over all that hemisphere. To keep the peace between Portugal and Spain and reconcile the two Bulls, he divided the sphere between them by an imaginary line from pole to pole drawn a hundred leagues to the west of the Azores and Cape Verde Islands. Thereupon, at Barcelona, nine Indians bought by Columbus were baptized, and one of them, who died immediately after, was declared to be the first of the dark races of that region who had entered

heaven. Another half century passed, and in 1562 Sir John Hawkins carried off slaves from the Sierra Leone coast, starting the English iniquity for which the evangelical missionary William Carey was the first to begin the atonement in 1782. President Lincoln completed the American reparation by his proclamation during the great War of 1862–66.

To these two Papal documents should be added the Bull of 1540 (supplemented by that of 1543), by which Loyola's and Xavier's new Company or Order of Jesus received its charter and became, for the Romans, "the actual embodiment of the Church militant upon earth."

In the four and a half centuries since Roman missions have been at work, Portugal and Spain, after their brilliant geographical discovery east and west, have been ejected from the greater part of India and Malaysia, and from the Philippines and the Pacific Islands. France, Italy, and even Austria have distanced decadent Portugal and Spain in the missionary enterprise. France especially, discouraging the Church at home, has used it politically abroad. In November 1899 this occurred in the debate on the estimates for the Ministry for Foreign Affairs in the French Chamber:—

"M. Delcassé asked the House to grant the full credit of 800,000 francs for the French religious establishments in the East, which was reduced by the Budget Committee. He showed the importance of maintaining the French protectorate over the Christians of Syria, and after alluding to the services rendered by the missions, declared that the subventions ought rather to be increased than decreased. The Minister's statement was cheered, and the credit of 800,000 francs was voted by the Chamber."

The data for Roman missions are very uncertain and incomplete. The missions are conducted by three

great separate organisations at least—the Roman Propaganda, the Portuguese Church, and the Paris Société des Missions Etrangères. The first may be said to raise £275,000 from all parts of the world. To these must be added the work, chiefly in Africa since the accession of Pope Leo XIII. in 1878, of four modern organisations — the Congregation of the Holy Ghost, the Lyons Society of African Missions, the Veronese Institute for the Missions of Nigritia, and the Algerine Congregation for the Conversion of the Soudan and Central Africa. The sum raised annually in the United Kingdom for the foreign missions of the Roman Church is believed not to exceed £13,000. On the 1st day of 1899, after Lord Kitchener's conquest of the Soudan, a general collection was made, by the Pope's orders, to enable the Congregation de Propaganda Fide "to put down the curse of African slavery, and to establish in its place the voluntary and sweet service of our Lord Jesus Christ."

St. Joseph's Society is a congregation of secular priests, established to propagate the Gospel among unevangelised races beyond Europe. Its mission fields are in Madras, North Borneo, and Sarawak, among the Maoris of New Zealand, in Kafristan, Cashmere, and in Equatorial Africa. It has two colleges in England (one at Mill Hill) and two abroad.

In 1888 the following was the strength of the Jesuit missions. The numbers are those of the various orders of the priesthood, priests, coadjutors, and "scholastiques," but in every case the number of priests is more than twice that of the other two orders put together. In the Balkan Peninsula there are 45 Jesuit missionaries; in Africa, and especially Egypt, Madagascar, and the Zambezi region, 223; in Asia, especially Armenia, Syria, certain parts of India, and parts of China, 699. In China alone the number is 195, all of French

nationality. In Oceania, including the Philippines, the Malay Archipelago, Australia, and New Zealand, the number is 270; in America, including certain specified States of the Union, portions of Canada, British Honduras, Brazil, and Peru, 1130; the total number of Jesuits scattered over the globe in purely missionary work being 2377. These are of various nationalities, but the great majority are French.

In India alone, where we have accurate statistics of the religions of the vast peoples—they numbered 287¼ millions ten years ago—the census showed that, including the small Portuguese and smaller French districts, there were 1,594,901 Roman and Roman-Syrian Christians.

In Africa Cardinal Moran claims "about 2,000,000 Catholics," but gives no details save this, that in Egypt they had increased from 7000 in 1800 to 80,000 in 1890. Rev. L. C. Casartelli wrote in 1891 that "under the general supervision of Propaganda are at work an endless number of agencies—some societies exclusively devoted to foreign missionary work; others, the religious orders, some ancient, some modern, which in addition to their ordinary labours in Christian lands, also take a large share of work on the foreign missions. That most powerful of all missionary societies, the Société des Missions Etrangères, whose head-quarters are in the Rue du Bac, Paris, is scarcely second to Propaganda itself. From this centre are supplied, with a never-failing stream of zealous apostles, the missions of a large portion of China, of Manchuria, Corea, Japan, Tibet, Tonking, Cochin-China, Siam, the Malay Peninsula, Burma, and parts of India. In these vast countries, the Society had 29 bishops, 783 European priests, 436 native priests, and 2031 catechists, whose services were devoted to the care of a Catholic population of 938,916 souls; and who, in 2267 schools and orphanages, are educating over 60,000 native children."

This table contains the most recent figures showing the Propaganda work all over the world:—

Propaganda Missions to the Heathen, 1898.	Catholics.	Clergy.		Churches and Chapels.	Schools and Colleges.
		European.	Native.		
Ottoman Empire (Asia) .	129,680	(?)	(?)	210	528
Persia	7,650	12	...	4	...
Arabia and Aden . .	1,500	12	...	4	6
India and Ceylon .	1,178,325	777	303	3,384	1,835
Burma	51,100	66	11	314	157
Malay Peninsula . .	17,880	28	2	41	41
Siam	28,000	19	18	62	65
Indo-China	730,700	285	442	2,962	1,597
Chinese Empire . .	532,448	759	409	3,930	2,962
Corea	35,546	35	6	36	35
Japan	53,272	116	26	195	60
Borneo	1,200	12	...	14	10
Dutch East Indies .	49,080	50	...	48	17
Africa [1]	458,170	1,015		1,000	1,656
Oceania	105,850	215		439	298
Patagonia and Indian Missions of South and Central America	215,946 [2]	839 [2]		(?) [2]	(?) [2]

III. Greek (Russian) Missions

The Mission Board of the Russian Orthodox Church is under the patronage of the Empress, and under the presidency of Ivanniki, the Metropolitan of Moscow, the highest ecclesiastical dignitary in the empire. It finds support from the bishops of forty-one dioceses, and had recently a muster-roll of 9623 subscribing members. The central committee, a body of nine ecclesiastics and three laymen, hold their meetings in Moscow. In each bishopric there is a diocesan sub-committee, whose chief duty it is to collect subscriptions. The general funds of the board come through three channels: (1) Collecting boxes placed in prominent public places; (2) Church offertories;

[1] Under Propaganda only. [2] Returns exceedingly incomplete.

and (3) Donations and annual subscriptions. The entire income for one year was 286,826 roubles.

The chief fields of work are Siberia, Japan, and the eastern portions of European Russia. In Siberia the work is carried on among the heathen Buriat, Tungus, and Yakut, and the Mohammedan Kirziz. Here there are three groups of mission stations, the Altai, the Irkutsk, and the Trans-Baikal group. Since its commencement, the Altai Mission has baptized more than 15,000 persons. A point of much interest is the prominent position of the schools in all the mission districts. In addition, there is a medical department which sometimes plays an important proselytising part.

The Irkutsk mission-staff consists of nineteen priests and twenty-one assistants. They report that the Kirziz lamas energetically oppose them, using every effort to draw the converts back to heathenism; but, notwithstanding this, the Irkutsk Mission can reckon 1798 baptisms since its beginning in 1870. Thirteen schools have been established, but the attendance is not large.

The mission to the east of the great Baikal lake is conducted by an archimandrite, two monks, two archpriests, twenty priests, and thirteen assistants; their work is among the Buriat and other wild Turki tribes inhabiting Djungaria and Eastern Turkistan. The missionaries report that in their district there are about 15,000 lamas who exert themselves to destroy their influence, stirring the people to hold fast to their old faith. The report likewise speaks of "priests of the devil" as offering strong resistance to Christianity. These are probably the Shaman priests, as Shamanism is widely practised in all that region. During one year there were 485 baptisms in the Trans-Baikal Mission district. There are now more than 100 schools; but doubtless most of them, here as in other districts, are of a very primitive nature, and have been

established to meet the necessities of the numerous Russian settlers in Eastern Siberia. In the town of Chita there is a confraternity of Russians who render large support to these schools. The extreme eastern portion of the district is Kamtschatka, where the missionaries are at work among the Golt and Iliak tribes of that inhospitable region; a few Chinese and Manchurians are likewise included in their range.

The extension and approaching completion of the Siberian railway will certainly develop these missions.

IV. The Language of the British Empire

Ninety years ago French was spoken by about 31,000,000 people, German by 30,000,000, Russian by 30,000,000, Spanish by 27,000,000, Italian by 16,000,000, Portuguese by 9,000,000, and English by 21,000,000. To-day English is the language of about 125,000,000, French of 45,000,000, German of 55,000,000, Russian of 75,000,000, Spanish of 40,000,000, Italian of 35,000,000, and Portuguese of 12,000,000. In other words, during the nineteenth century English not only has risen from the fifth place to the first, but also has gained enormously on the rest in relative magnitude, expanding from about 13 per cent. of the total to about 30 per cent.

According to Sir Robert Giffen, in a paper read by him at the Colonial Institute, the British Empire is a territory of 11,500,000 square miles, or 13,000,000 if Egypt and the Soudan be included; and in that territory is a population of 407,000,000, or 420,000,000 reckoning Egypt. It is these 420,000,000 of human beings especially, but also all the other dark peoples, whom Christian missions seek to elevate. Gathered out of the dark races by the Reformed Missions, there are now living Christian communities which number 5,000,000; those claimed by the older Roman Missions

are not fewer. The two, with the smaller results of the Greek Church, may be taken at 10,500,000.

V. Secondary or Sociological Results of Christian Missions

The Empire owes to Christian principles, and to Christian men and women, at once its expansion and its influence on the dark races of mankind. Many of the social results of the Ethnic Religions, whether the demon-worship of the savages of Africa or the nature-worship of the more cultured Asiatics, or the ancestor-worship of the Mongolians, or the teaching of the Koran of Mohammed, are contrary to human virtue and progress, sometimes even to Nature itself. The description of Paul in his letter to the Romans of the first century, whom Christianity transformed into Europe and America as they are now, is still true of the non-Christian majority of mankind. Hence the moral and historical feature of the nineteenth century, which marks it out from all its predecessors, is the social and political decay of the Ethnic and the rapid advance and influence of the Christian peoples, especially the English-speaking and Teutonic. Christianity is rapidly changing a downward into an upward evolution wherever it seeks an entrance. By their educational, industrial, and medical methods, and by woman's influence on her own sex, Christian missions apply the supernatural teaching of the one Son of Man with marvellous results acknowledged by all impartial experts, from Darwin and other scientists to our political statesmen and administrators. To this new and fertile field of sociology James S. Dennis, D.D., the American Presbyterian professor, of Beirut, Syria, has devoted in detail and with philosophic grasp his three elaborate volumes on "Christian Missions and Social Progress" (1897–1900). Among non-Christian peoples

Christianity, by its missionaries, is there proved in great detail to create a new type of individual character and a new public opinion. It establishes and promotes education, it reduces languages to writing and gives them a pure literature, while advancing scholarship and science. It awakes the philanthropic spirit, and presents personal examples which irresistibly draw and assimilate the uncivilised. It introduces new national aspirations and higher conceptions of government as well as of life. It lays the foundation of a new and upward social order. It justifies, wherever purely and sincerely applied, the divine claims of its Founder, and opens the Kingdom of Heaven to all believers.

DUTIES OF EMPIRE

By JOHN M. ROBERTSON

Empire, in the proper meaning of the term, is domination; and it is only in a loose sense that it fits the relation of Britain to her self-governing colonies. The social problems of such colonies are much the same as those of the mother country, and will be solved by themselves if at all. Only in a restricted sense has she any such "duties" towards them as call for present attention. If we are to consider the duties of empire for Britain we must have regard above all things to those parts of "the" empire where we, ourselves self-governing, bear rule over other races, who are treated as incapable of self-government. And as India is of all such parts of the empire the most extensive, the most interesting, the most significant, and the most commonly studied, it is by considering the case of India that we can best, in a brief space, develop our problem.

I

In the year 1853 was published John William Kaye's book on "The Administration of the East India Company," which begins with these sentences:—

"When Mr. Barlow, then Secretary to the Indian Government, drew up the elaborate minute on which the Bengal Regulations of 1793 were based, Sir William Jones, to whom this important document was submitted, struck his pen across the first three words. The correction which he made was a significant one. Barlow had written: 'The two important

objects which the Government ought to have in view in all its arrangements, are to ensure its political safety, and to render the possession of the country as advantageous as possible to the East India Company and the British Nation.' Sir William Jones, I have said, erased the first three words. Instead of '*the two principal*' objects he wrote: 'two of the primary objects'; and then he appended this marginal note: 'I have presumed to alter the first words. Surely the *principal* object of every Government is the happiness of the governed.' Sixty years have passed away since that significant correction was made, and it is now a moot question whether the practice of the British Government in India, throughout that time, has been in accordance with the words of Mr. Barlow, or those of Sir William Jones."

As a matter of fact, Barlow's view was not so very different from that of Sir William Jones, for he had gone on to write that "it is a source of pleasing reflection to know that in proportion as we contribute to the happiness of the people and the prosperity of the country the nearer we approach to the attainment of these objects. If the people are satisfied with our government, we shall be certain that they wish for its continuance; and as the country increases in wealth, the greater will be the advantages which we shall derive from it." Honesty was thus to be the best policy; and after all even Sir William Jones too regarded gain to the East India Company as one of the "primary objects" of the administration.

Kaye, a man of judicial cast of mind, goes on to avow how difficult was the problem put by Barlow as that of Indian government, namely, to enable the people to "reap the profit of their labours." Had that end been achieved, he remarks, "that would have been achieved by Indian administrators, which, so far as the range of my knowledge extends, has yet been achieved by no administrators under heaven. This, humanly speaking, indeed, is the greatest prob-

lem under heaven. It is nothing, therefore, to say that in India the rights of labour have not been determined — that its claims have not been acknowledged—in a manner to give entire satisfaction to every benevolent mind. Under the most favourable circumstances, we can only arrive at something of an approximation."

From this point of view, recognising the difficulties and no less the shortcomings of those who dealt with them, Kaye finally pronounces that "Never at any time has the Government of India evinced, by acts of practical beneficence, so kindly an interest in the welfare of the people as in the last few years."[1] That was written in 1853. In 1857 broke out the Indian Mutiny. And whereas Kaye before the explosion had been impressed by the greatly increased beneficence of the administration, J. M. Ludlow, writing in 1858, with a large Anglo-Indian knowledge, declares that "it has been admitted to me over and over again, from experience derived from the most opposite quarters of India, by every man really conversant with native feeling," that "Englishmen *as such* are objects of hatred to a large portion of the native population."[2] Instead of chronicling an improvement about 1850, Ludlow cites the evidence of men who affirmed that in the thirty years then past there had gone on a great deterioration in Anglo-Indian manners and methods. I do not say that this testimony is decisive: there is a clear conflict of evidence; and we shall find a similar conflict in regard to the state of things to-day as compared with that of fifty years ago; but, remembering that the Mutiny *did* take place a few years after Kaye drew good augury from his knowledge, it seems worth while to note how abundant the contrary testimony then available was.

[1] Work cited, p. 657.

[2] "British India, its Races and its History," ii. p. 353.

I transcribe a page or two from Ludlow[1] on the subject:—

"I do not think it possible to take up any book relating the personal experience of an Englishman or Englishwoman in India, and not written for the sake of getting up a case in favour of the Government, and to rise from its perusal without the feeling that the behaviour of our countrymen in India generally must be such as to draw upon them the hatred of the natives. Sometimes this feeling is the result of the evident absence of all moral principle in the writer. More often it is directly impressed upon us by his narrative. It matters little what is his calling. Bishop Heber, in his *Journal;* the Rev. Mr. Acland, in his "Manners and Customs of India"; Colonel Sleeman, from Central India; Captain Hervey, from the South—women, even, like Mrs. Colin Mackenzie—all relate similar tales of brutality on the part of Englishmen towards natives, even in the restraining presence of their own countrymen. Mr. Acland will tell of deliberate insolence towards a raja in Cuttack, and how Englishmen, hunting on his land, and making use of his coolies and elephants, could not even wait for the 'beastly nigger' to hunt with them. Captain Hervey, who so late as 1850 speaks of 'the harsh measures generally adopted by *all* classes of Europeans' towards the natives, asks, 'Where are the Englishmen who would tamely submit to be dealt with as the natives of India often are? The very brutes that perish are not so treated'; and declares that our good folks in England know not of the goings on in India. *To maltreat a native is considered a meritorious act;* and the younger branches of the service think it very fine to curse and swear at them, kick and buffet them. A relative of mine wrote to me from India only the other day, that he had known a European officer who kept an orderly for the sole purpose of thrashing his native servants; that another was recently tried for beating his orderly because he did not thrash his servants hard enough. Another relative of mine, an officer in a Bombay regiment, wrote lately in terms of just disgust at the conduct of the young officers of his corps towards their native servants; maltreating them, leaving their

[1] "British India, its Races and its History," ii. pp. 356–58.

wages unpaid for a twelvemonth; and yet some of these men were so faithful that they would pawn their own clothes to procure grain for their masters' horses.

"'I have been saying for years past,' says an Englishman, recently returned to Southern India, 'that if a man who left India thirty years ago were now to revisit it, he would scarcely credit the change he would universally witness in the treatment of the natives, high and low. The English were not then absolute masters everywhere. Now they are. Restraint is cast away; and as one generation of functionaries succeeds another every twenty-five years, those in authority set to those coming after them the example of supercilious arrogance and contempt of the people, which they have been following from the beginning of their career. The past of the natives, therefore, has not a shadow of existence in the minds of their rulers, nor has their future in their own eyes a ray of hope, inasmuch as those rulers regard their present abject degradation as their normal condition, and feel neither pity nor compunction in perpetrating it. The universal phrase is, 'They are unfit for, or are unworthy of anything better.'

"Sir Charles Napier, in Scinde, reckons, as one of the things which young officers think they must do to be gentlemanly, 'that they should be insolent to black servants. 'Amongst the civilians,' he said, 'with many exceptions, however, there is an aping of greatness, leaving out that which marks the really high-born gentleman and lady—kindness and politeness to those below them.' If he knew 'anything of good manners, nothing could be worse than those of India towards natives of all ranks—a vulgar *bahaduring*. . . . I speak of the manners of the military of both armies.' Partial as he was to military men, he refused officers a passage in his merchant steamers on the Indus, knowing that 'they would go on board, occupy all the room, treat his rich merchants and supercargoes with insolence, and very probably drink and thrash the people.' Such deeds were done as made him wonder that we held India a year."

In the face of all this, it is impossible that thoughtful people at home, conscious of a measure of responsibility for Indian government, should not ask

themselves how far the conditions have been changed. To-day, as in 1853, we hear weighty assurances as to the beneficence of our rule: is it possible that in a few years they may be confuted by events as before? What about the countervailing testimony? If Kaye, with all his approbation for British beneficence, could admit that after fifty years it was a moot point whether Barlow's ideal had been transcended, whether India was being ruled for her sake or ours, can we say that it is not a moot point after fifty years more? I turn to a work on "The Retention of India," by Mr. Andrew Halliday, published in 1871, and I find this question put (pp. 160–61) as decisive:—

"It would be well for this country to consider what would be the consequences of the loss of the Indian Empire. What would be the fate of *those dependent for subsistence on the Indian revenues*, and what would become of the *vast sums invested in Indian securities*, railways, and other property? If this country does not watch the frontier question, and is not prepared to repel invasion, the result may be a *frightful amount of pauperism in this country, among classes ill adapted by nature to a state of penury.*"

Here, assuredly, there has been small advance on Barlow's ideal. India is avowedly a great source of income to a multitude of well-to-do people in this country; and on that ground we are to defend it. And a number of observers tell us that no matter how good may be the intentions of the Government at any given moment; no matter how disinterested the labours of many of its subordinates or how genuine their philanthropy, India under British rule continues poor, and tends to grow poorer; under which circumstances it is hardly necessary to ask whether the natives in the mass are well-pleased. There is clearly, then, a vital problem to investigate.

II

Broadly considered, the main sociological symptoms of India may be stated as follows:—

1. Poverty among the vast mass of the people; and debt among the agriculturists.

2. A constant excess of exports over imports, signifying "tribute" paid to England, in salaries and pensions and interest on debt.

3. Very doubtful progress in the faculty and practice of self-government among the people.

Probably none of these propositions will be disputed by qualified judges; but for the sake of the less-informed citizen I will cite some evidence offered by Mr. Wilfrid Scawen Blunt, not as being specially authoritative, but as being specially clear. And first as to indebtedness:—

"In old times, as I understand the case, in Oriental lands money was practically unknown to the peasantry. Their dealings were in kind, and especially the land-tax paid to the Government was paid not in coin but in corn. The whole of the peasants' security, therefore, if they wanted to borrow, was their crop; and if at sowing time they needed seed, it was recoverable only at the harvest, at which time also the Government took its share—a tenth according to strict Mohammedan law, or it might be a fifth, or in times of grievous tyranny the half. Nothing more, however, than the crop of the year was forthcoming. No lender, therefore, would advance the impecunious cultivator more than his seed corn or the loan of a yoke of oxen. . . .

"But with European administration came other doctrines. Wealth, our economists affirmed, must not be idle; production must be increased; resources must be developed; capital must be thrown into the land. The revenue, above all things, must be made regular and secure. In order to effect this, payment in money was substituted for payment in kind. . . . So much coin must be forthcoming every year as the tax on so many

acres. . . . In the country districts of India, as in Egypt, corn could not be sold in the public market at its full market price, and . . . the peasant had the choice either of selling at a grievous loss or of borrowing the money. He generally borrowed. I believe it may be stated absolutely that the whole of peasant indebtedness in either country originally came from the necessity thus imposed of finding coin to pay the land-tax.

"The change, however, put immediate wealth into the hands of Government . . . and, by an inevitable process of financial reasoning, borrowing was encouraged. . . . In order to enable the agriculturist to borrow, he must be able to give his debtor something of more value than the crop in his field. Then why not the field itself? The laws of mortgage and recovery of debt by safe and easy process were consequently introduced, and courts appointed for the protection of creditors. This completed the peasant's ruin. Finding money suddenly at his disposal, he borrowed without scruple, not only to pay taxes and to improve his land, but also for his amusements. Whether I am right or wrong in the details of this history, it is an indisputable fact that at the present moment there is hardly a village in British India which is not deeply, hopelessly in debt. In the course of my inquiries I do not remember to have met with a single instance of a village clear of debt even in Bengal." [1]

Concerning the agricultural population in general, Mr. Blunt sums up to similar effect:—

"No one accustomed to Eastern travel can fail to see how poor the Indian peasant is. . . . From Madras to Bombay, and from Bombay again to the Ganges Valley . . . one passes not half-a-dozen towns, nor a single village, which has a prosperous look. The fields, considering the general lightness of the soil, are not ill-cultivated; but there is much waste land, and in the scattered villages there is an entire absence of well-built houses, enclosed gardens, or large groves of fruit-trees—the signs of individual wealth which may be found in nearly

[1] "Ideas about India," 1885, pp. 22–25.

every other Oriental country. The houses are poorer than in Asia Minor or Syria, or even Egypt, and are uniform in their poverty. . . .

"Nor is the aspect of poverty less startling if one looks closer. Entering a Deccan village, one is confronted with peasants nearly naked, and if one asks for the headman, one finds him no better clothed than the rest. The huts are bare of furniture; the copper pots are rare; the women are without ornaments. These are the common signs of indigence in the East, and here they are universal. . . . They eat rice only on holidays. Their ordinary food is millet mixed with salt and water, and flavoured with red peppers; and of this they partake only sufficient to support life." [1]

All of which testimony, in a general way, is corroborated by entirely independent evidence, such as that of the Rev. Mr. Wilkins, who adduces further evils:—

"Bad as was the condition of the slave in the Southern States of America, the condition of multitudes of the poor people in Bengal is in some respects worse. . . . The cultivator has to pay a rent that is difficult to raise in fruitful seasons; but when the rainfall is low and his crops small, he has to accept loans at exorbitant interest from his landlord, and when once he becomes indebted it is almost impossible ever to free himself from the chains. The interest he is compelled to pay leaves little to support himself and his family. In addition to the normal fixed rent which his landlord has a legal right to demand, other exactions are made which reduce the tenants to abject poverty. . . . A marriage or death, or any extraordinary expense that landlords may incur, is a sufficient reason for demanding an extra sum from the tenants. . . . If they speak of their grievances, their cattle and ploughs may be seized. They have nothing but what is pawned to the landlord, or to some money-lending go-between. There is widespread oppression, and the grinding poverty of the people forces itself into notice. Bengal, one of the richest soils on the earth, which in many parts is able to support a larger population than it has, is

[1] Work cited, pp. 11–13.

in such a condition that, if a single season's rains are withheld, unless help is given by the Government and charitably disposed people, it would be decimated by famine. The country produces sufficient in years of plenty to provide for its people in the years of scarcity; but as they live from hand to mouth, and cannot save anything for such contingencies, they are entirely dependent on others when the rains fail." [1]

From authorities in no way identified with the spirit of criticism we have admissions which, taken with such testimony as the foregoing, seem decisive:—

"After a minute comparison," writes Sir William Hunter, "of rural India at present with the facts disclosed in the manuscript records, I am compelled to the conclusion that throughout large tracts the struggle for life is harder than it was when the country passed into our hands."

Sir James Caird, writing in 1883, declared that—

"The available good land in India is nearly all occupied. There are extensive areas of good waste land covered with jungle . . . which might be reclaimed; but for that object capital must be employed, and the people have little to spare. The produce of the country, on an average of years, is barely sufficient to maintain the present population and make a saving for occasional famine. . . . Scarcity, deepening into famine, is thus becoming of more frequent occurrence. . . . There are more people to feed every year from land which, in many parts of India, is undergoing gradual deterioration." [2]

This is corroborated by one of the reports of the Famine Commission of twenty years ago, which points to the normal starving of the land by the agriculturist and admits:—

"Of these faults he is generally conscious; but they are largely due to his poverty, and it is of no avail to ask him to

[1] "Modern Hinduism," 2nd ed., 1900, pp. 159–60.

[2] "India: the Land and the People," 3rd ed., p. 212. Compare the judgment of Mr. J. A. Baines, C.I.E., as given in vol. i. of the present series ("India," pp. 27, 353).

correct them as long as he is unable to buy and to feed more and stronger bullocks, and to save his manure. . . ." [1]

As regards the constant excess of exports over imports, it is unnecessary to cite the figures of the year-books. What needs to be emphasised is the fact that this excess represents an annual gain to the home population at the expense of the Indian, though it be all duly accounted for as pay, pensions, and interest on investments. That the Anglo-Indian civil service is the most expensive in the world is as certain as that it draws its pay from the poorest population. As to its relative efficiency there need here be no question: the trouble is that while it subsists it is a factor in Indian impoverishment, since it cannot be shown that it develops resources in proportion to its cost; and there is no hope of its cost being reduced. One of the criticisms passed on the administration of the Native States by an experienced Anglo-Indian is that "the salaries of magistrates and other public servants are far below what, by experience, we have found to be necessary for competent and honest officials." [2] Economy, then, would involve corruption.[3] And while the Indian administration is thus a means of providing good incomes for large numbers of British officials, who as a rule finally expend their wealth at home, nevertheless the expense of every extension of British rule in Asia—as in the annexation of Burmah—is charged to the Indian revenue, which has thus to meet the burden of a policy that benefits only the conquerors.

If withal the Indian populations were being

[1] Cited by Mr. A. K. Connell, "The Economic Revolution of India," 1883, p. 176.

[2] Sir W. Lee-Warner, C.S.I., in vol. i. of this series, p. 285.

[3] On the other hand, Mr. Romesh Dutt, C.I.E., complains that the police under *British* rule are relatively so badly paid as to be very inefficient, and that better work could be got from natives at half the salary. Ibid., pp. 314–15.

gradually fitted to manage their own affairs, there would be small ground for criticism. That they cannot at present be left to themselves without worse harm accruing is beyond dispute. Another conquering Power indeed might administer more economically; but there is no reason to believe that any other Power capable of holding India would be more conscientious in its general policy than we. A policy of education, then, would substantially moralise the situation: it is not even pretended, however, that such an education of the Indian peoples is aimed at by the Imperial Government. The Indian Congress Movement is no doubt officially protected against the general official hostility; and some Anglo-Indians give it a generous support; but the principle that natives should everywhere be invited for public posts of all grades is not only not recognised, it is negated; and the policy of enforcing a British training on all who seek to enter the higher civil service has had the effect of wilfully enhancing its costliness.

As regards the proper foundation of all self-government, village autonomy and municipal freedom, the difficulties of development suffice to furnish an excuse for endorsing stagnation. Because Oriental cities are slow to take to sanitation, exactly as were the foul cities of the West only a century ago, the Imperial Government tends to put municipal rule aside; though its own ideals and methods are the result of the gradual evolution of just such municipalities. It is no part of administrative wisdom to recognise that societies evolve. And while most men admit that in theory the autonomous village is a vital unit; while in Britain itself there has been a deliberate attempt to restore or create it by way of the Parish Council; that of India is left to the drift of the capitalistic regimen and imperial organisation. So far as I am aware, no witness, official or unofficial, alleges any general development

of self-governing habits or institutions among the mass of the agricultural populations; and many writers allege retrogression.

This very stagnation, in turn, is made by many a ground for denying that anything else is possible. Many men suppose that mere prolonged residence in the East entitles them to be believed when they affirm that the East is unchangeable; as if the mass even of educated observers anywhere had ever reached scientific conceptions of social law. The case of Japan, as it happens, proves that the East is capable, under favouring conditions, of a rate of social change that has never been witnessed in the whole history of the West. Thereupon, however, we are told that Japan is not "typically" Oriental, though its neighbour China is, with a similar population and language. Such theorising can command no authority with thinking people. Granting that India cannot conceivably evolve with Japanese rapidity, we are bound to regard its case in the light of the same general law: social evolution occurs in terms of the conditions, external and internal; the former including geographical and political relations, and the latter including the physiological and the psychological factors, that is, the temperamental bias and the hereditary culture of the people. An educative administration, then, would seek constructively to modify the conditions in so far as they are modifiable.

As matters stand we are faced by the extensive anomaly that while the Indian populations are recognised to be through their conditions less, and not more, variable than others, the imperial system, in so far as it attacks the environment at all, runs mainly to the introduction of elements which mean a minimum of action or choice among the people themselves. Fiscally, the system is one of European capitalism; industrially, it is one of European communication. Its typical

instrument is the railway, precisely the most unspontaneous institution that could well be introduced. The main functions of the railway are to facilitate (1) military movements; (2) rapid conveyance of food in times of famine; (3) movement of numbers of the people—three things which at first sight seem pure gain. But when it is noted that the popular use of the railways on a large scale is mainly by way of excursions to religious shrines, and that the more lines are developed the more they are needed to deal with famine, it begins to appear that the problem is intricate and full of counteractions. If better communications help to make the people at once more devotedly superstitious and less capable of fending off famine for themselves; if native industry is being disorganised without any call upon native initiative to readjust things, the work of the imperial system is so far disintegrative rather than constructive. Its very benevolence is making the people less capable of bearing the burden which, whether for their sake or for its own, it is all the while laying upon them. Broadly speaking, then, we seem to be faced by deepening popular poverty on the one hand and limitation of popular energy on the other.

III

Such a way of putting things may seem to many readers an outcome rather of the spirit of carping than of the spirit of science. The Indian Government, they may protest, is implicitly condemned at once for activity and for *laissez-faire*; for seeking to make progress and for leaving things alone. In all its various stages, they may add, our Indian administration has been denounced by some malcontents, and were a new policy tried to-morrow it would be assailed in the same way by those who believe in the old, or in yet another.

I am ready to grant the general demurrer, and

even to go further, to the extent of admitting that there is an element of conflict in much of the testimony offered as to Indian poverty and administrative backsliding. We have read weighty assurances that in the last half century the soil and the people are growing rapidly poorer. But fifty years ago there were many similar protests. Captain Hervey, writing in 1850, expressly contrasts the prosperous appearance of the natives in the French settlement of Pondicherry with the "poverty-stricken look" of those of the British territories, and speaks of a "fearful extent" of misery among the latter.[1] Mr. Petrie, an engineer, examined before the Cotton Committee of 1848, declared that in the southern districts, with which he was acquainted, the level of poverty was "very low indeed"; that he had never known a cultivator to have even a small capital; and that there had been no betterment during the five years of his stay.[2] At that period it was common to say that the boundaries between Company's territory and native states was easily known by the superior condition of the latter; and already the cultivator and the trader in British territory were described in the *Bombay Times* as "both broken in spirit, overburdened, and steeped in debt."[3] And, apart from dubious statements about ryots, who say they "had money once, but none now," there is the publicly given testimony of officials of high standing in 1848, that "almost everything forces us to the conviction that we have before us a narrowing progress to utter pauperism;"[4] while missionaries and others describe the state of the people in Bengal, in 1855, as one of the deepest wretchedness.[5]

Again, we have seen Mr. Blunt testifying that there is no longer the kindly intercourse between the

[1] "Ten Years in India," i. 18; ii. 281.

[2] Cited by Ludlow, ii. 325.

[3] Ibid., ii. 326.

[4] Ibid., ii. 326.

[5] Ibid., p. 329.

natives and the English official class that prevailed in the time of the Company.[1] But as against such a view we have the impressive body of evidence grouped by Ludlow, to show that in the Company's day the natives were often grossly maltreated by its officials and by the military. Mr. Blunt indeed tells a very painful story of wanton English insolence to natives of good standing, and shows that in the Indian hotels Englishmen regard the appearance of a native gentleman as Americans do that of any coloured man; but no one suggests that the old brutalities are now common. And, as against Mr. Blunt's view that there was no money indebtedness before the British period, we have the apparently just conclusion of the Famine Commission of twenty years ago, that the agricultural population of India were never at any period generally free of debt, "although individuals or classes may have fallen into deeper embarrassment under the British rule than was common under the native dynasties which preceded it."[2]

All things considered, it is to be suspected that the lament over Indian decline has something in common with the home lament over the decay of domestic service. The phrase in "As You Like It" about "the constant service of the antique world," reveals that the normal outcry of our own day about bad servants was familiar in the age of Queen Elizabeth. Instead, then, of believing in a continuous decline of Indian life from depth to deeper depth of poverty, we seem led to the simple conclusion—surely serious enough—that the Indian mass remains steadily poor throughout the ages, and that our rule in this regard simply makes no difference for the better, while the normal increase of population under the

[1] Compare the similar remarks of Mr. Romesh Dutt, in vol. i. of this series, p. 318.

[2] Cited by Mr. Connell, "Economic Revolution," p. 174.

pax Britannica involves the frightful offset of more extensive and destructive famines than ever occurred of old. On that head there is certainly no improvement. Famines grow more frequent and more destructive: the death-roll of the last is too appalling for words, and withal the loss of cattle is so frightful as to promise a further and worse starvation of the soil, involving more famine. Municipal government fails to develop, whether from lack of fair freedom or from lack of patience on the part of the ruling class. The total situation is certainly not improving.

On this guarded footing, with some of the darker evidence discounted, and with the theory of continuous and rapid material decline put out of court, we are still forced to recognise that, on the other hand, the common felicitations as to the "blessings of our rule" are sadly out of place. They set up a state of illusion; and they recoil on our own administration, inasmuch as they breed a widely mistaken notion as to the *possibility* of betterment of life in India. People taught to think that British rule there has done and is doing wonders, are not unlikely, when faced by the evaded facts, to be unduly wrathful over the reality. The plain fact is that we *cannot* speedily change the lot of the Indian peoples to any great extent. We do not so better the lot of our masses at home: how should we do more with a vast world of pullulating races, varying between the primitive and the hyper-civilised, in a land chronically cursed with such famines as Europe has never known?

Surely, instead of habitually vaunting that we to-day rule so much better than did the rulers of three or five centuries ago, when Europe itself, England included, was more or less barbarously ill-governed, we should do well to reckon up first the arrears of our own administration, which so long allowed old provisory machinery to lie in ruin, and which year by

year creates for itself new problems, vast enough for all the political wisdom of the planet, and more than all the goodwill of the ruling class. Such calculations are of course irksome. Englishmen do not like to reflect how much their fathers did to poison or kill the very roots of Irish life when they were dwarfing alike mechanical and rural industry through successive generations of infamous egoism. As little do they like to reckon up the harm their forefathers did in India, not merely to the contemporary victims of their egoism and rapacity, but to what there was of national life, of collective faculty for development, regeneration, reconstruction. Habitual self-praise is so much more agreeable an exercise than habitual self-criticism; boasting so much more pleasant than remorse. Reform, as Carlyle has it, is not joyous, but grievous. And yet a real and justified consciousness of betterment is so comforting to those who truly care to know things as they are, that even the burden of rigorous comparison and constant appraisement might, one would think, be willingly borne in the hope of attaining the solace. However that may be, this much is sure, that if such discipline be not faced and borne, there is not only no possibility of betterment, there will ensue that kind of worsenment which is most incurable, the lowering of ideals. From perpetual boasting without reason we shall pass to a state of apathy before evil that even vanity is tired of boasting over. And then decadence has come for the "Paramount Race," whatever be the fate of that in subjection.

IV

To prescribe in detail methods of reform for India from a mere outsider's point of view would be presumption indeed. Such counsel must come from men who add to ripe Indian experience the spirit of social

science and the creed of progress; and not merely from Englishmen among these but from natives of education, judgment, and experience. So far from making light of expert knowledge in such a connection, I should say that we need to utilise all the expert knowledge in existence. And that is certainly not to be found in the civil service. Mr. Kipling has at times taken pains to deride the incompetence of opinions on Indian matters framed by home politicians. But he has also produced a story entitled "Tod's Amendment," from which it would appear that certain high personages responsible for the framing of a new law in an Indian province received from the chance talk of a small boy, who had intercourse with native opinion in the bazaars, a little vital knowledge which revolutionised their scheme. They had been framing their law in utter ignorance of the most obvious and elementary objections to it. The home amateur could hardly do worse. And I hesitate to say how disrespectful are some of the judgments I have heard passed by experienced Anglo-Indians on Mr. Kipling's own pretensions to "know" the conditions of Indian life in general. The more reason, certainly, why the rest of us should fear to frame schemes of reform. It is not for men out of India to decide how best the principle of municipal self-government can be fostered there. We shall all do well to keep in mind these words of Kaye, in the preface to his second edition:—

"India, with all its local peculiarities and ethnological varieties, is so vast and comprehensive a subject, that with increased study and reflection comes increased diffidence. . . . There is no subject, indeed, on which it becomes a man to write or speak with more modesty and reserve. For my own part, though now for nearly twenty years I have been with little interruption reading and writing about India; though all this time it has been the business of my life to collect facts and to mature opinions relating to this great subject; though

both in the East and the West the companions of my solitude and my social life, the books and the men with whom I have been familiar, have been mainly such as are depositaries of English information; although I have had access to such stores of unpublished documents, the wealth alike of public and of private archives, as few men have had the good fortune to approach or the patience to examine, I am not ashamed to confess that there are many great questions connected with the administration of our Indian Empire upon which I am competent to express only a qualified, hesitating opinion, or none at all."

As we have seen, Kaye with all his caution was optimistic about Indian government within four years of the Mutiny—a deadly corroboration of his diffidence, and a reminder that it is one thing to profess general diffidence and another to be effectually possessed by it. It seems well, then, to avoid forecasts. But it is possible, on the basis of universally accepted testimony, to point to those forces in Indian life which must clearly be controlled or guided if there is to be any general betterment. We have noted the three main evils of poverty, indebtedness, and incapacity for self-help among the mass of the people. In obvious correlation with all of those evils is the omnipresent fact of over-population, a fact founded upon, indeed, by many of the panegyrists of our rule as the great counteractive of our civilising work. For this trouble, it is urged, we cannot be held responsible; and it appears to be generally implied that it is vain to hope to remedy it. Our "beneficence," once more, thus consists in preserving vast hosts of helpless people from a worse dominion, and, in general, from violence, only to let them perish miserably by the myriad from famine. But is it really impossible gradually to educate Hindus to a level of prudence that has been reached by not very highly educated peasants elsewhere? Supposing that British public opinion could be got to consent to the inculcation of

such ideas—certainly a difficult thing to obtain—is it such a hopeless task to lead Hindus forward by means of sympathetic counsel, accompanied by measures of fiscal reform which should prove our desire to better his lot, and should co-operate with whatever motive to betterment he is capable of feeling?

At least let the fiscal reform be tried before the hope be abandoned. An actual rise in the standard of comfort is usually the best general stimulus towards a restraint of the birth-rate; and the standard of comfort of the Hindu tiller of the soil could be at almost any moment raised by substituting for a fixed money tax in his case either a tax adjusted annually in terms of the value and amount of the produce, or a simple share of such produce, the Government doing the collecting by means of a local authority, preferably the village community. It is vain to urge in objection that such a course would be financially disadvantageous; there can be no permanent financial advantage in a system which keeps nine-tenths of a vast population in a state of penury, and has to make convulsive efforts every few years to save them from destruction by famine. While the mass are wretchedly poor and hopelessly indebted they *will not* practise family prudence: all experience demonstrates that people who can sink no lower will not, save under an uncommon intellectual stimulus, concern themselves to limit the number of offspring they bring forth to share their poverty. And reckless over-population is, as was noted twenty-five years ago by W. T. Thornton, the great obstacle to the regeneration of the village community as an administrative unit.[1] A general development of communal proprietorship on the lines preserved in the Punjab was in his opinion the likeliest way to introduce the idea of prudential restraint by raising the standard of comfort.

[1] "Indian Public Works," by W. T. Thornton, 1878, p. 236 ff.

But, we shall be told, India is the last place in the world in which the lesson of restraint will be learned. Thornton fully recognised the difficulties:—

"In that country the procreation of children ranks as highly among religious duties as their baptism does in Europe, and its neglect is held to be punishable with equally awful penalties. Where to die without leaving behind a son to perform one's funeral obsequies is supposed to be almost equivalent to signing a warrant of eternal self-damnation, connubial imprudence is naturally of small account. . . ."[1]

And he concludes that "there can be no trustworthy safeguard against over-population without a modification of the popular religious creed"[2]—an avowal before which, certainly, his further demand for a worthy system of education can hardly restore any confidence of hope. But however vast be the problem, there is no escape from it save by that way of surrender to evil which means the beginning of the end of empire. In Thornton's words, "Unless ours be a mission of civilisation, there is no warrant for our continued presence in India as rulers."[3]

And in the face of all the difficulties—in face, above all, of the supreme drawback that the conception of social science has not yet won a footing in practical politics or in regulative opinion in England itself—we are entitled to say that even the experience of the disastrous and painful past has revealed endless possibilities of educational progress as against the immense obstacles of Hindu superstition. Kaye has borne record of the moral success achieved more than a century ago by Jonathan Duncan and Major Walker in beginning by sheer educative persuasion, on the basis of a sympathetic knowledge of Hindu tradition and creed, a voluntary abjuration in some districts of the

[1] "Indian Public Works," by W. T. Thornton, 1878, p. 247.

[2] Ibid., p. 248.

[3] Ibid., p. 246.

practice of infanticide. Their efforts were not adequately followed up, and there were relapses; yet after a generation there was a large measure of improvement, all secured without coercive measures, by at most sumptuary legislation (checking the cost of marriages) and the wise activity of patiently philanthropic men in the Company's service; till at length by the middle of the century infanticide was no longer a tolerated Hindu practice, but was reduced to something like the discredit and the dimensions associated with it in Europe.[1] In fine, as it was put by Thornton, our failure as civilisers in India has not come of any mistaken attempt to graft Western ideals on Asiatic life, but of our not doing a great deal more in that direction on scientific lines, after making a hopeful beginning. It is a gross psychological and sociological error to suppose that where prevalent religious ideas buttress an evil, the evil is therefore insuperable. Every religion has so buttressed evils; and it is in the normal way of human progress that in the name of religion itself innovating ideas arise, which gain ground in a religious sense and supply religious sanctions against religious malpractices. For his crusade against infanticide, Duncan drew weapons from the sacred books of those who had held it to be permitted by their religion; even as in our own day enlightened pundits have found in their sacred books virtual vetoes on the otherwise religiously sanctioned practice of child-marriage, the most fatal of the moral maladies of Hindu life. The same thing could probably be done in regard to municipal sanitation, if native culture and intelligence were patiently enlisted in the work.

What has been done in one direction may be done to another. There are no limits, save those of irreversible physical conditions, to the possibilities of social

[1] "Administration of the East India Company," 2nd ed., pp. 553–586.

evolution in any race that is in peaceful contact with others more enlightened. The Hindu does not die off in contact with the European as less developed races have done which were too disparate in their way of life and stage of thought from the more civilised peoples who overshadowed them. In India, on the contrary, it is the European who cannot reproduce his stock; the land is and will remain a land of the brown-skinned. What the European might now conceivably do for them is to give more than he takes, to give the seeds of a higher and better life, to begin a new and greater era of Eastern civilisation by turning his faculties to the solution of their problem, even though he should thereby prepare his own withdrawal, rather than to the mere satisfying of his own economic cravings. If he chooses the former ideal he will indeed have done something in which his posterity may take pride; for he will have enabled a backward world to live well without his guidance, to rule itself where he had ruled it; if he chooses the latter, he will "lose even that which he hath," for there can be no durable prosperity under a system in which he is a mere exploiter, and his power will in the end pass away simply because he cared for nothing higher.

V

The problems of empire vary with latitude and longitude; and wherever we rule over subject races we are faced by new dilemmas, each calling for all the wisdom we possess to solve them. Through the long thunderstorm of the Boer War may be felt the enduring presence of a native problem in South Africa—a problem as hard to solve as the Indian, and one to which vastly less rational attention has yet been given. It has been made use of as a catchword in connection with the other; but as one who has dis-

passionately or deeply studied it can believe that it is going to be worthily grappled with on the impulses now active. The British Parliament which persistently presents empty benches to the Indian Budget is not going to develop in one day a zealous concern for the development of the Kaffir in his own interest. The Kaffir's lot and the Kaffir problem will be darker before they are bettered. Not one politician in a hundred has any reasoned opinion on the subject; and of those who have a reasoned opinion, the majority are either flatly unprogressive or resignedly pessimistic. In South Africa British public opinion is overwhelmingly egotistic as regards native claims: the one thing in which Boers and Outlanders were agreed was that the native must be "kept in his place."

All the while, it appears to be the admission of all parties in South Africa that the town Kaffir is in general demoralised; that he loses his primitive virtues of truthfulness, honesty, and manhood, and that he acquires the vices without the better qualities of his masters. It would seem to follow that, if it be any part of the duty of our colonial governments to raise or safeguard the native civilisation, that ought to be fostered on an agricultural and tribal basis. But though some colonial administrators have done good and generous service to native interests, those interests are no part of the concern of the average colonist; and the very persons who most emphatically disparage the "town Kaffir" seem most determined to exploit him. They act, of course, very much in the spirit of the average exploiter of labour in the mother country; and it would be fantastic to expect of them more sympathy with a different race than most home employers show for their own. What we *are* entitled to say is simply this, that nowhere does the British Empire appear to be raising lower races collectively in the scale of civilisation, and that the

conventional formulas on the subject are accordingly in much need of revision.

The most hopeful aspect of the matter, nevertheless, is perhaps the fact that the formulas do pass current. They stand at least for an admission that empire ought to mean benefit to those dominated, and a capacity to take satisfaction in such beneficence. Much has been said of late as to benevolent British intentions towards the native races in the Transvaal. To believe in such intentions is not easy in view of the status accorded to the natives in Natal, who are practically without franchise rights, and of the designs on native labour avowed by the capitalists of Johannesburg, whose first thought is avowedly the improvement of their own financial results. In regard to the "compound" system, which seems likely to be set up at Johannesburg as at Kimberley, it is commonly argued that it is "the best thing for the native," *because* he can in that way earn in a year or two as much money as will enable him to "buy" at least three wives and live thereafter in idleness on the produce of their labour in the fields of his tribe. From such propaganda one turns away with no great hope. But if all that we have heard of philanthropic purposes towards the native races is to mean no better fruition than this, the language of imperialist aspiration must be more hollow than even the anti-imperialist can well believe. Some sincere desire to do good there must have been behind it, in some minds; and it is to that that we must look for a right direction of imperial influence in the future. Should it be finally lacking, there will be small room left for questioning as to the civilising value of the imperialist idea.

A SKETCH OF THE IMPERIAL UNITY MOVEMENT

COMMONLY KNOWN AS "IMPERIAL FEDERATION"

By HERMAN W. MARCUS

(Editor of "The British Empire Review")

"There is not the least probability that the British Constitution would be hurt by the union of Great Britain with the Colonies. That Constitution, on the contrary, would be completed by it, and seems to be imperfect without it. . . . That this union, however, could be easily effectuated, or that difficulties—and great difficulties—might not occur in the execution, I do not pretend. I have yet heard of none, however, which appear insurmountable."—Adam Smith's "Wealth of Nations."

It is the fate of all movements in the direction of political change to be seriously misunderstood in exact proportion to the magnitude of their aims and to the comprehensive and far-reaching character of the interests which they are likely to affect. Probably Imperial Federation enjoys a unique pre-eminence in this respect. There can hardly be any other proposal of the same importance around which so many legends have clustered, and upon which such avalanches of misrepresentation have been hurled. It is a simple phrase, consisting of an adjective and a noun substantive. The adjective is one which might have been expected to be intelligible to the citizens of the most famous Empire known to history; whilst the idea comprised in the substantive is one of the commonplaces of the present day. "Federation," "alliance," "co-operation,"

"association," and the like, are the terms which express the tendency of every class and every interest towards concerted action, based upon the view that union is strength, whilst isolation is weakness.

The British Empire being already in existence, it is proposed to "federate" it—that is, to reconstitute it to some extent upon a federal basis—this, and nothing more or less, is the entire mystery of "Imperial Federation."

The ideal of a closer and better organised union between the United Kingdom and the outlying parts of the Empire has long occupied a prominent place in the aspirations of patriots and political philosophers. In recent years the eloquent writings of James Anthony Froude and Sir John Seeley have done much to render it both intelligible and popular. But without any disparagement of either the foresight or the actual services of these or of still earlier pioneers of the movement, it will be convenient if, for the purposes of the present article, the question be regarded as having been brought within the sphere of practical politics by the concrete step taken at the foundation of the Imperial Federation League itself, when, at a Conference held in London, on 29th July 1884, the Right Hon. W. E. Forster, M.P., in the chair, it was unanimously resolved:—

That in order to secure the permanent unity of the Empire, some form of Federation is essential.

That for the purpose of influencing public opinion, both in the United Kingdom and the Colonies, by showing the incalculable advantages which will accrue to the whole Empire from the adoption of such a system of organisation, a Society be formed of men of all parties, to advocate and support the principles of Federation.

And at the adjourned Conference, held on Tuesday,

18th November 1884, the following resolutions were unanimously passed:—

That a Society be now formed, to be called "The Imperial Federation League."

That the object of the League be to secure by Federation the permanent unity of the Empire.

That no scheme of Federation should interfere with the existing rights of Local Parliaments as regards local affairs.

That any scheme of Imperial Federation should combine on an equitable basis the resources of the Empire for the maintenance of common interests, and adequately provide for an organised defence of common rights.

That the League use every constitutional means to bring about the object for which it is formed, and invite the support of men of all political parties.

That the membership of the League be open to any British subject who accepts the principles of the League, and pays a yearly registration fee of not less than one shilling.

That donations and subscriptions be invited for providing means for conducting the business of the League.

That British subjects throughout the Empire be invited to become members, and to form and organise branches of the League, which may place their representatives on the Council.

The foregoing is the official programme of the association which was constituted for the organised expression of the Imperial Federation idea, and its terms are entitled to be treated as authoritative and conclusive, so far as their accuracy, and the intentions of their authors, are concerned. But additional light upon the objects and policy of the League may be found in the written and spoken utterances of its leading members, and chiefly in those of its first two Presidents, the late Mr. W. E. Forster, and Lord Rosebery.

In an article published in *The Nineteenth Century* for February 1885, Mr. Forster defined Imperial Federation as "such a union of the Mother Country with her

Colonies as will keep the realm one State in relation to other States. Purposely I use the word *keep*, and not *make*. I do not say that we are trying by federation to make the Empire one commonwealth in relation to foreign Powers, because at the present time it is one commonwealth." Now, one of the most common misconceptions regarding Imperial Federation takes the form of imputing to its advocates an insidious design to impair the virtual autonomy of the self-governing Colonies, which they cherish, and rightly cherish, with jealous care. But, even apart from the clause in the Constitution of the Imperial Federation League, quoted above, which expressly negatives such a purpose—viz., "that no scheme of Federation should interfere with the existing rights of local parliaments as regards local affairs"—the leaders of the Imperial Federation movement repeatedly declared that a scrupulous respect for the existing rights of the Colonies, and the maintenance of their relations with the Mother Country on the present basis in every material feature, save one, were essential conditions of their proposals. The single modification which they sought to introduce was, on the contrary, designed not to impair or to restrict, but to extend and complete, the constitutional rights of self-governing Colonies.

A close and instructive analogy is afforded by the policy which has been adopted in framing a federal constitution for Australia, although the analogy, for reasons which will appear, requires to be applied with caution. In the case of the Federation of Australia, it was inevitable that, for the sake of union, each colony should surrender certain of its provincial rights. For instance, absolute Free-Trade will prevail throughout the Continent, and the right of any colony to impose protective duties against its neighbours (except as regards a temporary provision in favour of Western Australia) will be abandoned as long as the Common-

wealth endures. Other restrictions upon local autonomy are also imposed, and yet, with a fine insight, the resolutions defining the scope of the Commonwealth Bill declared that its object was "to enlarge the powers of self-government of the people of Australia." In other words, the abandonment of certain provincial rights and privileges, in themselves of no mean importance, was completely overshadowed by the larger citizenship, with its more majestic powers and opportunities, which would pertain to the membership of an Australian Commonwealth.

If this be true, as it undoubtedly is, of a federation of Colonies in a single continent, with how much immeasurably greater force must it apply to the case of a colony, or even of a group of federated colonies, which is raised from the position of a subordinate, although quasi-independent, State, to that of equal membership of a world-wide Empire? For this, and nothing else, is the ultimate aim of Imperial Federation—to raise the Colonies to a higher plane of citizenship in the Empire of which they already form a part, but *without the slightest derogation from their existing rights.* Alike in this country and in the Colonies it has been found difficult to grasp this fundamental idea. At home, no doubt, conservative tendencies induce a reluctance to contemplate so great an innovation in constitutional practice as to admit partners, even of our race and household, and although at first probably only junior partners, in the supreme control of the destinies of the Empire. In the Colonies themselves, the evil traditions of Downing Street rule of half a century ago still make it difficult to believe that so great a privilege would ever be conceded by Great Britain, except in return for some equivalent on their part, amounting to a sacrifice; and this impression has undoubtedly been strengthened by the false analogy between two systems, differing in kind as well as in degree, which the experience of their

own efforts to accomplish Federation has tended to create. But it is noteworthy that, as the Dominion of Canada has with each succeeding year acquired a greater sense of security in the enjoyment of those enlarged powers of self-government which were conferred upon her by confederation, she has sought to enter into closer relations with the Mother Country, from a recognition not only of the existence of common interests, but also of the fresh advantages which are likely to accrue to herself from a more intimate alliance. It is in the belief that a similar tendency will be displayed by the Commonwealth of Australia, that the friends of Imperial Unity, rejecting the fatal principle—*Divide et impera*—as an impossible watchword for the British Empire, have welcomed the union of the Australian Colonies.

Let us return to the article from which we have already quoted. Mr. Forster, proceeding with his argument, advanced as his main contention that the proper method of maintaining Imperial union was "by an organisation for common defence, and a joint foreign policy." The objection was, of course, at once raised whether this was necessary. Were not, it was asked, the existing relations, if not ideally perfect, satisfactory for all practical purposes? There was no demand on the part of the Colonies for additional powers, and it would be better to wait until it arose. In short, the usual plea for delay was urged—*quieta non movere.* So far as this was a caution against attempts to force the pace, or to give so long a lead to public opinion as to outstrip it altogether, arguments of this nature were not unworthy of consideration. But they failed to take account of that aspect of the duty of statesmanship which consists in looking ahead, and which seeks to diminish the danger of even an unexpected crisis by being prepared to meet it. Moreover, it ignored some notorious storm-signals,

of which far-seeing men were anxious to take cognisance. Mr. Forster himself drew attention to some of the critical incidents of that day, caused by the absence of co-operation between the Imperial and the several Colonial Governments, such as the attempt of Queensland to annex New Guinea in her dissatisfaction with what she considered the apathy of the Colonial Office, and a threat on the part of New Zealand to take similar action in Samoa, where the problem, as the result of neglect, subsequently assumed a dangerous form, and has ultimately reached a solution, by which Colonial, if not Imperial, interests have had to go to the wall.

But it was Mr. Forster's successor, Lord Rosebery, who, as a statesman with an especial bent for questions affecting the foreign relations of the Empire, enforced this point repeatedly and with striking emphasis upon the mind and conscience of the nation. Speaking at Leeds, on 11th October 1888, he said:—

"A great change has come over the whole of our foreign policy during the last twenty years. I think you will see a greater change in the next twenty years. Our foreign policy has become more of a colonial policy, and is becoming every day more entwined with our colonial interests. Formerly our foreign policy was mainly an Indian policy; it was mainly guided by considerations of what was best for our Indian Empire. That brought us into many complications which we might otherwise have avoided, but which we felt were rightly faced to save so splendid a possession; but now, owing to causes which I will point out to you, colonial influences must necessarily overshadow our foreign policy. In the first place, our colonial communities are rising to a pitch of power which makes it natural for us to listen to them whenever they make representations on their own behalf—and they do make constant representations on their own behalf. In the next place, we find that the other Powers are beginning a career of colonial aggrandisement. We formerly did not have in our foreign

affairs to trouble ourselves much with colonial questions, because we had a monopoly of Colonies. That monopoly has ceased; but consider for a moment, as matters stand now, how largely our foreign policy is a colonial policy."

He proceeded to illustrate his contention by references to current affairs in Canada, Newfoundland, Africa, Asia, and the Pacific, and concluded with the following words:—

"I have said that foreign policy in the future will be very largely concerned, and is very largely concerned, with questions of colonial policy, but that raises the question of whether you wish to have a colonial policy at all. There was at one time in this country a demand to be free from the responsibility of a colonial empire. Well, I think that demand has ceased, but the people of this country will, at a not too distant time, have to make up their minds what footing they wish their Colonies to occupy with respect to them, or whether they desire their Colonies to leave them altogether. It is, as I believe, absolutely impossible for you to maintain in the long run your present loose and indefinable relations to your Colonies, and preserve these Colonies as parts of the Empire."

A few days later, at Edinburgh, Lord Rosebery propounded his own definition of Imperial Federation as follows: "The federation we aim at is the closest possible union of the various self-governing States ruled by the British Crown, consistently with that free national development which is the birthright of British subjects all over the world—the closest union in sympathy, in external action, and in defence;" and he went on to reiterate the doctrine which he had laid down at Leeds:—

"When you declare war, on whatever ground—it may be in a fit of anger, under the idea of slighted honour—under any of these causes for which we have seen nations hurry rashly into war—whenever you declare war on any of these grounds, you do not declare war alone, but Canada declares war, Australia

declares war, every dependency in the Empire declares war, and they declare war without having an official voice in the control of our policy. Remember this; you form a policy, and my critic says you demand that it shall be uncontrolled by your Colonies. But when your policy has begun to take effect, your Colonies may be invaded, they may be harassed, they may be burned, they may be plundered—all in consequence of the course of action in which they have had no controlling voice. Now, that is not a dream, that is not an idea. It is an uncommonly concrete fact—both for our critics and for the Colonies. Now, gentlemen, it is rather remarkable that Mr. Bright, who is our most venerated opponent, once alluded to that argument this year, and took it as the text of a speech against our view. Mr. Bright said, speaking of Imperial Federation: 'Will the Colonists be willing to undertake the responsibility of entering into wars, the seat of which is ten thousand miles away, in which they have not the slightest interest, when they might not have been the least consulted as to the cause of the quarrel which this country was rushing into?' But, gentlemen, that is precisely their position now; and that is precisely what we wish to avert by Imperial Federation. . . . I say that this state of things, for both sides, is anomalous, and cannot continue. On the one hand, you pay for everything, and that is a fool's bargain for you; and on the other hand, the Colonies may be dragged into a war without a voice in the matter, and that is a fool's bargain for them. Now, I believe when the Parliaments which exist—the numerous Parliaments which exist under the British Crown—when they come to see this question in all its bearings, will demand a substantial voice in the control of the British policy of the future."

These remarkable utterances did not fail to make a deep impression upon the country, which was strengthened by a series of lectures in London and the provinces, delivered shortly afterwards by Dr. George R. Parkin, now Principal of Upper Canada College, Toronto, and the author of "Imperial Federation, the Problem of National Unity," which is the acknowledged text-book on the subject. A keen

desire for the consolidation of Imperial Unity was implanted in many quarters, and the critics of the movement found themselves compelled to shift their ground. "That is all very well," they conceded, "but how do you propose to carry it out? Produce your plan, and we will consider it." Now this was no new demand. From the earliest stages of the movement outside observers had called for a "plan," and the leaders had steadily declined to commit what they believed would be a fatal blunder. It was clearly foreseen that, until the ground had been carefully prepared, it would be courting disaster to make definite proposals. Lord Rosebery himself said: "My plan is this—to endeavour so to influence public opinion at home and in the Colonies, that there shall come an imperious demand from the people of this country, both at home and abroad, that this federation shall be brought about." In short, there was no intention of playing into the hands of those opponents who would have welcomed an opportunity of diverting attention from the broad lines of the movement by provoking a tedious and vexatious discussion on side issues. Moreover, it was recognised that the promulgation of schemes of constitutional reform is not the proper duty of private organisations, but belongs to statesmen entrusted with the actual conduct of affairs, who alone can say when the right moment for action has arrived, and are able to adapt their measures to the changing needs and circumstances of the time.

But as the general principle grew in favour, the cry for a proposal of a definite kind not only increased in volume, but found a footing within the ranks of the Imperial Federation League, some of whose members had their own views as to the best methods of making progress, and were with difficulty restrained from taking independent action. Lord Rosebery, however,

recognised that a critical moment had come, and, with his usual sagacity, he turned it to such good account, that the threatened insubordination was at once allayed, and the previous strategy of the leaders was both approved and made the starting-point of a new departure.

At that time recollection was still recent of the most formal step which had been taken to give substance to the modern conception of Imperial Unity. This was the Imperial Conference of 1887, which had actually been summoned as the result of a suggestion made to the Imperial Government by a deputation from the League. Lord Rosebery recalled the success of this important gathering, and recommended to the Council of the League that the establishment of periodical conferences on similar lines should be made the immediate aim of the League. His proposal was received with enthusiasm, and was embodied in the constitution of the League on 14th November 1889. On the following day, the new policy was publicly proclaimed by Lord Rosebery in a remarkable speech, at the Mansion House, in the course of which he made the following declaration of policy:—

"What was that conference? It was composed of nearly all the most important men available in each colony. It discussed all the main questions which concerned the good and the well-being of the Empire. It brought forward recommendations on almost all those questions. If that was not Imperial Federation, I don't know what is, and I have always felt since that day that the existence of what is called Imperial or National Federation depended upon the periodical continuance and renewal of those conferences, and this League will have to keep a vigilant eye upon the Government, to see that these conferences are constantly and periodically renewed. It will have to maintain and promote the sentiment, without which Federation is an idle dream, and it will have to take care, as far as it can, that the conferences, when they do assemble, do not

separate without some substantial results. Now, in my opinion, there are several necessary conditions connected with the future of these conferences. They must be in the first place periodical and at stated intervals. In the next place, they must be composed of the best men available at the moment; and therefore the Government of this country, whatever Government it may be at the time, must send its best men to represent it at the Conference, and must invest these periodical congresses with all the authority and splendour which Government in this country can give. In the next place, the task of these gatherings will not be the production of statutes, but recommendations. You may say that a congress which only meets to report and recommend has but a neutral task before it. Those who take that view have a very inadequate idea of what the utterance would be of a conference representing a quarter of the human race, and representing the immeasurable opulence and power which have been garnered up during the past centuries of our history. If we have these conferences, and if they are allowed to discuss, as they must be, any topic which any party to them recommends, I do not fear their wanting in authority or in weight. I would further lay this consoling unction to the souls of those who have schemes in their pockets for immediately carrying out Imperial Federation. If any closer scheme of Federation is to come about, it can only come about through the medium of such a conference as I have sketched out, and not through the medium of any private organisation; whereas, on the other hand, if no closer relations come out of those conferences, and if these conferences are found to be of no avail, you may be perfectly certain, whatever your views may be and whatever your exertions may be, that Imperial Federation in any form will be impossible."

It was impossible to misunderstand the significance of the new departure. The policy of Imperial Federation by short cuts, to several of which Lord Rosebery referred in his speech and declared to be impracticable, was emphatically repudiated, and whilst a definite and clearly practical proposal for accomplishing federation was put forward, its main characteristic

was a grand simplicity and an entire freedom from those compromising, because premature, details, which would almost certainly have prejudiced the acceptance of any ordinary "plan." Apparently, therefore, the League was on the point of taking a long step towards the attainment of its object; and yet, by the irony of fate, its zenith was also the commencement of its decline. For the moment, however, the omens were favourable. Lord Salisbury, the Prime Minister, consented to receive a deputation from the League to urge the convocation of a second conference of the self-governing Colonies of the Empire, and on 17th June 1891, a deputation was introduced by Lord Brassey, in the absence of Lord Rosebery, who at that time was taking no part in public life. The Prime Minister met the deputation with the frank admission that it had raised "nothing more nor less than the future of the British Empire," but made the objection that "it would be an insult to summon a conference, and to have no proposition to make to them when they come." Such a proposition, he intimated, it was the duty of the League to submit.

Although the Council could not help demurring to the contention of the Prime Minister, who invited them, in effect, to abandon the policy which they had embraced in November 1889, and to substitute for it a specific plan of federation, they found themselves in a dilemma, since in the event of declining the invitation they were certain to be confronted with a mere *non possumus* on the part of the Government. Accordingly they accepted the responsibility which the Prime Minister had declined, and undertook the task of framing definite proposals for accomplishing federation. A strong committee was appointed, and in July 1892 a report was issued, which was adopted by the Council on 16th November 1892. This report possessed many excellences. It was not only a lucid and consistent composition, but it contained a well-balanced and

really practicable scheme for constituting a Council of Defence of the Empire, which it was proposed to submit to an Imperial Conference summoned *ad hoc*. In other words, it complied with Lord Salisbury's requirements; but it was at the same time the virtual, if unconscious, negation of the Rosebery policy of three years earlier, which aimed not at the convocation of a specially summoned conference for the consideration of a specific proposal, but at the establishment of conferences at constantly recurring periods, which should be a regular feature of Imperial administration. To use a homely phrase, the Council had put all their eggs into one basket, and in consequence had exposed their wares to the risks which invariably attend that method of marketing. By taking such a course they appeared to have deliberately tempted Providence, and at no distant date a Nemesis overtook them. A general election, followed by a change of ministry, intervened; and it was not until April 1893 that the League once more approached Her Majesty's Government. Mr. Gladstone, who was now Prime Minister, associated himself with his predecessor in recognising the importance of the issue which was being raised, and in addition gave his assent to the special principle of establishing unity in Imperial defence. But with remorseless and unanswerable logic he pointed out that the proposals were premature, whilst the occasion was inopportune; and the League was once more referred back to its original work of forming and educating public opinion.

It is sufficient for the purposes of the present article to add that seven months later the Imperial Federation League was dissolved on the nominal ground that it "had reached the limits of its effective action." This view was not held universally, and steps were shortly taken to re-establish the organisation on fresh lines. Meanwhile, a new conception of Imperial Federa-

tion was gaining ground. Its advocates began to hark back to the teaching of Lord Rosebery, that the objects of Imperial Federation were of infinitely greater consequence than any particular proposal for accomplishing them. Instead of being regarded as a more or less questionable method of introducing vast constitutional changes into the relations between the Mother Country and the Colonies, it was perceived that Imperial Federation was in its essence an imperfect attempt to express in concise and technical language the organised effort after National or Imperial Unity. As an inevitable consequence the policy of "short cuts," which had been temporarily revived by the Report of the Special Committee of 1892, once more fell out of favour, and it began to be perceived that the truer policy was to make use of every avenue of approach towards the goal along which progress was possible, but not to pursue any one or more to the exclusion of the rest.

This policy has been virtually embodied in the programme of the British Empire League, which was formally constituted on 30th May 1895, at a meeting over which Lord Avebury (then Sir John Lubbock, M.P.) presided, and which, whilst carefully avoiding the controversial phrase "Imperial Federation," has followed the Imperial Federation League, in proclaiming the permanent unity of the Empire as its primary object, but seeks to attain this end in a variety of ways, coupled with the advocacy of periodical conferences as the main and most potent instrument for the purpose. The essential resemblance between the new organisation and the old, save in respect of the use of the term "Federation," is made clearly apparent if the Constitution of the defunct League, which has already been recited, is compared with that of its successor, which runs as follows:—

(1.) The Association to be called "The British Empire League."

(2.) It shall be the primary object of the League to secure the permanent unity of the Empire.

(3.) The following to be among the other principal objects of the League:

(*a*) To promote trade between the United Kingdom, the Colonies and India, and to advocate the holding of periodical meetings of representatives from all parts of the Empire for the discussion of matters of general commercial interest, and the consideration of the best means of expanding the national trade.

(*b*) To consider how far it may be possible to modify any laws or treaties which impede freedom of action in the making of reciprocal trade arrangements between the United Kingdom and the Colonies, or between any two or more British Colonies or Possessions.

(*c*) To promote closer intercourse between the different portions of the Empire by the establishment of cheaper and, where required, more direct steam, postal and telegraphic communication, preference to be given to routes not traversing Foreign Territory.

(*d*) To develop the principles on which all parts of the Empire may best share in its general defence; endeavouring to bring into harmony public opinion at Home and in the Colonies on this subject, and to devise a more perfect co-operation of the Military and Naval forces of the Empire with a special view to the due protection of the trade routes.

(*e*) To assimilate, as far as local circumstances permit, the laws relating to copyright, patents, legitimacy and bankruptcy, throughout the Empire.

(4.) The League shall use every constitutional means to bring about the objects for which it is established, and shall invite the support of men of all shades of political opinion throughout the Empire.

(5.) The League shall advocate the establishment of periodical Conferences to deal with such questions as may appear ripe for consideration, on the lines of the London Conference of 1887 and the Ottawa Conference of 1894.

In addition, every opportunity has been taken to assert the intention of the British Empire League to preserve the continuity of what may be called the "Rosebery policy" of the earlier stages of the movement. This has been done not only in its official publications, but by the mouth of its President, the Duke of Devonshire, who on 18th May 1898, the occasion of its first annual meeting, quoted the words of Lord Rosebery's speech of November 1889, and added: "These sentiments are still the sentiments of the British Empire League, and among all the objects which we have set before us to accomplish I say that in our opinion the most important, the most productive, and the most fruitful one is that of promoting in every way which we can the renewal of these periodical Conferences."

Under these circumstances it is significant that the Imperial Federation League in Canada, which was never dissolved, has formally constituted itself a branch of the British Empire League, under the title of the British Empire League in Canada. At the same time, the modifications which have, as appears above, been introduced into its constitution, have enabled the British Empire League to receive the support, not only of many members of the older league, but of other warm friends of Imperial unity, who felt tactical or other strong objections to advocating any specific scheme of Imperial Federation.

Thus, whilst there was less talk of Imperial Federation as such, nevertheless the ideas which it represented continued to spread through every quarter of the Empire. In Canada, in particular, it became

more and more the distinctive policy of successive administrations to adopt measures which, whilst their immediate object was to advance the prosperity of the Dominion, aimed at the same time at drawing closer the ties which bound the Colony to the Mother Country and her other daughter States. This twofold purpose has been served by the establishment of great lines of railway, steamship, and cable communication, which have not only contributed to the social and commercial development of the country, besides facilitating intercourse with other portions of the Empire, but are available for Imperial purposes in time of war. It was, for example, almost exclusively on Imperial grounds that Canada joined the easterly Australasian Colonies in urging upon the Imperial Government the construction of the Pacific cable; and it was her resolute persistence through many years which has at last brought the commencement of that great enterprise within actual view. Similarly it was due to the daring initiative of the present Postmaster-General of Canada that the Postal Conference was held in 1898, which resulted in the adoption of penny postage through the greater portion of the Empire—soon, doubtless, to become general. Large sums have also been expended upon Canadian defence, including the maintenance of a force of militia, whose recent feats of bravery in South Africa have revealed to the world the existence of a body of troops of unsuspected efficiency, with which the enemies of the Empire will hereafter be compelled to reckon. Nor is Canada's capacity for contributing to the fighting force of the Empire limited to military power alone. An important scheme is under consideration for training the hardy fishermen of her coasts for service in the Royal Naval Reserve, and this is regarded by many persons as a contribution of even greater value than a money vote towards the cost of the naval establishment would be.

So far, indeed, as co-operation in naval defence is concerned, the Australasian Colonies are in advance of the Dominion. The agreement under which they contribute an annual sum towards the maintenance of the Australasian squadron is of several years standing, whilst the formation of an Australian Naval Reserve has lately been discussed by the local commandants, and now stands over for consideration by the Federal Government. As regards joint military action, the despatch of New South Wales troops in 1885 for service in the Soudan, which it was declared would never be repeated, has been eclipsed by the despatch of upwards of thirteen thousand men from the Australian Colonies and New Zealand to South Africa, where their performances in the field, side by side with the Imperial troops, have evoked the warmest admiration of British generals. Nor has the spirit which led to so striking a demonstration of Imperial unity exhausted itself by this single effort. Mr. Barton, the Federal Prime Minister, shortly after entering office, took an opportunity of stating that his policy would be "for the Australian military forces to render the Commonwealth secure, and to be ready to help the motherland if required"—a pledge which has been fulfilled by the provision contained in the Defence Bill subsequently introduced by Sir John Forrest, that the permanent forces shall be liable for active service anywhere outside the Commonwealth in case of emergency. And this explicit avowal of a determination to make common cause with the Mother Country in the defence of the Empire has been re-echoed by leading representatives of the Opposition. New Zealand, moreover, not content with furnishing contingents more than three thousand strong, has adopted an elaborate scheme of colonial defence, which provides (*inter alia*) for an Imperial Reserve force of good riders and shots for Imperial or Colonial service within defined limits, to be

maintained at the joint cost of the Imperial and Colonial Governments. This portion of the scheme was suggested for adoption by Australia, and the whole has been submitted to the Imperial Government for approval.

Nor have the South African Colonies fallen behind those of Canada and Australasia in seeking to participate in the defence of the Empire. During a portion of the recent conflict it was their unhappy lot to furnish a battle-ground, and by flocking to arms the colonists recognised that for them the war was primarily one of self-defence. But Cape Colony had previously set an entirely new precedent by voting an annual grant of £30,000 towards the cost of the navy, whilst Natal had made a similar contribution in the form of steam coal.

It was necessary to recite in some detail the remarkable steps which have thus been taken by the self-governing Colonies in the direction of naval and military co-operation, because the course of events has confirmed the view consistently held by many strong advocates of Imperial Unity, that union for defence offered the most hopeful means of introducing the federal principle into the organisation of the Empire. The war in South Africa, by bringing into the field an Imperial army for the first time in our history, has undoubtedly given to the Empire a sense of union and solidarity such as it has not known before, and one which it is generally felt must be preserved and developed by such measures as, without detracting from colonial autonomy, will introduce order and system into a state of things where, at present, these qualities are to seek. An additional advantage of no slight importance will accrue from the opportunity which federation for defence will afford of associating the native Indian element with the representatives of the white races comprised in the Empire.

The impossibility of applying the representative principle to India in connection with any form of purely political federation has been a stumbling-block to many; but in the formation of a union for defence this difficulty would be avoided, whilst fitting recognition would be made of the magnificent support extended to the Imperial Government by the princes of India during the recent war.[1]

But although the tide is setting strongly in the direction of a *Kriegsverein*, as the most feasible method of federating the Empire in the first instance, the alternative, but not antagonistic, scheme of a *Zollverein*, or Customs Union, which has a numerous body of supporters, especially among the Imperialists of Greater Britain, makes a strong claim upon our attention. Many proposals have been mooted, of which the best known are Mr. Jan Hofmeyer's suggestion, made at the Colonial Conference of 1887, for differential duties throughout the Empire, the proceeds of which were to be devoted to Imperial defence; and that adumbrated, although not personally advocated, by Mr. Chamberlain in 1896, and referred to by him in a recent debate in Parliament, when he declared, not for the first time, that no kind of fiscal arrangement with the Colonies would be viewed with the slightest favour in this country which did not provide for Free-Trade within the whole Empire. Inasmuch as this suggestion is the only official, or quasi-official, overture on the subject addressed by any responsible British

[1] The following very satisfactory announcement has recently been made: "The assent of the King-Emperor has been received to a scheme submitted to His Majesty's Government by the Viceroy, with the unanimous support of the Council, for the provision of military employment and rank for a limited number of cadets of the princely or aristocratic families of India. . . . The scheme has been honoured with the cordial approval of the King-Emperor, who has desired it to be made known that he has welcomed the opportunity of testifying his confidence in the loyalty of his Indian feudatories and subjects in the opening year of his reign."

statesman to the Colonies, and since it has been distorted, both in this country and in Canada, for political purposes, it is of importance to state precisely what attitude has been adopted with regard to it by prominent politicians. The statement frequently made in the English press, that Sir Charles Tupper had "adopted Mr. Chamberlain's Zollverein," is a palpable perversion of the truth. For although Sir Charles and other Conservative speakers, when addressing Canadian audiences, have sought to identify themselves with Mr. Chamberlain, it is quite certain that they have never at any time assented to the essential conditions laid down by the latter, but have confined themselves to offering a *reduction* of customs duties in return for a preference in the British market. It was on this platform that they appealed to the constituencies in November 1900, when they met with an overwhelming defeat. On the other hand, Sir Wilfrid Laurier—who, after inducing the Imperial Government to denounce the treaties with Belgium and the Zollverein containing the "most favoured nation" clause, which precluded the Colonies from giving better terms in their markets to the United Kingdom than to foreign nations coming under the clause in question, has made use of his newly acquired freedom to grant a British preference without asking for any return—has expressed his approval, in principle, of Mr. Chamberlain's so-called proposal, which he hopes may at some future date come into operation; but at the same time declares it to be outside the range of practical politics, both in view of the great disparity between the volumes of Britain's colonial and foreign trade, and also because Canada is unable to dispense with the revenue at present derived from the customs duties which it is suggested should be abandoned. So much for Canada; but neither has the suggestion of a Zollverein, on this only admis-

sible basis, met with encouragement in the United Kingdom. It was denounced at Manchester on 1st November 1897 by the former leader of the Imperial Federation movement, Lord Rosebery, in a speech which was regarded as having administered the *coup de grâce;* whilst the Duke of Devonshire, some remarks of whose, at Liverpool in June of the same year, on the need of colonial expansion as a means of providing new markets, have been ingeniously misrepresented as an invitation to some of the colonial Premiers who were present to discuss proposals for a mutual preference, has publicly repudiated any such construction of his meaning. On the other hand, no politician of eminence has spoken in a contrary sense.

Such being the reception which the suggested Zollverein has encountered in the two countries where alone it has been seriously discussed, it would be an act of supererogation to overload the pages of the present article with a statement of the arguments advanced on either side of the question. Whilst it would be rash to predict what response this country might make beneath the influence of the wave of feeling which would inevitably be aroused by a united offer on the part of the self-governing Colonies to abandon all import duties on British goods in return for a preference in the home market, the contingency appears to be so remote that for years to come the question of the commercial federation of the Empire, except on such lines as have already been initiated by the present Government of Canada, and which in all probability will shortly be followed by the Governments of the other self-governing Colonies, is unlikely to emerge from the region of academic discussion.

To quit this digression, although no formal announcement of their intentions has been made by the

Imperial Government, it is a safe assumption that at no distant date steps will be taken to submit to the self-governing Colonies proposals for establishing some form of systematic co-operation between the forces of the various portions of the Empire. To this end, it will become necessary to convene a Conference of Imperial and Colonial representatives—a course which has already been urged upon the Government by the British Empire League in Canada, as well as in this country, and which there is good reason for believing will actually be taken on the occasion of the King's coronation—and the proposal is suggestive in the highest degree. If the history of the important steps towards the consolidation of the Empire, which, as mentioned in previous pages, have already been taken, are carefully reviewed, it will be found that nearly the whole of them either sprang direct from the Colonial Conferences of 1887 and 1897, or were instigated by those gatherings. So sensible indeed were the Colonial Premiers in 1897 of the beneficial effect of the meetings held in that year at the Colonial Office, to which some of them had originally come with avowed misgivings, that, although they passed by a large majority (Mr. Seddon of New Zealand and Sir Edward Braddon of Tasmania alone dissenting) a resolution to the effect that "the Prime Ministers here assembled are of opinion that the present political relations between the United Kingdom and the self-governing Colonies are generally satisfactory under the existing condition of things," they nevertheless added that "meanwhile, the Premiers are of opinion that it would be desirable to hold periodical Conferences of representatives of the Colonies and Great Britain, for the discussion of matters of common interest."

Care must be taken to apprehend the precise bearing of these resolutions. The Premiers did not negative a proposal in favour of Imperial Federation:

they merely adopted by a majority what was in effect the previous question. At the same time, they gave their unanimous assent to a proposal which opened the door to Imperial Federation in the future. This was the view taken of their action by Mr. Seddon, who saw in it the first beginnings of an Advisory Council, which he has never ceased to advocate, whilst Sir Wilfrid Laurier, who at the Conference voted against any immediate scheme of Federation, shortly afterwards predicted that he would live to see the Colonies represented at Westminster. More recently he has declared in reply to Canadian criticism upon the constitutional aspects of the despatch of contingents to South Africa, that Canada, under existing political conditions, remains entirely unpledged as to future action; but that, if Great Britain would have it otherwise, she must "call us to her Councils." Mr. Seddon's specific proposal of an Advisory Council has been favourably received in Canada, and—most significant of all—the leading organs of the Australian press, which have hitherto been very shy of Imperial Federation in any shape or form, have begun to use the language of approval. "It is impossible for the Colonies," writes the Sydney *Daily Telegraph*, for example, "after the attitude which they have just assumed in Imperial affairs, to remain content with their present voiceless position in regard to them." And such expressions of opinion could be multiplied without difficulty.[1]

In short, there can be little doubt that, whilst representation in the Imperial Parliament is not desired by the Colonies, for reasons which were stated by Sir Charles Tupper during the recent electoral campaign in Canada, without any substantial

[1] A remarkable article in advocacy of an Advisory Council by the Hon. Isaac A. Isaacs, K.C., then Attorney-General for Victoria, and now a leading member of the Federal House of Representatives, appeared in the *Melbourne Age* of 14th January 1901, and was reprinted in the *British Empire Review* for the following April.

dissent on the part of his opponents, and in almost identical terms by Mr. Chamberlain during a debate in the House of Commons upon a motion by Mr. Hedderwick, there is a strong feeling in favour of some clear and recognised arrangement under which representatives of the Colonies should enjoy the right of consultation with Her Majesty's ministers upon matters of Imperial concern by which their interests are likely to be affected. It is not the purpose of this article to propound any specific scheme; but whatever plan may be adopted can scarcely fail to embody the principles laid down by Mr. Forster in 1885, and as a practical proposal offering a starting-point towards the goal of National Unity, the establishment of periodical Conferences of the Empire, as advocated by the Presidents of the Imperial Federation League and the British Empire League in succession, and formally endorsed by the Premiers of the self-governing Colonies in Conference, still holds the field. Indeed, the vindication of Lord Rosebery's prescience and sagacity by subsequent events is one of the most notable incidents of modern political history.

Brief allusion may be made here to one aspect of the plan of proceeding by means of periodical conferences to an Advisory or Consultative Council, which constitutes a strong recommendation. By this means the necessity of determining the vexed question of the channel by which colonial contributions to Imperial defence are to be made, would not arise at the outset. Hitherto this has formed a serious stumbling-block, owing to the disposition of a certain school of federationists to regard it as an indispensable preliminary to the admission of colonial representatives to any council of the Empire, whilst public opinion in the Colonies has been stubbornly opposed to the acceptance of obligations which would be imposed by any other body than their own legislatures. That this state of feeling,

which has been the mark for much ungenerous and mischievous comment, was not inspired by any lack of loyalty or by any disposition to evade responsibility, has been conclusively shown by the sacrifices voluntarily made by the self-governing Colonies during the South African war. But the dislike to the creation of what is termed "a cash nexus"—except in the single instance of the naval contribution made by Cape Colony, which has been adversely criticised in Canada and Australia—is deep-rooted, and requires to be handled with tact, patience, and consideration. If, however, an immediate decision be waived, it should not greatly tax the resources of statesmanship to devise some compromise that will be mutually satisfactory; and in that case it is more than probable that the difficulty will eventually find its own solution through a gradual process of harmonious co-operation for common ends.

What then is the inevitable conclusion? The rapid progress already made by the movement towards National or Imperial Unity has clearly shown the futility of seeking to restrict its development by definitions or to confine its activity within the limits of a stereotyped formula. Writers of learning and ability have been at great pains to show that no such union of communities as would be comprised in a federation of the British Empire has been seen since the world began, and they have argued accordingly that it could only terminate in a catastrophe. Let their premises be conceded; it is none the less evident that their conclusion is wrong, and has been reached by a process of hasty and ill-considered generalisation. It is an easy matter to cite every type of federation known to history, and then to demonstrate how widely the conditions of each differ from those of the British Empire. Critics of this order appear to lose sight of that distinctive characteristic which Dr. Parkin so well described when he wrote that "the glory of

the British political system is often said to lie in the fact that it is a growth; that it has adapted itself, and is capable of continuous adaptation, to the necessities of national development." If there is no precedent for such a political union of a Mother Country with her Daughter States as it is proposed to establish, the genius of the race will at the right time be found ready and competent to create one. All the elaborate armoury of reasoning which has been furbished up in order to prove that the conditions of a federation are incapable of adaptation to the present case may be seen to be little better than an incentive to a logomachy, or war about phrases, if the word "Federation" be dropped, and "Confederation" be used in its place. The distinction is a very real one. "Federation" is the term which accurately describes the centralised form of government which has lately been established in Australia: but "Confederation" would denote a much looser and more elastic form of union—one rather in the nature of an alliance of independent or quasi-independent States, over which the control of the central authority would be exercised as rarely as possible, and then for Imperial purposes alone. An exact analogy doubtless does not exist; but that is of the less moment, since none is required.

As we stand in the first year of the Twentieth Century and contemplate the immense flood of national feeling which has been the unforeseen emanation of the lamentable conflict still raging in portions of South Africa, it is profitable to reflect how far we have travelled since the beginning of the decade which saw the inauguration of the Imperial Federation movement by Mr. Forster, its adoption by Lord Rosebery, and its gradual merge in a movement of even wider scope. In the face of apathy, ridicule, and malicious misrepresentation, but aided by the zealous co-operation of many fellow workers, including such men as the late

Sir John A. Macdonald, the late D'Alton McCarthy, Q.C., M.P., and Colonel George T. Denison, in Canada, these eminent statesmen effected a virtual transformation of national sentiment throughout the Empire: and despite the untoward events of 1893, the sacred flame was passed forward undiminished into the keeping of other but, as has been shown, not less loyal hands. As for the statesman who now presides over the Colonial Office, it is true that he bore no part in the earlier period of propagandism and illumination. But during the last lustrum he has performed with skill and success the task of focussing and stimulating the new forces which had sprung into life, and to-day he is placed by the accidents of political fortune in the possession of an opportunity to improve or mar such as was vouchsafed to none of his predecessors. What will he do with it?

Speaking at the Dominion Day banquet on 1st July 1901, Mr. Chamberlain expressly referred to the movement for closer union, and observed: "The movement is one which must come from the Colonies, and must not be unduly pressed upon them by us. But if they desire this closer connection; if they are willing to assist us, not merely with their arms but also with their counsel and their advice, I believe that there is nothing that the people of this country will more readily welcome. No man can foresee the future; but it is possible that in the time to come those who now help us may need our help; and if that period does arrive, unless I mistake the temper and the spirit of my countrymen, that help will be given in no grudging spirit and no stinted measure."

This important utterance has given rise to much discussion, in which Canadians have not unnaturally taken a foremost part, and Mr. Chamberlain has been sharply criticised by some of the younger spirits for his attempt to impose the responsibility of initiating pro-

posals upon the Colonies. It is noteworthy, however, that the older men occupying responsible positions, including, for instance, such different types as the Hon. David Mills, K.C., Dominion Minister of Justice, and the Hon. George W. Ross, Premier of Ontario, both of whom are prominent among Canadian Imperialists, concur in thinking that the time for the creation of a permanent Imperial constitution has not yet come, and so far have justified the caution of the Colonial Secretary. At the same time, it may be confidently assumed that the gathering of Colonial Prime Ministers in London in the summer of 1902 will not terminate without a serious effort being made to bring the problem nearer to solution, and meanwhile much can undoubtedly be done to assist the cause by frank and ample discussion of its conditions.

APPENDIX

DUTIES OF EMPIRE

Note to page 583.

The discrepancies indicated above have been remedied, to a considerable extent, by the action of the respective local Legislatures in adopting or imitating improvements made in English Statute Law from time to time. In some of the British Dominions certain important English Statutes have been made to apply in their entirety. In others their provisions have been embodied in local laws. And in others again it has been enacted that all disputes on such and such matters arising for determination there, shall be decided according to the law in force in England for the time being, and all the Statutes applicable to these disputes are thus imported at one stroke. By these several means the provisions of the English Statutes consolidating and codifying branches of English Law (*e.g.* those relating to Arbitration, Bankruptcy, Bills of Exchange, Partnership, and Sale of Goods) have come to be more or less generally in force throughout the Empire.

Statute Law in the British Dominions seems, on the whole, to be in a more satisfactory state than it is in the Mother Country. The legislative machinery works more rapidly and smoothly, and, in addition to adopting the codifying statutes passed in England, a good deal of progress has been made locally in the direction of independent codification. India has long had its Codes of Civil and Criminal Procedure, and its Penal Code, and many of the Colonies are in the same position; whilst other branches of law also have been codified in different places. At the same time, the facility with which Indian and Colonial laws are passed, and the varied and peculiar conditions prevalent in the British Dominions, have led to much legislation that is quite unprecedented in England. Many curious and

instructive experiments in legislation are thus being tried; and in this way even more marked points of divergence between the laws of different portions of the Empire are created than those which are due to difference in origin or in date of settlement. Of these points of divergence the one which has perhaps received most attention of recent years relates to marriage with a deceased wife's sister, but it is by no means the most important or significant. Putting other considerations aside and looking at the matter merely in its legal aspect, it comes to this, as Lord Davey recently pointed out (*Journal of Comparative Legislation*, 1900, p. 201), that a marriage of this description between persons domiciled in a Colony where it is legal is recognised in England for all practical purposes. The wife holds an unassailable position, and the children are legitimate. All personal property of the husband and father passes to them on his death in the usual way. The only difficulty that arises is with regard to titles of honour and real property in England, for it is said that these do not descend to the children of such a marriage, and that the widow cannot claim dower out of the real estate in this country; but the real estate can, of course, be left to them by will.

A few examples of recent Colonial legislation, taken at haphazard, may be interesting:—

In Victoria and South Australia, the attachment of workmen's wages is prohibited. In Western Australia, workmen's wages are a first charge on money due to the contractor who employs them; while workmen in Manitoba have a lien for their wages on the work they are engaged upon. Cultivators of the soil in Tasmania can obtain loans from the Government on easy terms. In South Australia, children born out of wedlock are legitimated by the subsequent marriage of their parents. In Ceylon, Government servants drawing less than a certain salary are absolutely protected against all actions for money lent, or for money due on promissory notes, &c. In New Zealand, women may be enrolled as barristers and solicitors. In several Colonies, perjury may be summarily punished as contempt of Court; and various Colonies have stringent laws against pauper and criminal immigrants.

The more we study the fascinating subject, of which only a rough and imperfect outline could be attempted here, the

more clearly do we see how the vitality, vigour, and variety of the British Empire are mirrored in its legislation; and how that legislation (though often faulty) is always inspired by a noble spirit of liberty, and is everywhere honestly intended to give effect to the maxim "*Salus populi suprema lex.*"

Isle of Man. The early history of the Isle of Man has been associated with all parts of the United Kingdom. As early as 517, the nephew of King Arthur, Maelgwyn, King of North Wales, expelled the Scots and annexed the island to Wales; it was later rescued for Scotland. In 630, Edwin, King of Northumbria, conquered it; then came the Welsh again; later, in the ninth century, a body of malcontents from Norway settled in the western isles of Scotland, and their prosperity drew upon them the anger of their king, Harold Harfagra, who, in 870, sent a great expedition, conquered the Orkney and the Shetland, the Western Isles, and Man, and for three centuries the Norwegian rule remained intact. In 1266, Magnus VI. of Norway ceded Man to Alexander III. of Scotland, and upon the subjugation of the island in 1270 Alexander, in token of his conquest, substituted for the "ships in full sail" the "three legs" for the national emblem. Upon his accession Henry IV. seized the Isle of Man, and in 1406 bestowed it on the Stanley family. The second Earl of Derby relinquished the title of King of Man, as he preferred "being a great lord to being a petty king." In 1703, James, the 10th earl, conferred on his Manx subjects the act of settlement (the Manx Magna Charta), by which lessees of estates were finally established in their possession. He died in 1736 without male issue, and the sovereignty of the island went to James, Duke of Atholl, on whose death the island descended to his daughter Charlotte, from whom, in 1765, Parliament purchased the sovereignty for £70,000, and in 1827, for the sum of £417,147, all the remaining interests in the island.

The Isle of Man is not bound by Acts of Parliament, unless specially mentioned. It is governed by an independent legislature called the Tynwald, consisting of a Governor and Council

(composed of bishop, attorney-general, and two deemsters or judges, clerk of the rolls, water-bailiff, archdeacon, and vicar-general) and the House of Keys. There are twenty-four Keys or representatives elected for seven years by the six steadings or local subdivisions and the four municipalities, by household suffrage, including women voters. Bills, after having passed both Houses, are signed by a legal quorum of each House and then sent up for the Royal Assent. After receiving the Royal Assent, it does not become law until promulgated in the English and Manx languages on Tynwald Hill. On the promulgation taking place a certificate thereof is signed by the Governor and the Speaker of the House of Keys. The island has its own laws and two supreme judges, called deemsters. Common law courts are held in the six steadings, and appeals may be made from their decision, successively to the House of Keys, the Governor, and the Sovereign or Council.

The Channel Islands. In 933 these islands were made over by Rodolph of Brittany to William of Normandy, the son of Rollo. It is now the only portion of the Dukedom of Normandy belonging to England; or, to put it from the native point of view, the Channel Islands, as representing the Dukedom of Normandy, annexed England in 1066. After the Norman Conquest its allegiance alternated between the English crown and Norman coronet; but in the reign of John the future of the islands was decided by their attachment to the English crown, in spite of the separation of the Duchy of Normandy. In 1343 there was a descent of the French on Guernsey, and the governor was beaten and Castle Cornet besieged. In 1380, Pius IV. issued a bull of anathema against all who molested the island. It was formerly registered as in Brittany in 1384, and in France in 1386. It thus acquired the right of neutrality, which it retained till 1689. In the Civil War Jersey stood for Charles, and Guernsey for the Commons; the former maintained its loyalty till 1651. In 1767, an unsuccessful attempt was made to introduce the English custom-house system. The Channel Islands are administered according to their own laws and customs, each by a Lieutenant-Governor with judicial and other functionaries, and a States Assembly, mainly elective.

The hospitable shores of the Channel Islands have over

and over again been sought by fugitives, as a haven of safety, from Poland, Hungary, France, in 1830, 1848, 1851, and by the Communists in 1871, and other places.

Seaweed cutting takes place twice a year. That which is cut in February is used for manure, and that cut in June for fuel. In the summer cutting, the first month is restricted to the poor alone, or those who have no cattle.

In Jersey the legislative body consists of the States, where all legislation is first initiated, adopted, and transmitted to the King in Council.

There are fifty-five members of the States, twelve of whom are jurats (who act as magistrates in the Royal Courts), twelve rectors, twelve constables, and fourteen deputies—one for each of the eleven country parishes and three for St. Helier—and five crown offices. The Royal Court is the judicial body, and composed of twelve jurats or judges elected by the people by ballot. It is divided into two tribunals, "Le Nombre Inférieur," composed of bailiff, who presides, and two jurats; and the Court of Appeal, or "Le Nombre Supérieur" or "Corps de Cour," consisting of seven jurats, presided over by the bailiff. An appeal to the King in Council is the *dernier ressort.*

There are in St. Helier six Centerners (hon. police) holding office for three years. The county parish also elects two Centerners, and the district (or Vingtaines of the parishes) elect constables' officers (hon. police inferior to the Centerners) and Vingterners for the same period. The constables' officers and Vingterners are only elected by ballot when the vote is demanded.

In Guernsey the States is composed of the bailiff or chief-justice (president), twelve jurats, ten rectors, two law-officers, fifteen delegates appointed by the Parish *Douzaines* or Councils, and nine deputies elected by all the ratepayers of the island. The Royal Court is composed of the bailiff and twelve jurats, who act as judges and jury in criminal and civil affairs. There is appeal in civil cases from a section of the Court, or "Cour Ordinaire," to the Full Court, so that the jurats who have already decided on a case sit in appeal upon it. The final appeal is to the Privy Council.

Herm and Jethou are considered as parts of Guernsey, and

offences are tried in that island. Herm is held under the Crown by Prince Blücher von Wahlstadt, and Jethou is held under the Crown by Henry Austin Lee, C.B.

In Sark.—The Court of Sark consists of the Seneschal or Judge, whose right of punishment is limited to a fine of three livres tournois (4s. 1d.), or three days' imprisonment. More severe cases are sent to Guernsey. Sark is one of the smallest States of Europe with a separate legislature, and the only one of the small feudal territories or half sovereign which remain unimpaired.

The Court of Alderney is altogether subordinate to that of Guernsey, but it has a Court composed of President, called the judge, two crown officers, the procureur, and the controle, whose office is perennially vacant; the greffier or registrar, the prevôte or sheriff, and the sargeant. The jurisdiction is confined to offences punished by a month's imprisonment, or a fine of not more than 5s. 3d. More serious cases are dealt with in Guernsey.

French is the official language of the local legislative *States* and of the Royal Court, but the old Norman dialect is still spoken by the people. The islands are exempt from Imperial taxation. Laws passed by the *States* are subject to the control of the Privy Council, the islands not being responsible to the Colonial Office. The two Lieutenant-Governors are appointed by the Crown, who have a deliberative voice in the Assembly and Royal Courts, but no vote. The Lieutenant-Governor in Jersey has no voice in the Royal Court although he has in the States. He sits as a member of the Licensing Assembly, where he has a vote. The bailiffs, the rectors, and the law-officer are also appointed by the Crown. The jurats in Jersey are elected by the ratepayers for life; the constables or mayors are chosen from the different parishes by the same electors; the office is held for three years. In Guernsey the election is vested in the States of Election, consisting of bailiff, jurats, ten rectors, and douzeniers, and the nine deputies. The douzeniers are a sort of parochial council, consisting of twelve or more men *elected* by the ratepayers. In early time the government of the islands was committed to one person, the ballivers or bailiff. Military service is compulsory, and the militia is under the Lieutenant-Governors. The laws are founded on

those of the Duchy of Normandy. The two political parties are the Laurel and the Rose.

Gibraltar remained under the Moor until the fifteenth century, when it became a part of the Spanish kingdom of Grenada. It was captured by the British forces under Sir George Rooke, 24th July 1704, and was ceded by the Treaty of Utrecht in 1713. It was made a free port in 1704, the only customs dues being levied upon alcoholic liquors. Gibraltar is a Crown Colony. The Governor, who is commander of the garrison, exercises all executive and legislative power; there is no council. The management of the water-supply, &c., is in the hands of a nominated body called the Sanitary Commission. It is an important naval station, the whole area forming one large citadel.

Malta. The Islands of Malta, Gozo, and Comino are mentioned at a very early date. From time immemorial it has been a place of importance to whatever race wished to hold the highway of the Mediterranean. The Phœnicians settled there in the fourteenth or fifteenth century B.C. During the Punic Wars the islands were held by the Carthaginians and Romans, ultimately by the latter. Paul was shipwrecked here during the Roman occupation.

Upon the decline of the Empire Malta fell into the hands of the Goths, afterwards the Saracens, who were expelled by Count Roger the Norman. It was under the dominion of the house of Aragon from 1190 to 1530, when it was granted to the Order of the Knights of St. John, by whom it was held for more than two centuries. On 12th July 1798 the Grand Master Hompesch capitulated to Napoleon Bonaparte, who dispersed the Order. The Maltese, however, rose against the French, and, aided by the English fleet, compelled the French to capitulate, and the government was placed in the hands of Great Britain in 1800. The Treaty of Amiens in 1802 provided that the islands should be restored to the Order of St. John; this being repugnant to the Maltese, war broke out again, and the islands remained in the hands of the English till 1814, when they were secured to Great Britain by the Treaty of Paris. The government is administered by a Governor and an Executive Council, consisting of ten members, besides the president and the clerk. Legislation

is carried on by means of a partly constituted council of government. It consists of six official, and fourteen elective members. Nine represent Malta, one Gozo, and four certain classes of the population. There is a property qualification for members and electors. The Legislative Council is elected for three years, and the governor is *ex officio* president, with the power of veto.

Cyprus. Prior to the division of the Roman Empire, Cyprus had been colonised by Phœnicians, Egyptians, and Greeks. Cyprus formed part of the Eastern Empire, and was governed by lieutenants of the Byzantian emperors until 1191, when it was taken by Richard I. of England. In 1192, the island was sold to the Templars, and upon their inability to govern it was given to Guy de Lusignan, and it remained in this family until 1489. The republic of Venice ruled the island until 1571, when it was captured by the Turks. Cyprus remained under the Sultans of Constantinople until 1878, with the exception of the period 1832 to 1840, when it was held by the Pasha of Egypt. By the Treaty of Berlin, 1878, Cyprus was placed under British administration. The Sublime Porte receives £92,800 annually, and nominally exercises dominion over the island. In the event of Russia restoring to Turkey Kars and the other conquests in Armenia, Great Britain must restore Cyprus. The administration is invested in the High Commissioner. He is assisted by an Executive Council. The Legislative Council consists of eighteen members—six official, and twelve elected for five years. Three are elected by Mohammedans and nine by non-Mohammedans. The voters are male Ottomans, or British subjects, or foreigners of twenty-one years of age who have resided five years and are payers of any of the taxes known as "Verghid." Municipal Councils exists in the principal towns, elected practically by all resident householders or ratepayers. The Moslems form about twenty-three per cent. of the population, the rest belong to the Greek Church.

St. Helena. When discovered by the Portuguese commander, Juan de Nova Castella, on 21st May 1502 (St. Helena's Day), the island was uninhabited. The secret of its discovery was well kept until 1588, when it was visited by Captain Cavendish. A church was built but no permanent settlement made. The

Dutch held it from 1645 to 1650. In 1651, the East India Company took possession of the island, and a charter for its administration was granted in 1661. The Dutch seized it both in 1665 and 1673, but in each case were driven out after a few months. Charles II. gave the East India Company a new charter in 1673, and it remained in their hands until it was brought under the direct government of the Crown in April 1834. The government is administered by a Governor, aided by an Executive Council. There is no Legislative Council. The Governor alone makes ordinances; power is reserved to legislate by order of his Majesty in Council.

Tristan da Cunha. A small group of islands in the Atlantic, discovered in 1506. During the imprisonment of Napoleon I. it was garrisoned. There are also the Gough Islands, Inaccessible Island, and Nightingale Islands; the population consists mainly of the families of shipwrecked sailors and wives from St. Helena, numbering sixty-four in 1897. An annual visit is paid to the islands by one of his Majesty's ships.

BRITISH EMPIRE.

The oversea possessions of England may be said to have commenced with the Norman Conquest. In course of time the conquerors were absorbed by the conquered, and when, in 1204, Normandy was conquered by Philip Augustus and re-united to France (it was again taken by Henry V. in 1418, and held until 1450), the only part of the conquering Dukedom that remained to England was the Channel Islands, which remains to this day. The foreign dominion of Henry II. included Normandy, Maine, Anjou, Touraine, Poitou, Limousin, Auvergne, Saintonge, Guienne, and Gascony; he was ruler of a third of modern France, with a frontier at the Pyrenees. Most of these places were relinquished by Henry III. Calais was taken by Edward III. in 1347, and it was held until 1558. Henry V. claimed the throne of France, and his son Henry VI. was crowned at Paris, but during his reign the English power declined. In 1658 Dunkirk was handed over to the English, who held it ingloriously until 1744, and here ended the last of the English possessions in France. In 1801 the Lilies were no longer quartered with the Leopards in the arms of England;

this absurdity was kept up for three hundred and fifty years after the English rule in France was plainly over. William III. ruled Holland and England for fourteen years. From 1714 to 1837 the electorate of Hanover was united to the English Crown, when the Duke of Cumberland, upon the accession of Queen Victoria, became King of Hanover. Heligoland was captured from Denmark in 1807, and ceded to Germany in 1890.

Great Britain as an island Power has made the English a race of sailors. Henry VII., only five years after Columbus started on his first voyage, sent the Venetian, Cabot, on his first voyage, to be followed later by De Prado, Hore, Willoughby, Chancellor, Frobisher, Davis, Hawkins, Drake, Cavendish, Gilbert, Raleigh, &c., who made England a maritime Power, and her sailors men who feared neither the frozen seas or the tropics. In 1541 the fisheries of Newfoundland are specified in an Act of Parliament. The English East India Company was incorporated in 1600, two years before the Dutch, and four years before the French companies. At the end of the seventeenth century England possessed only four factories in India—Madras, 1639 ; Bombay, 1661 ; Fort St. David, 1691 ; Calcutta, 1696.

The first Virginian settlement dates from 1607. On 13th May the emigrants settled at Jamestown, named after their own king. On 6th September 1620, the *Mayflower* sailed for New England, and then commenced the founding of the United States, the greatest colony ever planted by a single people. Various companies were formed—the Virginia, the Plymouth, the Massachusetts, and the Hudson Bay. The Gambia and Royal African Company came later ; thus early, English colonisation went hand in hand with trade. From 1700 to 1814 the English dependencies were mainly won by the sword; it was the time of England's greatest gain and greatest loss. From 1763 to 1814 was roughly a record of war between England and France. When England lost the United States in 1782, she set herself to colonise Australia, which was commenced in 1788. During the present century colonisation has taken the form of expansion of existing settlements in Canada and Australia peacefully, in India and South Africa by wars. England has held Tangiers from 1661 to 1684 ; Minorca, 1713 to 1756, 1763 to 1782, and 1798 to 1802 ; Corsica, 1794 to

1797; Sicily, 1811 to 1814; Ionian Islands, 1809, 1815, to 1863; Curaçao, 1800 to 1802, 1807 to 1814; Philippines and Cuba from 1762 to 1763; Java, 1811 to 1814.

The greater portion of the Colonial Empire has accrued within comparatively recent times, though the first attempts at Colonial settlement, that of Sir Humphrey Gilbert in Newfoundland, was made as early as 1583. At the end of the seventeenth century the only possessions were — the New England States, St. Helena, two slave stations at the Gambia and Gold Coast, the Bermudas, Barbados, Jamaica, and some minor West Indian Islands, New Brunswick, Nova Scotia, Prince Edward Island, and India. With the loss of the United States of America began a great increase in colonising energy, and the additions to the Empire during the reign of Queen Victoria have been enormous. Since 1870 the Imperial troops have been gradually withdrawn from the self-governing Colonies, and now, with the exception of the garrison of the naval station at Halifax (Nova Scotia), and the Cape, the land defence of these Colonies rest entirely on their local forces.

During 1890 enormous additions were made to the Empire in Africa, as a result of the arrangements with Germany, France, and Portugal for the delimitations of their respective possessions and spheres of influence in that continent, and we now actually possess, or have the indisputable right to acquire, nearly 2,500,000 square miles out of the total 11,700,000 square miles which Africa contains. A Protectorate was proclaimed over Amatongaland, now part of Natal, in 1895. Between 1895 and 1898 large tracts of territory within the British sphere in Africa were occupied. In 1898 Wei-hai-wei was obtained on lease from China, as well as an extension of British Kowloon. In 1899, by an arrangement with Germany, certain of the Solomon Islands were transferred to the British sphere of interest. The Orange River Colony and the Transvaal were annexed in 1900. In the same year Tonga, in the Western Pacific, came under British protection, and the Cook Islands, Savage Island, and other small islands were annexed.

Including India, the Empire now extends over 11,000,000 square miles, or ninety-one times the area of the Mother

Country. The area of the Colonial Empire alone is more than eighty times that of the United Kingdom, but it has a population, if we exclude that of the vast territory of the Niger and Oil Rivers, of only some 24,000,000, as compared with the 40,000,000 at home.

In the self-governing Colonies complete provision has been made not only for elementary education, but also for secondary and higher instruction. In all of them primary instruction is compulsory, and in Canada, Victoria, and New Zealand also free. Extensive provision has also been made for secondary and technical education and higher education, provided for by the establishment of chartered and amply endowed universities empowered to grant degrees.

The vast extent of territory over which is spread the population of the large self-governing Colonies, has led to the development of very complete systems of local government by elected urban and rural boards entrusted with the management of local affairs, and with the usual rating powers. In the Crown Colonies, on the other hand, the government is centralised.

The India and Colonial Offices are the two metropolitan governing bodies for the British Empire, and regulate all its parts, except the Isle of Man and the Channel Islands, which are under the King in Council, and Egypt, Zanzibar, Uganda, Central and East Africa, Socotra and Somali Coast Protectorate, which are dealt with by the Foreign Office.

The first separate organisation in this country for the control and administration of Colonial affairs was a committee of the Privy Council, appointed by Order in Council 4th July 1660, "for the Plantaçons." On 1st December 1660, a separate "Council of Foreign Plantations" was created by letters patent. In 1672 it included the council for trade and war known as the "Council of Trade and Plantations." It was suppressed in 1677, and its functions transferred to the Privy Council. It was reconstituted in 1695 and continued until 1782, when it consisted of eight members who received £1000 each per annum. The affairs of India were placed under its charge in 1748, and remained so until taken over by the Board of Control in 1784. From 1768 the Colonial affairs were dealt with by a Secretary of State. The office of secretary to the sovereign dates from at least the reign of Henry III. There was one secretary down

to 1539, when a second was appointed. From 1708 to 1748 a third existed who dealt exclusively with Scotland.

In 1768 a Secretary of State for the American or Colonial Department was appointed in addition to the other two, and the Commission to the Council of Trade and Plantation continued to run as before. But the Council and the new Secretary of State Department were abolished in 1782 on the loss of the United States. In 1782 the Privy Council took over the duties, and the Home Department dealt with its requirement. In 1784 a Committee for Trade and Foreign Plantations succeeded the Home Department. In 1793 the Secretary for War was also nominally Secretary of State for the Colonies, and in 1801 the War and Colonial Departments were united, and the Committee for Trade and Foreign Plantations became the Board of Trade. In 1854 the Secretary of State for the Colonies was appointed. The business of the Colonial Office is now conducted by the Secretary of State for the Colonies and five private secretaries, a Parliamentary Under Secretary and Private Secretary, a Permanent Under Secretary and Private Secretary, four Assistant Under Secretaries, Legal Assistant, and clerical staff recruited by competitive examination. The departments are divided into North American and Australasian, West Indian, Eastern, South African, West African, General, and Financial and Accounts.

The Crown agents for the Colonies act as commercial and financial agents in Great Britain for each of the Colonial Governments who do not possess agents general. In 1833 each Colony appointed its own agent in London, but these, with certain exceptions, were consolidated into one office. Those Colonies which possess agents general are Canada, New South Wales, Victoria, South Australia, Queensland, Western Australia, Tasmania, New Zealand, Cape, and Natal. There is an Emigrants Information Office, which supplies information to intending emigrants.

In the British Empire there are forty-three distinct and independent governments and some scattered dependencies under the protection of the King.

Of these forty-three [1]—twenty-three are Crown Colonies in

[1] Excluding the Transvaal and Orange River Colonies.

which the Crown has the entire control of legislation, and the administration is under the control of the Home Government.

Seventeen with Legislative Council nominated by the Crown —British New Guinea, Ceylon, Falklands, Fiji, Gambia, Gold Coast, Grenada, Hong Kong, Lagos, St. Lucia, St. Vincent, Seychelles, Sierra Leone, Trinidad, Tobago, Turk's Islands, British Honduras.

Six with no Legislative Council—Gibraltar, Labuan, St. Helena, Northern and Southern Nigeria, Basutoland.

Nine Colonies possess representative institutions but not responsible government, the Home Government retaining the control of public officers—British Guiana, Malta, Mauritius, Bahamas, Barbados, Bermuda, Jamaica, Leeward Island. Cyprus is not a British possession, but comes under the class.

Eleven Colonies have elected Assemblies and responsible Governments, and the Home Government has no control over any public officer except the governor—Canada, Newfoundland, New South Wales, Victoria, South Australia, Queensland, West Australia, Tasmania,[1] New Zealand, Cape, Natal.

In addition there are vast territories controlled by the British North Borneo Company and the British South African Company. Ascension is administered by the Admiralty ; Aden, Perim, the Laccadive, Nicobar, and Andaman Islands are under the control of the Secretary of State for India.

The Act of 1858 transferred the Government of India from the East India Company to the Crown. Under the Company the Governor-General had been an Indian autocrat only responsible to the Court of Directors, and they to the Shareholders and the Sovereign. The Act of 1858 substituted a Secretary of State for the Court of Directors, the Court of Proprietors, and the Board of Control. The Secretary of State for India is a Cabinet Minister, and his Council was, until recently, appointed for life ; now members are appointed for ten years, and may be reappointed for another five. The Viceroy or Governor-General is appointed by the Crown for five years ; his Council consists of an Executive Council of five members, and the Governor-General and Commander-in-Chief ; it meets at short

[1] The six Australian States form the Australian Commonwealth under a Governor.

intervals to discuss general policy. The Legislative Council has the same members, and certain others selected by the Governor-General from Bengal, Madras, and Bombay, together with nominated members representative of non-official natives and European communities; the official additional members must not exceed in number the non-official. The number of nominated members must not be more than sixteen or less than twenty. The meetings are public.

There is no Patent Act for the British Empire such as exists in the United States and Germany, covering the Mother Country and her Colonies. The English patent covers Great Britain and Ireland and the Isle of Man only—the Channel Islands even are not included. A special patent is required for Canada, another for India, another for Ceylon; in all about thirty-five patents must be taken out to cover the British Empire. Application for Colonial Patents must be made to the Government of the Colony in which protection is desired.

The International Copyright, agreed to at the Bern Convention, covers Great Britain and the Colonies, Germany, Belgium, Japan, Spain, France, Hayti, Italy, Monaco, Luxemburg, Norway, Switzerland, and Tunis, and all the colonies attached to any of these States. The International Copyright covers the privileges enjoyed by the native author in the several States. Translations can only be made with the sanction of the author, but, after ten years, should there be no translation, unauthorised translations may be made, the translation must be published in any country other than the place of origin. Other countries, upon notice to the Bureau, may join the Convention, while those who are already signatories may leave after a year's notice. England has a treaty with Austria which practically gives the same privilege as that enjoyed under the Bern Convention. In the United States copyright can be obtained by simultaneous publication, but the work must be set up in the United States. The Americans by English registration gain also the protection of the Bern Convention. His Majesty's Government has undertaken to bring in a bill to consolidate the law of Copyright.

Weights, Measures, and Coinage.—H. J. Chaney. Throughout the British Empire uniformity of weight and measure is maintained by law. In practice material standards of weights

and measures are used, the accuracy of which is verified by comparison with the primary and metric standards in the custody of the Board of Trade. The laws of Australia, Canada, South Africa, and other Colonies and Dependencies are, with respect to the use of weights and measures for trade purposes, identical in principle with the laws of the United Kingdom (Weights and Measures Acts, 1878 and 1889). In details as to local inspection and stamping;—for instance, as to the amount of errors tolerated on commercial weights, &c.;—the legal requirements vary in Colonies from those of the United Kingdom.

The accuracy of all weights and measures, whether required for use as standards for authorities administering the government of a country, or for manufacturing and scientific purposes, or for ordinary trade use, is verified by comparison with and derivation from the parent or national standards of the *Yard* and *Pound* and *Metre* and *Kilogram*, kept at the Standards Department, Old Palace Yard, Westminster.

It has always been the duty of the State, in every civilised country, to provide and maintain standards by which the public weights are regulated, a duty also always recognised with regard to the coinage; the Standard Trial Plates of gold and silver are, for instance, also kept at the Standards Department, and are used annually at the Trial of the Pyx (formerly kept at the Pyx Chapel, Westminster Abbey) in testing the current coins of the realm issued by the Royal Mint and the branch Mints of Australia, India, and Canada.

The two systems of weights and measures legally in use in the British Empire are therefore the Imperial and Metric systems. The former was legalised in 1824, and it includes a number of denominations of ancient weights and measures, some Roman, Saxon, Arabic, Norman, &c., and a perplexing variety of local and customary trade weights and measures, binary, decimal, and duodecimal series. The metric weights and measures were first legally permitted for use in retail trade in the United Kingdom in 1897, but the system was originally introduced by the National Assembly of France in 1789, and subsequently adopted as a national system in Europe. This system has been followed in this country for many years in matters relating to chemistry, physics, and manufacture.

In India the British yard and pound are the standards for official purposes, but the ancient native weights, &c., are followed for trade purposes. In Russia, as well as in the United States, the standards have been derived from, and are verified by those of, Great Britain. Thus the work of the standards department is not only national, but is also of an international character.

FOREIGN COLONIAL POSSESSIONS

SPAIN.

The earliest of the moderns in colonising were the Spaniards and the Portuguese, the Spaniards taking the west, the Portuguese the east, and a Papal bull, issued in 1493, drew a line between them. The Portuguese were the first on the field, working down the west coast of Africa. Columbus for Spain discovered America five years before Vasco da Gama led his countrymen to India round the Cape of Good Hope. Spain commenced with islands; the Canaries are the oldest Spanish colony. The Spanish dominion was by conquest, not by commercial settlement.

In the eyes of the Spaniards, trade consisted of importing gold and silver from America to Spain.

By relinquishing Cuba, Porto Rico, the Philippines, Sulu Islands, and Guam to the United States in 1898, and the remaining Ladrone and Marianne Islands, with Caroline and Pelew Islands, to Germany in 1899, the Colonial possessions of Spain have been reduced to *Rio de Ora* and *Adrar*, which are under the Governor of the Canary Islands, with a sub-governor resident at Rio de Ora. *Ifni* near Cape Nun. The island of *Fernando Po* and *Annobon* in the Gulf of Guinea, and *Corisco*, *Elobey*, and *San Juan* off the French Congo.

In 1891 Spain relinquished her claim to Corisco Bay, retaining, however, Cape San Juan. In 1900 the Spanish Protectorate was recognised over the coast east of Gulf Mederine, east of Paris, and south by the Muni River. Spanish protection is recognised over districts between Capes Bogador and Blanco.

The *Canary Islands*, supposed to be the *Beatorum* or Fortunate Islands of the ancients, were conquered by Bethencourt in 1402 and annexed to Spain at the end of the fifteenth century. They now form a Spanish province. Fernando Po

was discovered in the fifteenth century by the noble Portuguese Fernão de Pao. In 1827, the British Baptists established the settlement of Clarence Town at the north-east end of the island. They were bought out by the Spaniards in 1858.

In Morocco there are several "Presidios," or military posts: Ifri, Tetuan, Ceuta, and the coast towns of Gomera, Alhucemas, Meletta, and the Zaffarin Islands. Ceuta, taken by the Portuguese in 1415, has belonged to Spain since 1640. It is the chief of the Spanish presidios on the African coast.

PORTUGAL.

The colonies of Portugal, though not continuous with her own European territory, began near it, and the Asiatic and American dominions grew out of her African possessions, which was the continuation of the growth of her own peninsula. Ceuta was taken in 1415 by John, King of Portugal; it has belonged to Spain since 1640. The great Portuguese Empire in the East was built up within a few years. Albuquerque established the seat of government in the island of Gôa, and in the sixteenth century the Portuguese power extended over the west and east coasts of Africa. De Nora discovered Ascension and St. Helena; Tristan da Cunha, the island named after him, and Madagascar. Mascarenhas discovered Bourbon in 1505, and gave his name to the island, the same name being afterwards extended to Mauritius—later called Mauritius, and Rodriguez. The whole of the shores of India were practically in Portuguese hands.

They discovered Borneo, the Celebes, New Guinea, and Australia; opened trade with China and Japan, and took possession of Formosa. Brazil was perhaps their most permanent work, which was discovered in 1500; the Portuguese were traders, but they brought their riches to Lisbon only, and left it to the Dutch to distribute; thus the Dutch acquired their carrying trade.

The present colonial possessions are:—

The *Azores* and *Madeira*, which are an integral part of Portugal. The inhabitants of the Azores are a mixture of Portuguese and negroes with traces of Flemings, descended from a colony introduced by Isabella of Burgundy in 1466.

It was discovered early in the fifteenth century, as was also Madeira.

The *Cape Verde Islands*, acquired in 1456, off the cape of that name in Senegambia, consists of St. Antonio, St. Nicolas, Fogo, Santiago, Boavista Sal, and some smaller islands. These are administered by a Governor.

Portuguese Guinea, on the coast of Senegambia, includes the adjoining Archipelago of Bijagoz, with the island of Bolama, acquired in 1885.

The islands of *St. Thomas* and *Principe*, in the Gulf of Guinea, acquired in 1879, constitute a province under a Governor. St. Thomas was discovered by the Portuguese in 1470.

The territories of *Landana* and *Cabenda* are between the French Congo and the Free State.

Angola, with a coast-line of 1000 miles, is separated from the French Congo by Convention of 1886, Congo Free State of 1891, British South Africa of 1891, and German South-West Africa of 1886. It is divided into five provinces: Congo, Loanda, Benguella, Mossamedes, and Lunda.

Portuguese East Africa is divided into three districts—Mozambique, Zambezia, and Lourenço Marques, to which must be added the district of Inhambane, formed upon the failure of the company of that name and Gaza. The port of Mozambique is leased to the Mozambique Company, who also administer Manica and Sofala territories under a Royal Charter for fifty years from 1891. The Nyasa Company, with a Royal Charter, administer the region between Rovuma, Lake Nyasa, and Lurio. There is also a Zambezia Company and Mozambique Sugar Company. Mozambique was constituted by a decree in 1891 as the State of East Africa (Estado d'Africa Oriental). The limit of Portuguese East Africa was arranged with Great Britain in 1891, and Germany in 1886 and 1890. Lourenço Marques was founded as a factory by the Portuguese in 1544; gold was proclaimed in the district on 1st September 1890.

Gôa on the Malabar coast was founded by Albuquerque in 1510. Nova or New Gôa or Panjim was founded in 1765, is the present capital of Portuguese India.

Damão, north of Bombay. *Diu*, a small island west of Damão, province of Gôa, since 1538.

Macao in China is situated on an island of that name, and forms with two small adjacent islands, Taipa and Colôane, a province. The city is divided into two wards, one inhabited by Chinese and the other by non-Chinese; each has an administrator.

Portuguese Timor consists of the eastern portion of the island of that name in the Malay Archipelago, with the neighbouring isle of Pulo Cambing; this island was divided by treaty of 1859 between Portugal and Holland.

HOLLAND.

The rise of the Dutch dates from their great East India Company, incorporated in 1602. By 1661 they drove their Portuguese rivals out of the Indian seas, they took Mauritius and St. Helena, planted a colony at the Cape, established factories on the shores of the Persian Gulf at Ispahan, along the Malabar and Coromandel coast of India, in Bengal, in Burmah, and Cochin-China; expelled the Portuguese from Ceylon, Malacca, and Formosa, and killed their trade with China and Japan, and in 1619 founded Batavia in Java; they also traded with Australia, Tasmania, and New Zealand. Hudson was sent to discover a new passage, and in 1609 sailed up the Hudson, named after him. In 1621 the Dutch West India Company was incorporated. Their failure in America was due to the superior strength of their rivals, the English. The keynote of the Dutch colonisation was trade. Their character was formed by having been the chief carriers of Europe, and though they supported the Reformed religion, they subordinated religion to trade. The monopolies of the Latin people were Crown monopolies; with the Dutch, trade was entrusted to chartered companies. Many of the Dutch colonies were lost during the Napoleonic wars, when Holland was under French influence. The present colonial possessions of the Netherlands are situated in the East and West Indies.

The *Dutch East Indies* date from 1602, when they created the East India Company; after its dissolution in 1798 it was governed by the mother country. It consists of Java, Madura, Sumatra, Borneo, Rian-Lingga Archipelago, Banca, Billiton, Celebes, Molucca Archipelago, Sunda Island, and part of New

Guinea. In Sumatra, Borneo, Celebes, and other islands the Dutch sovereignty is merely nominal.

Java, the most important of the colonial possessions of the Netherlands (Madura, an adjacent island, is administratively associated with Java), was formerly administrated on the "Culture System" established by General Johannes Graaf Van den Bosch in 1832. It was based on the obligatory labour of natives; this was abolished in 1870. Two divisions, Surakarta and Jokjakarta, are ruled by dependant princes. The greater part of the soil belongs to the Colonial Government; since 1870 large estates have been let to individuals and private companies. The Dutch settled in Java in 1610, but have only ruled the entire island since 1830. The English held Java from 1811 to 1877.

Sumatra, mentioned by Ptolemy, was visited by Marco Polo in 1292. In the sixteenth century the Portuguese formed settlements of the island, which were soon destroyed. The French traveller, Parmentier, visited it in 1529, and the Dutch navigator Houtman in 1599. In 1616 the Dutch founded a factory at Jambi, and in 1622 made a treaty with the Sultan of Palembang. It is an outpost of the Dutch East Indies, and divided for administrative purposes into eight divisions.

Dutch Borneo embraces 72 per cent. of the area of the island. The Dutch made a permanent settlement at Banjermasin in 1733. Since 1814 they have gradually made themselves masters of the greater part of the island. James Brooke, in 1838–41, put down the Malay pirates, and founded the State of Sarawak. Brunei, the last of the free sovereign States, was declared a British Protectorate in 1888. The extreme north was obtained by the British North Borneo Company in 1881.

Since 1852, when shortly after the discovery of tin, Billiton has formed a separate residency.

The *Moluccas* or *Spice Islands* are divided between the two Dutch residences of Ternati and Amboina.

The Dutch East Indies is administered by a Governor-General, assisted by a council of five members, which is of a legislative and advisory character, the executive authority is in the hands of the Governor.

The *Dutch West Indies.* By the peace of Breda, in 1667, between England and the United Netherland, Surinam or Dutch Guiana was assured to the Netherlands in exchange for the colony of New Netherlands. Since then the latter has been in the hands of England, but was returned in 1816. The colony of Curaçao consists of the islands of Curaçao, Bonaire, Aruba, St. Martin (South part), St. Eustache, Saba.

The administration and executive authority of Surinam is in the hands of a Governor and Council, partly elective.

Curaçao is governed by a Governor and nominated council. Curaçao was discovered in 1499 by Ojeda; it has been a dependency of Holland since 1632. Bondaire is the most easterly of the Dutch West Indies. The south portion of St. Martin belongs to Holland, the north and west to France.

FRANCE.

The colonies and dependencies of France, including Algeria and Tunis, are estimated at about 3,740,000 square miles, with a population of 56,000,000. The administration is controlled by the Ministry of the Colonies, which was organised as a separate department in 1894. The older colonies have also direct representation in the French legislature; Réunion, Martinique, and Guadeloupe each sending a senator and two deputies; French India one senator and one deputy; Senegal, Guiana, and Cochin-China one deputy each, while most of the other colonies are represented on the "Conseil Supérieur des Colonies." This council consists of senators and deputies of colonies, delegates, officials, and experts. Few of the colonies have a revenue sufficient for the cost of administration.

France, like Spain, sought empire rather than trade, and she took finally the place of Spain, while England took that of Holland. Her first colonies were in the Gulf of St. Lawrence, 1534, and two Huguenot settlements in Brazil and Florida, in 1558 and 1562 respectively. In 1604 Port Royal was founded, and in 1608 Quebec. French colonists settled in the West Indies in 1635, and about that date in Cayenne and Senegal River in N.-W. Africa. In 1604 the French East India Company was formed. Her first possession in the Eastern seas was Bourbon (Réunion), which was annexed in 1649,

but some years before, attempts were made in Madagascar. The first settlement in India was a trading agency at Surat, established in 1668, and Pondicherry, in 1674. In the eighteenth century the French claimed nearly the whole of North America, and nearly conquered India. The reason of her failure was due in a measure to attempting too much, for while fighting her neighbours at home she lost her dependencies abroad. The French Government also interfered with the Trading Companies. There were six distinct French East India Companies incorporated between 1604 and 1719, and the policy of the Court was often opposed to the interest of the nation. In religion the French also made fatal mistakes. The early work of colonisation was done by the Huguenots, but they were subsequently excluded from the French colonies. In 1627 Richelieu incorporated the company of one hundred associates to carry on the colonisation of Canada, and one of the terms of the Charter was that no Huguenot should be allowed to settle there.

The present colonies are—

Algeria, which is under a Governor-General nominated by the President of the Republic. It sends one senator and two deputies to the National Assembly. The country, until 1830, was a nest of slave-trading corsairs, ruled by deys, when their power was broken by France, who became actual masters of the country in 1847. In 1871 Civil Government was established. The French Chambers alone have the right of legislating for Algeria.

Tunis was ruled by a Bey under the Sultan of Turkey until 1881, when the incursions of the Kabyle tribes into Algeria brought about the French occupation. "This occupation will cease when the French and Tunisian authorities recognise by common accord the power of the local Government to maintain order." Nominally under the Bey, but Tunis is really under a French Resident. The Government is carried on under the direction of the French Foreign Office.

French West Africa, which takes in the whole of the Sahara and the State of Wadai, is placed under a Governor-General, and includes—

Senegal, which returns one deputy to the French Parliament. It was acquired in 1637, and is administered by a Civil

Governor. It is the oldest of the French colonies; Norman navigators touched here as early as 1364.

The *French Soudan* was formed in 1880, and comprises—

The hinterland of the Senegal and Guinea Colonies. Area, 50,000 square miles; population (estimated), 300,000. The people belong, in the most part, to the Peneth and Mandingo tribes of negroes, and are in part Moslems and part fetish worshippers. Principal products—Ground nuts, gums, india-rubber, and timber.

By a convention between Great Britain and France, the former recognised the right of France to all the territory west of the Nile basin.

French Guinea was acquired in 1843. It is administered by a Governor. A series of voyages to the coast of Guinea were made on behalf of merchants of Dieppe from 1364 onwards, and a settlement was made in 1383 at La Mine, since known by the Portuguese name of Elmina.

Ivory Coast. France asserted her right here in 1843, and occupied the coast in 1883. It is administered by a Governor.

Dahomey and Dependencies. The French obtained a footing on the coast in 1851, and gradually extended her power until, in 1894, the whole of the kingdom of Dahomey was formally annexed. The establishment in the Gulf of Benin consisted of a distinct colony, under the name of Dahomey and dependencies. It was formed of the kingdom of Porto Novo, Dahomey, and the republic Minatis in 1899, and placed under the Governor of French West Africa. Dahomey was annexed in 1894.

French Somaliland. In 1896 the territories of Obock, the protectorates of Tajourah and the Danakils country were united under the protectorate of Somaliland. The port of Obock was acquired in 1855, but not occupied until 1881. Sagallo was ceded to France in 1883, Tajurah in 1884, Ambado in 1888. Great Britain had claims on the islands of Masha and Elat, but ceded them to France in 1887. In 1888 a port was created at Jibulil, now the seat of government. The colony is administered by a Governor. In the Red Sea, France also claims 340 miles north of Obock, the Bay of Adulis.

French Congo. By decrees 1891 the French establishments of Gaboon, Ogowe and Congo took the name of French Congo.

The territory is administered by a Commissioner-General. French acquisition on the Congo began on the Gaboon River in 1841. Savorgnan de Brazza extended the territory in 1884 over the vast area to the Congo. It was still further enlarged in 1887. Libreville was founded in 1849. Cape Lopez was gained in 1862. The frontier towards the Congo Free State was settled by the Conventions of 1885 and 1887; towards Kamerun on December 1885; towards the Portuguese possession in 1886; and towards the Nile by the Convention with Great Britain in 1899. By the Franco-German agreement of February 1896 the region to the east of the Shari, which includes Bagirmi, was reserved to the French sphere of influence. In 1897 a treaty was made with the Sultan of Bagirmi for the appointment of a French Resident at Massenia.

Madagascar and Dependencies is administered by a Governor-General. Diego-Suarey, Nossi Bé, and Ste. Maire were in 1896 attached to the administration of Madagascar. France has laid claim to Madagascar since 1642, when a concession of the island was granted to a trading company by the French king. A station was planted here in 1662 under the protection of Richelieu. In 1883 a regular conquest was commenced, which failed at first, but eventually converted an absolute monarchy into a French Protectorate. In 1885 a French Resident-General was received. In 1890, the protection of France was recognised by Great Britain but not by the native government. In 1896 the island and its dependencies were declared a French Colony. In 1897 the Queen was deported to Réunion, whence in March 1899 she was transferred to Algeria. Nosse Bé has been held by France since 1843. St. Maire was taken by France as early as 1643.

La Réunion is situated in the Indian Ocean. The French settled here in 1649. It has several times been held by the English, but has belonged to France since 1764. It is administered by a Governor, and is represented by a Senator and two Deputies.

Mayotte Islands and Dependencies. By decree 1899 the isles of Cormores were united to Mayotte and placed under the authority of a Governor. Mayotte was ceded to France by Adrian Souli in 1843, and French influence has extended over the Comoro Islands. In 1886 the chiefs placed themselves

under French protection. Mayotte and Comoro Islands were in 1896 placed under the Governor of Réunion. The Glorieuse Archipelago in the Indian Ocean belongs to Mayolle.

St. Paul and New Amsterdam, two small islands in the Indian Ocean, midway between Australia and Africa. They were taken possession of by France in 1843. Area of St. Paul, 3 square miles; New Amsterdam, 26 square miles.

Kerguelen's Land. A desolate island in the Antarctic Ocean, 85 miles long and 75 miles wide, discovered by a Breton sailor (after whom it was called) in 1772. It was annexed by France in 1892.

Kerguelen, a desolate island, was annexed in 1893.

French Indo-China is under a Governor-General, and consists of Annam, Tonking, Cochin-China, and Cambodia.

Annam, an Empire in S.-E. Asia, now a French Protectorate; it formerly included Tonking, Cochin-China, and Cambodia. French intervention in the affairs of Annam began as early as 1787 and terminated in a Protectorate in 1884. The capital, Hué, near the coast, is garrisoned by French troops. Cochin-China was annexed in 1861 and is represented by one deputy. As far back as the middle of the fourteenth century, in the reign of Charles V., the merchants of Rouen, and others of Brittany and Normandy, joined in expeditions to Cochin-China.

The Kingdom of Cambodia under King Norodom recognised a French Protectorate in 1863. Tonking was annexed in 1884; the King of Annam was formerly represented in Tonking by a Viceroy, but in 1897 he consented to the suppression of the Viceroyalty and the creation of a French Residency in its place.

The *Laos* territory was placed under French protection in 1893. For commercial purposes the country is almost inaccessible.

Kwang Chan Wan was added in 1900 to French Indo-China.

By treaties of 1814 and 1815 the French possessions in India were preserved, consisting of Pondicherry, Karieal, Shandernagar, Mahé, and Yanaon. The year of acquisition dates from 1679. The Governor resides at Pondicherry. The Colony is represented by one senator and one deputy.

French India consists of about 196 miles.

Chandernagore. On right bank of the Hugli, 22 miles above Calcutta; area $3\frac{1}{2}$ square miles. Established 1673. For a time the great rival to Calcutta; now, through the gradual silting up of the river, it has but little external trade. Population, 25,395. Seat of a French sub-governor. Town was captured by the English 1757, restored in 1763, again retaken, and finally restored to the French in 1816.

Pondicherry. Chief of the French settlements in India. Situated on the Coromandel coast, 53 miles S.-W. of Madras. Area, 115 square miles. Population, 140,945. The Governor of Pondicherry is governor-general of all the French settlements in India. The French first settled here in 1674. It was several times taken from the French both by the Dutch and the English, but always restored, and finally given back by the latter for the third time in 1816.

Yanaon. Small patch of Indian soil belonging to France. It is surrounded by British territory, and lies near the mouth of the Godivari. Area, $3\frac{1}{2}$ square miles. Population, 4470.

Mahé. Only French settlement on west coast of India, in the Malabar district, 35 miles N.N.-W. of Calicut. Area, $3\frac{3}{4}$ square miles. Population, 8280.

Martinique was originally settled by France in 1635; was several times in English hands, but confirmed to France in 1814.

Guadeloupe Dependencies. (La Gaudeloupe proper, or Basse Terre, and Grande Terre, Marie, Galante, les Saintes, Désirade, St. Barthelemy, St. Martin.) Guadeloupe is one of the principal colonies in the West Indies, first colonised by France in 1635, it has several times been captured by the English; confirmed to France in 1814. It is under a Governor, and is represented by a senator and two deputies.

Cayenne or French Guiana was first settled in 1626, and is used as a penal settlement. It is administered by a Governor and represented by a deputy. The boundary dispute with Brazil was settled by arbitration in 1900.

St. Pierre and Miquellon were acquired in 1763, and are administered by a Governor. Islands in the Gulf of St. Lawrence, south of Newfoundland; forms an excellent basis for the French cod fishery. Although the French have lost all their possessions on the mainland of Canada, they still

retain some share in the fisheries, which first attracted their merchant seamen to the North American coast.

Chesterfield Island. Chapperton in the North Pacific.

New Caledonia and Dependencies was discovered by Captain Cook in 1774. Is administered by a Governor; was acquired from 1854 to 1887. The dependencies are the Isle of Pines, the Wallis Archipelago, the Loyalty Islands, the Huron Islands, and Futuna and Alafi, annexed in 1888.

The *French Oceania* is administered by a Governor. The islands were acquired from 1841 to 1881. They consist of the Society Islands, the most important of which are Tahiti and Moorea; the Windward Islands, comprising Raiatea, Tapaa, and Bora Bora; the Tabuai and Ravavac groups; the island of Rapa, the Tuamotu Islands, the Gambier Islands, the Marqueza Islands. By virtue of the declaration of Pomaré the King of the Society Islands and dependencies abdicated the sovereignty in favour of France; in 1880 the protectorate ceased and was replaced by sovereignty direct from the Republic.

The *New Hebrides* is under a mixed commission of French and British Naval officers. Under Anglo-French Convention, 1887.

The *Republic of Andorra* is under the joint suzerainty of France and the Spanish Bishop of Urgel. Is in the Eastern Pyrenees, between the French Department of Briège and the Spanish province of Lerida, part of Catalonia. Area, 175 square miles. Population, 6800, but others estimate it as high as 15,000. Governed by a sovereign council of twenty-four members, elected for four years. The council elects its president. France and the Bishop of Urgel appoint each a magistrate and a civil judge alternately.

BELGIUM.

The *Congo Free State* succeeded to the Congo International Association founded in 1883 by Leopold II., King of the Belgians. That Association was recognised in its sovereignty by treaties in 1884 and 1885 with most of the European nations and the United States. Freedom of trade in the basin of the Congo and its tributaries was declared absolute. The protection of the natives was laid down by certain rules, and the slave

trade abolished. The State is under the sovereignty of Leopold II. on the basis of personal union with Belgium, the latter claiming the right of annexation if necessary. The Congo Free State resulted from the discovery of Sir H. M. Stanley, and the explorations carried on subsequently by the International Association, founded at Brussels under the presidency of the King of the Belgians in 1876. The King has endowed the State out of his private fortune to the extent of £40,000 annually.

DENMARK.

The outlying possessions of Denmark include the Faröe or Sheep Islands, Iceland and Greenland in Europe, and the West Indian Islands of St. Croix, St. Thomas, and St. John in America.

The largest and least valuable of the Danish colonies is Greenland, whose ice-bound limits defy all attempts at precise definitions. The country is absolutely dependent on the mother country, and the trade is a government monopoly.

Faröe Islands. The inhabitants of these islands have secured for themselves political and commercial independence, which is guarded at home by the Landsthing or Legislative Chamber, and in the Danish Landsthing by a special representative from the islands.

Iceland constitutes an inalienable part of the Danish monarch, and governed by the King of Denmark with the co-operation of a legislative assembly on the island known as the Althing. The island was placed under the protection of the Norwegian King in the thirteenth century, and became associated with the Danish monarchy a century later. When the Danish people acquired their constitutional freedom this was not granted to Iceland, but it came later in 1874.

West India Islands. The Danish possessions in the West Indian Archipelego consist of the islands of St. Croix, St. Thomas, and St. John, which have a total area of 138 square miles. St. Croix, or Santa Cruz, is the largest of the three. Population, 19,783. It was discovered by Columbus in 1492, and belonged successively to the Dutch, English, Spanish, French, and Knights of Malta. It was purchased by Denmark in 1793.

St. Thomas lies thirty-six miles east of Puerto Rico. Popu-

lation, 14,389. It was first colonised by the Dutch in 1657, and was held by the British three times—the last being 1807–15.

The United States Government is in treaty with the Danish Government for the purchase of the Danish West Indies.

GERMANY.

The German possessions in Africa are—

Togoland and the *Cameroons*, under an Imperial Commissioner and Governor respectively, annexed in 1884.

Togoland with Little Popo and Porto Seguro is situated on the Slave Coast in Upper Guinea, between the Gold Coast Colony and the French Colony of Dahomey; it has an estimated area of 33,000 square miles, and a population of 2,500,000. The boundary is by agreement with France 1897, and Great Britain 1899. A German Protectorate was declared in 1884, and is now placed under an Imperial Commissioner. Kamerun (Cameroon) became a German Protectorate in 1884, and is placed under an Imperial Governor, assisted by a chancellor, two secretaries, and three representative merchants. The area is estimated at 191,130 square miles, 34,000 of which has been conceded to the North-Western Kamerun Company, who has received a charter to develop the Colony.

German South-West Africa, annexed 1885–90, under an Imperial Commissioner, Damaraland with Great Namaqualand.

An Anglo-German Company has obtained from the German Government (1892) a concession of the northern part of this territory. In 1900 provision was made to advance money to German settlers. It is under an Imperial Commissioner, was acquired in 1884–90, and has an estimated area of 300,000 square miles.

German East Africa is under an Imperial Governor, and has an estimated area of 384,000 square miles, includes a narrow strip of territory leased from the Sultan of Zanzibar for fifty years from 1888, but the Sultan's rights were acquired by Germany in 1890 for 4,000,000 marks. It is under an Imperial Governor. Karagwe, one of the large Central African States formed after the dissolution of the former empire of Kitwara, lies mainly within the German sphere.

In Asia—

In 1897 Germany sent an armed force to Kiau Chau Bay in consequence of the murder of missionaries, and in 1898 obtained the land as a fine from the Chinese Government, together with mining and railway concessions in the province of Shan Tung. The sphere of influence extends over 2740 square miles. It is under an Imperial Governor.

In the Pacific—

The northern portion of the eastern half of S.E. New Guinea, called Kaiser Wilhelmsland, was declared a German Protectorate in 1884, with its dependencies. The development of the Protectorate is entrusted to the German New Guinea Company. The administration is in the hands of an Imperial Commissioner. Long Island, Dampier Island, and Rook Island, also Bougainville Island, in the Solomon group. In 1884 a protectorate was declared over the New Britain Archipelago and several adjacent groups of islands, the chief being New Britain, New Ireland, Duke of York, New Hannover Islands, is now called the Bismarck Archipelago. Solomon Islands—Germany owns of this group Bougainville and Buka, but Choiseul, Isabel, and others were transferred to Great Britain in 1899. The Solomon Islands and the Bismarck Archipelago are under the Imperial Commissioner of Kaiser Wilhelmsland.

Marschall Islands, &c., occupied in 1885, is under an Imperial Commissioner, consist of two rows of lagoon islands, known as Ratack and Ralick respectively.

In 1899 the *Caroline*, *Pelew*, and *Ladrone* (or *Marianne*) *Islands* were purchased from Spain; each of these islands is under a Deputy-Commissioner. The purchase price paid was £837,500.

The *Samoan Islands* (*Saraii* and *Upolu*) are under a Civil Governor, and were acquired by treaty with the United Kingdom in 1899. The independence of these islands was guaranteed by Great Britain, Germany, and the United States at a conference held at Berlin in 1889. In 1899 Great Britain renounced all right over the islands; Germany took Savaii and Upolu; the United States took Tutuila and the remainder.

After the war with France in 1871, Alsace-Lorraine was added to the states of the German Empire; the state is repre-

sented in the Bundesrath by four commissioners (without votes) nominated by the Statthalter, and fifteen elected deputies in the Reichstag.

Heligoland was ceded to Germany by Great Britain in 1890, and is now included in Schleswig-Holstein, one of the provinces of Prussia.

RUSSIA.

Finland was ceded to the Emperor of Russia in 1809, and preserves some remains of its ancient constitution, which was a constitutional monarchy of an antiquated type. The Finnish Diet consists of four estates—nobles, clergy, burgesses, and peasants convoked triennally, and the country is chiefly governed by the Imperial Finnish Senate of twenty-two members. The Governor-General is nominated by the Crown. Finland has its own money and system of custom-house.

Poland had a constitution of its own from 1815 to 1830, and a separate Government till 1864. In 1868 it was absolutely incorporated with Russia.

The *Baltic Provinces* had some measure of self-government, but in 1889 the last vestige was abolished.

Bokhara was founded by the Usbegs in the fifteenth century, after the power of the Golden Horde had been crushed by Tamerlane. The present dynasty of Manguts dates from the end of the eighteenth century. In 1866 a holy war was proclaimed against Russia, which terminated in 1873 by Bokhara becoming a Russian dependency, retaining its reigning sovereign, with a Russian political resident.

Khiva, like Bokhara, was founded in the fifteenth century by the Usbegs; its relations with Russia is said to have commenced at the beginning of the eighteenth century, when the Khivan Khans first acknowledged the Czar's supremacy. In 1872 Russia invaded Khiva on the pretext that the Khivans had aided the rebellious Kirghiz, and the Khanate was put under Russian control, retaining its reigning sovereign. Khiva has no external relations except with Russia.

Kwang-tung. By agreement with China in 1898 Russia obtained a lease of Port Arthur and Ta-lien-wan with the adjacent seas and territory to the north for twenty-five years,

which may be extended by mutual agreement. In 1899 the name Kwang-tung was given by Russia to the province.

Manchuria is now held in military occupation by Russia till order is restored.

ITALY.

The government of the Italian dependencies is represented by a civil governor nominated by the King. The governor is under the Minister for Foreign Affairs.

In 1889 the Sultan of Obbia on the Somali coast put his sultanate under the protection of Italy. In 1892 the Sultan of Zanzibar ceded to Italy the Somali coast with the ports of Brava, Merka, Magadisho, and Warsheik.

Italy possesses the *Colony of Eritrea*, a protectorate over part of the Somali coast and the isolated stations on the Juba River in North-East Africa. The commencement of the Italian influence was made in 1880, when the district of Assab was transferred from a trading company to the Government. In 1885 the town of Kassala was abandoned by the Egyptian Government, was occupied, and shortly afterwards the tract of land now known as Eritrea was taken over. In 1889 a protectorate was declared over the kingdom of Abyssinia, and after a disastrous campaign was abandoned. Somaliland was retained. The isolated station of Lugh on the Juba was also reserved. In 1897 Kassala was restored to Egypt.

San Marino was founded in the fourth century and governed by a council of sixty (twenty nobles, twenty townsmen, and twenty peasants), of whom two act jointly as regents. In 1872, by a treaty, it placed itself under the protection of Italy.

UNITED STATES OF AMERICA.

Alaska, the north-western portion of the North American continent. A third of the fourth portion of the territory lies within the Arctic circle. It is very thinly inhabited. It was purchased from Russia by the United States Government in 1867 for 7,200,000 dols. Population, 31,795, of whom only about one-eighth are whites, the bulk being Indians.

Hawaiian or *Sandwich Islands* was discovered by the Spaniards under Galtano in 1549, and visited by Captain Cook in 1778. It formed during the greater part of the

nineteenth century an independent kingdom, whose integrity was recognised by Great Britain, United States, and other Governments. In 1893 the Queen Liliuokalani was deposed, and a Republic proclaimed. In 1898 the islands were formally annexed by Congress to the United States, and on 30th April 1900 the inhabitants were declared to be citizens of the United States and of the territory of Hawaii.

Samoan Islands. By the Anglo-German agreement, 1889, the island of Tuturla and all other islands in the Archipelago east of 170° E. of Greenwich were reserved to the United States of America.

Cuba, the largest island of the West Indies. Till 1898 the principal colony left to Spain. Area, including adjacent islands, 46,419 square miles. Population, 1,650,000. It was discovered by Columbus in 1492, and settled by the Spaniards in 1511. On the conclusion of peace between the United States and Spain in 1899 the island was made a dependency of the former country, and though Congress has affirmed Cuban independence, the island is held in military occupation by the United States forces, pending its future constitution.

Porto Rico or *Puerto Rico*, another of the West Indian Islands, belonging to Spain until 1898. Area, 3530 square miles; population, 820,000; and is situated seventy-five miles east of Osayti. It is now under military rule.

Philippine Islands, a group of a large number of islands in the north of the Eastern Archipelago. Discovered by Magellan in 1521, and annexed by Spain in 1569, to whom they belonged until they were ceded to the United States on the termination of the war in 1898, for a payment of £4,000,000.

Guam, the largest island of the Ladrone Archipelago. By a recent decision the colonial possession of the United States, as such, are not entitled to the benefits of the constitution by way of representation in Congress; was also ceded by Spain at the Treaty of Paris, and will probably be used as a coaling station for the U.S. navy.

JAPAN.

Taiwan (*Formosa*) and *Hōkotō* (the Pescadores) were ceded to Japan upon the close of the Chinese War of 1895. Taiwan has a Governor-General with extreme powers, and is now an integral part of Japan.

BRITISH EMPIRE, 1900

	Area. Square Miles.	Population. 1881.	Population. 1891.	Population. Es. 1899.	Military.	Revenue.	Expenditure.	Debt.
						£	£	£
Isle of Man	225	53,558	55,608	...	...	82,484	72,635	272,852
Channel Islands	76	87,702	92,234	...	...	171,026	164,950	445,689
Jersey	45	52,445	54,518	...	...	108,203	100,499	310,000
Guernsey, Herm		32,638	35,287	...	...	62,823	64,451	135,689
Alderney	31	2,048	1,857	...	...	...	...	...
Sark and Breschou		571	572	240,076	...	...	...	...
Gibraltar	1	18,381	19,100	24,093	4,965	56,018	48,877	15,000
Malta	117	149,782	165,037	180,325	9,000	332,488	339,082	79,168
St. Helena	47	5,059	4,116	4,545	...	11,593	11,421	...
Cyprus	3,584	185,630	209,286	225,700	670	210,284	132.975	...
	4,126	...	...	674,739	...	1,034,919	934,890	1,258,398
Asia, British	1,964,088	257,495,847	...	295,567,992	...	65,899,173	66,906.880	227,337,085
Africa, British	2,732,324	...	...	48,243,086	...	16,371,620	15,611,147	38,957,551
America, British	3,826,761	...	...	5,788,513	...	9,316,802	9,130,840	59,434,505
West Indies, British	12,059	1,216,363	...	1,357.254	...	1,888,259	1,904,369	4,204,135
Australasia, British	3,185,092	...	...	5,207,477	...	32,816,715	31,594,545	237.763,066
	11,724,450	...	...	356,809,061	...	127,327,488	126,080,671	568,954,740
United Kingdom	121,371	...	...	40,191,100	...	106,614,004	102,935,994	643,435,704
Egypt and Soudan	962,826	...	...	19,734,405	...	11,776,346	11,394,078	103,863,940
	12,808,647	...	...	416,734,566	...	245,717,838	240,410,743	1,316,254,384

BRITISH EMPIRE, 1900—*continued*

	Tonnage of Vessels. Entered and Cleared.		Exports.			Imports.		
	Total.	British.	Total.	United Kingdom.	Colonies.	Total.	United Kingdom.	Colonies.
Isle of Man	1,586,909	1,586,909	...	...	...	...	...	...
Channel Islands	1,700,000	1,700,000	1,689,549	1,689,549	...	1,297,326	1,297,326	...
Jersey	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Guernsey, Herm	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	..
Alderney	...	...	...	...	...	...	. .	...
Sark and Breschou	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Gibraltar	9,114,390	7,142,641	54,897	54,897	...	...	754,789	...
Malta	7,145,721	5,310,825	9,379,140[1]	2,088,589	1,421,999	10.025,131	203,517	520,093
St. Helena	202,836	202,434	4,391	3,849	...	91,699	80,232	...
Cyprus	559,617	188,057	373,065	97,056	...	346,654	86,705	...
	20,308,473	14,430,866	11,501,042	3,933,940	1,421,999	11,760,810	2,422,569	520,093
Asia, British	43,034,074	28,872,955	123,075,818	30,207,767	20,407,685	114,706,237	48,773,105	16,967,019
Africa, British	19,506,674	17,303,551	45,428,342	24,299,518	1,807,140	47,493,160	19,916,542	2,222,300
America, British	27,289,197	15,907,673	37,532,988	23,253,417	1,421,747	32,354,023	8,177,917	992,821
Canadian Coasting Trade	29,633,950	29,488,918	...	...	...	...	...	...
West Indies	9,167,767	7,239,354	5,657,391	1,460,418	...	6,323,413	2,514,542	...
Australasia	22,201,839	19,170,763	79,289,055	33,992,054	26,611,522	69,007,765	26,566,769	27,809,825
	171,141,974	132,414,080	302,485,536	117,147,114	51,670,093	281,645,408	108,371,444	48,512,058
United Kingdom	97,782,887	65,648,989	329,534,658	...	94,249,596	485,035,583	...	106,829,295
Egypt and Soudan	15,661,403	9,469,237	12,630,000	9,294,000	74,000	10,335,000	4,542,000	625,000
	284,586,264	207,532,306	644,650,194	126,441,114	145,993,689	777,015,991	112,913,444	155,966,353

[1] Including goods in transit.

BRITISH EMPIRE, 1900—*continued*

	Railway. Miles.	Telegraph. Miles.	Scholars.	Capital.	Population.	Municipalities. Income.	Municipalities. Expenditure.	Municipalities. Debt.
						£	£	£
				Castletown	2,178	...	...	...
Isle of Man	46½	86½	9,441	Douglas (Chief Town)	19,525	...	...	...
						...	..	...
Channel Islands	. .	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Jersey	13	...	...	St Heliers	28,020	...	...	...
Guernsey, Herm	...	...	.	St Peters	17,000	...	...	...
Alderney	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Sark and Breschou	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Gibraltar	...	...	1,818	...	...	...	...	...
Malta	8	65	19,416	Valletta	25,650	...	...	...
St. Helena	...	30	353	Jamestown	2,233	...	...	...
Cyprus	...	237	28,500	Nicosia	12,515	...	...	...
	68	419	...	...	...	...	...	...
Asia, British	21,560	51,231	4,590,923	...	...	3,480,567	3,549,237	...
Africa, British	6,493	17,159	226,885	...	...	...	...	...
America, British	17,529	34,725	1,141,785	...	...	2,581,946	2,765,706	11,688,158
West Indies	290	807	206,498	...	...	159,814	166,584	149,813
Australasia	14,920	50,780	848,313	....	...	5,004,101	5,255,622	21,193,291
	60,860	155,121	...	...	...	...	...	...
United Kingdom	21,659	43,803	...	...	...	...	...	...
Egypt and Soudan	1,238	2,058	228,000	...	...	...	...	...
	83,757	200,982	...	...	...	...	...	...

Total Value of the Import and Export Trade of the United Kingdom.

	1900.	1899.	1889.
	£	£	£
Imports from Foreign Countries .	413,544,528	378,206,288	330,168.729
,, ,, British Possessions .	109,530,635	106,829.295	97,094,254
Exports to Foreign Countries . .	252,349,700	235,285.062	224.275.950
,, British Possessions . .	102,024,054	94,249,596	90.420.791
British Product and Manufactures	291,191,996	264,492.211	248,935,195
Foreign and Colonial Merchandise	63,181,758	65,042,447	66,657,484
Total of Imports and Exports .	877,448,917	814,570,241	743,230,274

Shipping—Total Tonnage of British and Foreign Vessels at Ports of United Kingdom.

	1899.	1889.
	Tons.	Tons.
British	65,648,989	52,469,654
Foreign	32,123,898	19,420.241
Total . .	97,782,887	71,889,895

Total Value of Foreign Merchandise Imported for Transhipment from Countries and British Possessions at Ports in the United Kingdom—not included in Import and Export Table.

	1899.	1889.
	£	£
Foreign Countries	9,989,118	9,089,221
British Possessions	797,494	1,091,791
Total . .	10,786,612	10,181,012

TRADE WITH FOREIGN COUNTRIES

Countries from which Imported and to which Exported from United Kingdom.	Total Imports and Exports of the United Kingdom from and to the Countries named.				Exports of the Product and Manufacture of the United Kingdom.	
	1899.		1888.			
	Imports.	Exports.	Imports.	Exports.	1899.	1889.
	£	£	£	£	£	£
Russia	18,711,168	16,138,580	27,154,490	8,643,256	11,720,333	5,332,258
Colonies	...	...	...	...	...	...
Denmark (including Iceland and Greenland)	12,432,977	4,399,025	7,845,877	2,817,954	3,961,807	2,368,284
Colonies (West Indies)	258	48,415	5,029	84,262	46,550	81,724
Germany	30,123,058	37,978,257	27,104,832	31,283,624	25,996,127	18,478,136
Colonies	48,736	150.184	48,431[1]	76,557	138,164	...
Holland	30,473,489	14,044,468	26,679,216	16,183,786	9,425,974	9,724,757
Colonies	341,866	2,503,891	2,326,080	2,010,181	2,472,533	1,963,031
Belgium	22,861,967	14,586,549	17,674,877	13,678,861	9,836,165	7,229,418
Congo Free State	5,679	112,934	...	...	105,545	...
France	53.000,788	22,277,012	45,780,277	22,232,605	15,283,079	14,682,677
Colonies	1,404,322	1,511,283	674,447	723,548	1,413,619	664,664
Portugal	3,172,258	2,639,882	3,105,076	2,996,618	2,100,125	2,511,240
Colonies	299,915	2,075,657	321,315	1,056,799	1,924,509	1,005,217
Spain	14,572,954	5,619,232	11,558,857	4,925,712	4,634,087	4,237,990
Colonies (Cuba, Porto Rico, Philippines, and Ladrones, 1888. Canary Islands only, 1899)	841,217	767,646	2,565,891	4,807,088	686,451	3,783,527
Italy	3,637,096	7,725,984	3,230,131	8,063,854	6,985,916	7,156,557
Colonies	...	...	...	...	...	...
United States	120,081,188	34,975,472	95,461,475	43,878,934	18,119,380	30,293,942
Colonies	25,621	2,133,207	...	...	1,386,717	...
Cuba, Porto Rico, Philippines, and Ladrones	1,243,315	438,635	...	...	413,043	...
Japan	1,692,408	8,251,991	977,606	4,055,386	7,909,158	3,888,188
Colonies	...	...	...	...	...	...

[1] 1895.

KINGDOM

WHICH HAVE COLONIES

Exports of Foreign and Colonial Product and Manufacture.		Total Value of Foreign Merchandise Imported for Transhipment from each Country at Ports of the United Kingdom.		Tonnage of Foreign Vessels at the Ports of the United Kingdom, Entered and Cleared.		Gold and Silver, Bullion and Specie.			
						1899.		1889.	
1899.	1889.	1899.	1889.	1899.	1889.	Imports.	Exports.	Imports.	Exports.
£	£	£	£	Tons.	Tons.	£	£	£	£
4,418,247	3,311,005	12,469	1,464	903,547	513,119	...	3,102,360	...	...
...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
437,218	449,670	31,421	521	3,275,632	1,760,136	...	8,500	...	4,570
1,865	2,538	6	570	...	...	...	...	...	...
11,982,130	12,805,488	1,136,418	1,091,916	5,238,057	3,956,315	3,037,596	4,904,122	443,792	373,733
12,020	...	20	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
4,618,494	6,479,522	960,922	475,307	2,950,447	1,920,296	1,405,286	744,485	2,254,067	190,561
31,358	47,468	12,892	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
4,750,384	6,449,443	475,237	331,760	1,494,438	792,394	1,510,766	365,690	577,361	272,092
7,389	...	102	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
6,993,933	7,549,928	3,538,410	3,469,658	2,535,136	1,867,567	2,566,947	2,324,456	3,953,173	1,818,567
98,264	59,560	1,081	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
539,756	485,378	190,175	278,514	67,597	72,247	212,411	152,756	9,558	2,113,995
151,148	51,781	103,756	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
985,145	687,722	366,481	342,219	2,006,440	1,208,198	83,048	1,370,556	198,671	298,902
81,195	1,023,559	389	101,398	...	...	...	...	...	...
740,068	907,297	82,813	78,675	1,087,806	456,150	...	...	...	...
...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
16,856,092	13,584,992	840,941	981,299	569,979	325,610	11,200,522	1,341,987	6,772,774	41,450
746,490	...	11,680	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
342,833	167,198	43,153	26,528	...	...	970	612,000	...	...
...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...

STATISTICAL TABLE OF COLONISING COUNTRIES

Countries.	Area in Square Miles.	Year.	Density of Population per Square Mile.	Relative Population.	Population.	Population, 1888.	Birth-Rate per 1000.		Death-Rate per 1000.	
							1898.	1888.	1898.	1888.
United Kingdom	121.371	1898	312.1	100	40,191,100	36,599,143	28.9	30.1	17.7	18.1
Colonies, &c.	11,724,450	...	...	...	356,809,061	...	...	...	...	...
Egypt and Soudan	962,826	...	...	...	19,734,405	...	...	...	...	...
United States	2,935,004	1899	25.9	183	76,011,000	59,974,000	...	...	...	...
Colonies, &c.	171,500	...	...	...	10,560,000	...	...	...	...	...
Russian Empire	8,450,081	1897	15.3	321	129,211,000	106,787,285	...	...	...	...
Russia in Europe	2,080,396	1897	51	...	106,159,141	...	47.0[1]	49.9	33.1[1]	32.3
Finland	(144,211)	1897	20	...	(2,483,249)	(2,176,421)	...	...	...	...
Poland	(49.142)	1897	193	...	(9,455,943)	(7,960,304)	...	...	...	...
Russia in Asia	6,309,685	...	3.6	...	23,051,972	...	...	...	...	...
Bokhara and Khiva	114,320	...	...	...	3,200,000	...	...	...	...	...
Germany	208,694	1895	250.5	130	52,280,000	48,168,000	36.2	36.6	20.6	23.7
Prussia	134,603	1895	236.7	...	31,855,123	30,000,000	37.1	37.6	20.2	22.9
Colonies	1,027,120	...	...	...	14,687,000	...	...	...	...	...
France	204,146	1896	188.7	96	38,518,000	38,218,903	23.1	23.1	21.2	21.9
Colonies	3,740,756	...	...	...	56,401,860	...	...	...	...	...
Italy	110,646	1898	286.2	79	31,668,000	28,459,628	33.9	37.7	23.2	27.6
Colonies	188,858	...	...	...	850,000	...	...	...	...	...
Holland	12,560	1897	411.5	13	5,004,000	4,548,596	31.9	33.7	17.0	20.4
Colonies	783,000	...	...	...	35,000,000	...	...	...	...	...
Denmark	14,790	1896	146.8	6	2,299,000	2,130,100	30.5	31.6	15.6	19.7
Colonies	86,634	...	...	...	114,229	...	...	...	...	...
Belgium	11,370	1898	586.5	17	6,669,000	5,974,743	28.6	29.4	17.6	22.7
Congo Free State	900,000	...	...	...	30,000,000	...	...	...	...	...
Portugal	34.336	1890	135.7	12	4,660,095	...	29.9[2]	33.2	21.7[2]	21.6
Colonies	801,060	...	...	...	9,216,707	...	...	...	...	...
Spain	194.744	1897	93.5	45	18,226,000	17,673,838	36.0[3]	36.5	31.7[3]	30.2
Colonies	243,877	...	...	...	136,000	...	...	...	...	...
Japan	147,655	1898	296.3	109	43,754,000	39,607,234	31.3	29.6	20.4	19.0
Colonies	13,543	...	...	...	2.780,536	...	...	...	...	...

[1] 1893. [2] 1897. [3] 1894.

STATISTICAL TABLE OF COLONISING COUNTRIES—*continued*

Countries.	Military Force. War. 1900.	Military Force. War. 1869.	Military Force. Peace. 1900.	1898. Revenue.	1898. Expenditure.	1888. Revenue.	1888. Expenditure.	Public Debt. 1898.	Public Debt. 1888.
				£	£	£	£	£	£
United Kingdom	750,000	400,000	250,000[1]	106,614,004	102,935,994	89,802,254	87,423,645	643,435,704	705,575,073
Colonies, &c.	...	..	260,000	127,327,488	126,080,671	...	...	568,954,740	...
Egypt & Soudan	...	...	...	11,776,346	11,394,078	...	...	103,863,940	...
United States	...	...	200,000	81,064,267	88,673,716	75,853,215	53,584,960	359,306,399	338,571,797
Colonies, &c.	...	...	...	8,000,000	7,600,000	...	...	...	...
Russian Empire	...	...	...	147,245,000	149,460,000	89,853,000	84,042,000	643,700,000	397 930,000
Russia in Europe	3,550,000	1,100,000	900,000	...	...	...	...	...	...
Finland	...	...	...	6,162,444	...	...	...	...	...
Poland	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Russia in Asia	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Bokhara & Khiva	...	...	..	...	...	...	...	..	...
Germany	4,000,000	1,250,000	500,000	66,532,181	67,056,917	40,622,980	48,587,583	112,[illegible]56,103	49,525,799
Prussia	...	...	450,000	107,231,735	107,231,734	85,345,217	78,673,842	317,903,042	216,916,887
Colonies	..	...	...	...	...	...	...	.	..
France	4,350,000	1,300,000	650,000	142,052,300	141,383,328	149,357,588	150,040,831	1,082,327,796	1,046,314,603
Colonies	...	...	...	9,316,172	9,917,020	..	...	...	...
Italy	3,257,000	550,000	300,000	70,916,533	70,202,327	76,557,870	84,230,000	516,207,392	460,111,800
Colonies	...	...	..	100,000	425,000	...	..	...	.
Holland	80,000	50,000	28,000	12,010,082	12,542,122	10,547,437	10,547,437	96,154,431	90,039,794
Colonies	...	...	5,000	11,340,000	12,340,000	...	...	...	...
Denmark	62,000	40,000	9,800	7,704,528	7,485,559	2,852,000	3,327,000	11,478,865	10,573,953
Colonies	..	...	...	...	...	...	.	.	...
Belgium	130,000	90,000	51,502	26,509,220	28,736,566	13,600,000	14,700,000	104,551,487	77,432,863
Congo Free State	...	...	12,000	1,050,000	1,110,000	...	..	...	...
Portugal	150,000	75,000	32,000	10,257,069	10,637,481	6,527,334	7,714,520	107,837,590	118,514,802
Colonies	...	...	...	1,858,000	1,903,000	...	...	.	..
Spain	500,000	400,000	100,000	32,159,245	34,776,083	30,150,032	27,412,301	369,678,700	278,131,807
Colonies	...	...	...	..	..	...	..	...	...
Japan	400,000	400,000	125,000	24,695,307	24,645,170	11,809,248	11,808,598	41,701,042	24,770,000
Colonies		...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...

[1] Regular Troops only, including the First Class Army Reserve.

STATISTICAL TABLE OF COLONISING COUNTRIES—*continued*

Countries.	Coinage, 1899.	Mercantile Marine belonging to the respective Countries.		Shipping Entered and Cleared.			
				1898.		1888.	
		1898.	1888.	Foreign.	Own Country's Vessels.	Foreign.	Own Country's Vessels.
	£	Tons.	Tons.	Tons.	Tons.	Tons.	Tons.
United Kingdom	20,602,129	9,001,860	7,464,167	26,747,238	64,216,728	18,123,891	50,395,254
Colonies, &c.	4,826,441	...	...	169,441,974		...	...
Egypt and Soudan	...	...	...	15,661,403		...	...
United States	28,511,599	4,749,738	4,191,916	36,998,560	6,593,489	20,350,145	5,858,211
Colonies, &c.	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Russian Empire	50,920,615	...	...	...	...	...	...
Russia in Europe	...	554,141	528,988 [1]	15,677,165	1,794,749	13,801,470	982,628
Finland	...	319,826	257,854 [2]	1,737,168	2,111,112	...	...
Poland	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Russia in Asia	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Bokhara and Khiva	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Germany	8,151,933	1,639,552	1,233,894	15,501,726	12,035,264	11,010,363	7,865,803
Prussia	...	265,652	354,213	6,266,212	2,574,906	4,966,569	2,014,186
Colonies	15,117	...	...	220,000		...	...
France	3,271,401	900,288	961,073	24,027,026	9,536,826	18,455,005	10,036,660
Colonies	1,327,829	...	...	...	...	...	...
Italy	101,230	786,644 [3]	853,033	20,615,140	16,007,495	9,851,037	3,219,216
Colonies	...	...	...	332,000		...	...
Holland	209,427	302,224	245,416	12,921,267	4,404,560	6,992,137	3,209,196
Colonies	37,000	...	...	2,400,000		...	...
Denmark	35,542	394,685	270,941	4,688,348	6,516,528	3,297,904	3,450,050
Colonies	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Belgium	22,000	90,971	77,655	13,544,709	2,972,901	7,932,354	1,887,745
Congo Free State	...	...	...	488,626	260,563	...	...
Portugal	568,022	...	...	16,531,483	1,373,080	7,481,338	396,622
Colonies	...	...	...	13,000,000		...	...
Spain	4,220,434	657,924 [3]	598,321	15,947,720	10,895,424	13.276,885	9,046,823
Colonies	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Japan	4,167,884	648,324	144,194	5.494,318	1,911,921	2,214,286	450,874
Colonies	...	...	...	...	...	...	...

[1] 1895. [2] 1892. [3] 1897.

STATISTICAL TABLE OF COLONISING COUNTRIES—*continued*

Countries.	Imports and Exports.							
	1898.				1888.			
	Merchandise.		Bullion and Specie.		Merchandise.		Bullion and Specie.	
	Imports.	Exports.	Imports.	Exports.	Imports.	Exports.	Imports.	Exports.
	£	£	£	£	£	£	£	£
United Kingdom	470,379,000	294,014,000	58,401,000	52,214,000	387,636,000	298,578,000	22,002,000	22,560,000
Colonies, &c.	281,645,408	302,485,506	...	...	...	...	...	...
Egypt and Soudan	10,335,000	12,630,000	...	...	...	...	...	...
United States	128,344,000	256,559,000	31,525,000	14,690,000	150,824,000	144,991,000	12,362,000	9,670,000
Colonies, &c.	6,203,000	10,170,000	...	...	...	...		
	(to and from United States)							
Russian Empire	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Russia in Europe	65,176,000	77,338,000	20,819,000	771,000	39,074,000	78,405,000	5,053,000	6,183,000
Finland	11,850,000	8,900,000	...	...	4,488,000	3,620,000		
Poland	...	...	...	...	...			
Russia in Asia	...	...	...	...	...			
Bokhara and Khiva	3,540,000	3,196,000	...	...	...	...		...
Germany	269,300,000	202,860,000	17,950,000	12,700,000	244,290,000	232,655,000	10,420,000	10,500,000
Prussia	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Colonies	1,961,685	798,506	...	...	...	...	...	...
France	223,304,000	186,940,000	21,155,000	25,617,000	207,488,000	171,928,000	12,361,000	13,798,000
Colonies	26,814,768	25,154,776	...	...	...	...	...	...
Italy	61,640,000	52,258,000	138,000	784,000	49,109,000	37,802,000	2,681,000	3,019,000
Colonies	564,000	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Holland	146,924,000	126,123,000	2,727,000	203,000	105,147,000	91,411,000	861,000	1,480,000
Colonies	15,807,000	19,000,000	...	...	...	...	...	...
Denmark	25,679,000	18,131,000	444,000	139,000	15,242,000	10,366,000	222,000	139,000
Colonies	173,000	170,000	...	...	...	...	...	...
Belgium	131,162,000	120,795,000	10,166,000	10,401,000	123,490,000	112,001,000	2,177,000	1,735,000
Congo Free State	1,008,000	1,016,000			...	...	...	
Portugal	14,104,000	10,260,000	600,000	574,000	10,272,000	6,078,000	1,042,000	578,000
Colonies	6,5[illegible]1,000	6,386,000	...	...				
Spain	28,938,000	36,758,000	2,846,000	854,000	28,643,000	30,524,000	113,000	170,000
Colonies	...	...	...	...	...	...		
Japan	29,847,000	18,105,000	4,902,000	9,033,000	10,091,000	10,130,000	1,346,000	1,208,000
Colonies								

STATISTICAL TABLE OF COLONISING COUNTRIES—*continued*

Countries.	Railway, in Miles.			Railways in Colonies.	Telegraphs. Length of Line in Miles.			Telegraphs in Colonies.
	1898.	1890.	Date of Opening First Line.	Miles.	1898.	1890.	Date of Opening First Line.	Miles.
United Kingdom, Companies	21,659	20,073	1825	60,860	43,803	30,726	1838	155,121
,, ,, State	...	...	...					
United States, Companies	186,810	166,654	1827	1,492	189.856	183,916	1844	3,740
,, ,, State	...	...	...					
Russia in Europe, Companies	9,658	12.750	1838	...	90,383 [3]	76,120	1852	...
,, ,, State	16,708	5.309	1845	...				
Germany, Companies	872	2,081	1835	...	90,760	64,693	1833	...
,, State	28,459	23,268	1839	...				
France, Companies	24,372	21,341	1828	...	...	57,087	1851	...
,, State	1,666	1,570	1878	...				
Italy, Companies	9,593 [1]	5,316	1839	17	26,085	23,196	1847	319
,, State		2,847	1848					
Holland, Companies	805	746	1839	1,200	3,668	3,257	1852	6,833
,, State	899	875	1863					
Denmark, Companies	460	251	1847	...	3,623	2,794	1854	...
,, State	1,107	966	1862	...				
Belgium, Companies	341	792	1844	250	4,180	3,961	1846	...
,, State	2,492	2,035	1835					
Portugal, Companies	823	686	1856	574	4.584	4,260 [5]	1855	1,757
,, State	518	514						
Spain, Companies	7.994 [1]	5,547 [2]	1848	...	17,883 [4]	15,380	1855	...
,, State	...	...	...	...				
Japan, Companies	2,288	588	1883	...	...	...	1869	...
,, State	662	551	1872	...				

[1] 1896. [2] 1885. [3] 1897. [4] 1895. [5] 1892.

STATISTICAL TABLE OF COLONISING COUNTRIES—*continued*

Countries.	Emigration.		Immigration.		Languages.		Capital.	Population.
	1898.	1890.	1898.	1890.	1900.	1800.		
United Kingdom	140,644 (Out of Europe)	218,116	139,346	155.910	English 120,000,000 (United Kingdom and United States)	English 20,000,000 (United Kingdom and United States)	London	5,633,806
United States	...	...	311.715	445.302			Washington	230,392
Russia	...	...	...	...	Russian 80,000,000	Russian 30,000,000	St. Petersburg	1,267,023
Germany	22.221	116,339 [3]	...	...	German 80,250,000	German 30,750,000	Berlin	1,677,135
France	5.583 [1]	20,560	...	...	French 53,500,000	French 31,500,000	Paris	2,534,834
Italy	126.787	175,520	...	...	Italian 35,000,000	Italian 15,000,000	Rome	489,364
Holland	851	3,526	...	...		...	Amsterdam	512,758
Denmark	2,340	10,298	...	...	.	. .	Copenhagen	408,300
Belgium	22,830	23.041	27.393	21,213	...	...	Brussels	531,611
Portugal	22,380	28,945	...	...	Portuguese 14,000,000	Portuguese 7,500,000	Lisbon	307,661
Spain	69,810 [2]	61,652	...	...	Spanish 45,000,000	Spanish 26,000,000	Madrid	508,405
Japan	...	...	...	...	...	...	Tokio	1,333,256

[1] 1893. [2] 1897. [3] 1892.

TRADE OF COLONISING COUNTRIES

Total Imports and Exports of Merchandise with their Colonies, the United Kingdom and its Colonies.

Countries.	1898.		1888.	
	Imports.	Exports.	Imports.	Exports.
Russia—	£	£	£	£
Total . .	65,176,000	77,338,000	39,074,000	78,405,000
Finland	2,030,650	3.525,000	1,214,000	2,054,000
Bokhara and Khiva	2,253,000	2,656,000	...	...
United Kingdom .	12,250,000	14,865,000	10,755,000	30,428,000
Colonies	...	...	...	...
Denmark—				
Total . .	25,679,000	18,131,000	15,242,000	10,366,000
Colonies	123,000	142,000	126,000	143,000
United Kingdom .	5,467,000	11,246,000	3,518,000	6,221,000
Colonies	...	...	...	...
Germany—				
Total . .	254,030,000	187,830,000	200,755,000	158,335,000
Colonies	220,000	473,000	231,000	192,000
United Kingdom .	28,316,000	37,036,090	33,262,000	32,337,000
Colonies . . .	18,308,000	6,890,000	7,519,000	3,664,000
Holland—				
Total . .	149,645,000	126,321,000	106,008,000	92,900,000
Colonies	21,813,000	5,626,000	10,008,000	4,154,000
United Kingdom .	22,417,000	28,150,000	28,449,000	24,851,000
Colonies	4,670,000	240,000	2,459,000	290,000
Belgium—				
Total . .	81,789,000	71,480,000	61,375,000	49,748,000
Congo	847,000	368,000	18,000	98,000
United Kingdom .	11,352,000	12,261,000	7,302,000	10,244,000
Colonies . . .	5,108,000	1,478,000	2,440,000	516,000
France—				
Total . .	178,904,000	140,436,000	164,280,000	129,868,000
Colonies	16,456,000	15,609,000	12,221,000	10,137,000
United Kingdom .	20,198,000	40,863,000	21,153,000	34,545,000
Colonies	12,579,000	1,007,000	9,242,000	986,000
Portugal—				
Total . .	10,936,000	7,003,000	8,568,000	5,275,000
Colonies	262,000	1,127,000	178,000	204,000
United Kingdom .	3,505,000	1,974,000	2,769,000	1,761,000
Colonies	...	...	...	...
Spain—				
Total . .	28,938,000	36,758,000	28,643,000	30,524,000
Canary Islands . .	47,000	205,000	29,000	63,000
Porto Rico, Cuba, and Philippines	2,010,000	4,373,000	2,626,000	3,462,000
United Kingdom .	5,682,000	10,100,000	4,871,000	7,175,000
Colonies	884,000	284,000	779,000	179,000
Italy—				
Total . .	56,533,000	48,143,000	46,984,000	35,677,000
United Kingdom .	10,155,000	4,664,000	10,558,000	4,639,000
Colonies . . .	2,878,000	1,321,000	3,158,000	1,005,000
United States—				
Total . .	128,344,000	252,144,000	150,824,000	142,471,000
Hawaiian Islands .	3,681,000	1,203,000	2,304,000	630,000
Cuba, Porto Rico, and Philippines	4,474,000	2,259,000	13,333,000	2,461,000
United Kingdom .	22,697,000	111,333,000	37,063,000	74,633,000
Colonies	16,259,000	26,664,000	17,362,000	13,205,000
Japan—				
Total . .	29,847,000	18,105,000	10,091,000	10,130,000
United Kingdom .	6,567,000	795,000	2,929,000	889,000
Colonies	6,101,000	4,425,000	1,868,000	1,364,000

COLONIAL CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE

787. First invasion of England by Northmen.
876. Rollo the Northman overruns Normandy.
913. Rollo recognised as Duke of Normandy by Charles the Simple.
933. Channel Islands ceded to William of Normandy by Rodolph of Brittany.
1066. Norman Conquest of England.
1154. Pope Adrian IV. bestows Ireland on Henry II.
1171. The supremacy of Henry II. acknowledged by the chiefs in Ireland.
1284. The Statute of Wales settles the administration of that country.
1294. First alliance between Scotland and France against England.
1329 and 1331. Edward III. does homage for his French lands to the King of France.
1337. Edward III. takes title of King of France, which is given up in 1360, and finally in 1802.
1347. Calais taken by Edward III.
1366. Rouen merchants trade with Gold Coast.
1431. Henry IV. crowned at Paris.
1453. Final loss of France to England, except Calais.
1462. Gibraltar taken by the Spaniards from the Moors.
1481. Elmina founded by the Portuguese.
1486. Bartholomew Diaz and Portuguese discovers the "Cape of Good Hope" and lands at Algoa Bay.
1492. St. Salvador (Bahamas) discovered by Columbus.
1492. Hispaniola (Hayti) discovered by Columbus.
1493. Leeward Islands discovered by Columbus.
1493. Papal Bull regulates the frontier between Spanish and Portuguese Colonial possessions.
1493. Dominica, Antigua, and Montserrat discovered.
1494. Jamaica discovered by Columbus.
1497. Vasco da Gama rounds Cape of Good Hope.
1497. Newfoundland and mainland of America discovered by John Cabot.
1497. Vasco da Gama discovers sea route to India.
1497. Natal discovered by Vasco da Gama on Christmas day.
1498. Trinidad, Tobago, Grenada, Nevis, and St. Vincent discovered by Columbus.
1498. Vasco da Gama visits Calicut (Hindustan).
1500. Gaspar Cortereal entered the Gulf of St. Lawrence.
1501. Ascension discovered by De Nova.

1502. St. Helena discovered by the Portuguese.
1502. St. Lucia discovered by Columbus.
1505. Sychelles discovered by the Portuguese.
1505. Ceylon visited by the Portuguese.
1506. Tristan da Cunha discovered.
1507. Mauritius discovered by the Portuguese.
1509. First settlement of the Spaniards at Jamaica.
1511. Malacca taken by the Portuguese; held till 1641.
1511. Antonio de Abrea discovers New Guinea.
1512. Ponce de Leon discovered Florida.
1515. Juan Bermudez discovers the Bermudas.
1517. Sebastian Cabot discovered Hudson Bay.
1517. Portuguese build a factory at Colombo.
1519–22. Magelhaens circumnavigated the world.
1524. Verrazano explored the Atlantic Coast of Nova Scotia.
1526. Babar founds the Mughal Empire in India.
1532. Bombay occupied by the Portuguese.
1534. June 21. Landing of Jacques Cartier at Esquimaux Bay. First landing on Canadian soil.
1550. Boulogne restored to France.
1556–1605. Akbar, the Great Mughal, reigned.
1558. Calais captured by the French.
1562–64. The Spaniards destroy the Huguenot colonies in Florida.
1576–78. Frobisher's voyage: he explores the coast of Greenland.
1577–80. Drake's voyage round the world.
1578. Gilbert gets a charter to colonise America.
1579. Thomas Stevens visits Goa.
1580. Spain annexes Portugal.
1580. Dutch West India Co. plant a colony at River Pomeroon, now British Guiana.
1580. The British plant flag at Tobago.
1583. Gilbert annexes Newfoundland.
1585. Raleigh founds an English colony in America (no permanent settlement made).
1588. Captain Cavendish lands at St. Helena.
1588. Queen Elizabeth grants patent to merchants to trade with the Gambia.
1588. Defeat of the Spanish Armada.
1589. An English expedition reaches India by land.
1591. Rainhold's voyage to Senegambia.
1591. British ships visit the Cape of Good Hope.
1592. The Falkland Islands discovered by Davis.
1595. Sir Walter Raleigh visits Trinidad.
1598. The Marquis de la Roche landed forty convicts on Sable Island (Canada).
1598. Mauritius occupied by the Dutch.
1600. East India Company founded.
1601. Alleged discovery of Australia by Manoel Godinho de Eredia, a Portuguese.
1602. Dutch ships land at the Cape of Good Hope.
1602. The Dutch East India Company founded.
1603. First visit of Samuel de Champlain to Canada.
1603. The Union of the Crowns of England and Scotland.

1604. The English attempt to colonise Guiana.
1604. The French East India Company founded.
1605. Founding of Port Royal, Acadie.
1606. The Dutch visit Australia—Torres Straits discovered.
1607. Virginia colonised.
1608. Founding of Quebec, the first permanent settlement of New France.
1608. First permanent English settlement on mainland of America.
1609. The English, under Somers, annex the Bermudas.
1610. Henry Hudson wintered in James' Bay, after three months exploration of Hudson Bay.
1611. Jesuits arrived in Port Royal, Acadie.
1615. Lakes Huron, Ontario, and Nipissing discovered by Champlain.
1616. Tranquebar granted to the Danes.
1617. Canada invaded by the Iroquois.
1617. Raleigh's voyage to Guiana.
1618. The English settle on the Gambia and the Gold Coast.
1620. The English take possession of the Cape of Good Hope, but no settlement made.
1620. Landing of the first Puritan settlement at Plymouth in America.
1621. The Dutch colonise New Netherlands (New York).
1623. Nova Scotia first settled by the English.
1623. The Dutch, by "Massacre of Amboyna," drive the English from Spice Islands.
1624. Manhattan (now New York) founded by the Dutch.
1625. Barbados settled.
1625. Jamestown founded.
1626. The French West African Company formed.
1627. Canada, including Acadie, granted to the Company of "100 Associates" by the King of France.
1627. The English attempt to colonise Guiana.
1627–28. The West Coast of Australia surveyed by Dutch navigators.
1628. The English colonise the Bermudas.
1628. Port Royal (Acadie) taken by Sir David Kirke.
1628. The English colonise Nevis (W. I.).
1628–58. Reign of Shah Jahán in India.
1628. Massachusetts colonised.
1629. July. Capture of Quebec by the English under Sir David Kirke.
1629. Treaty of Susa between Great Britain and France.
1629. The Massachusetts Bay Company formed.
1629. The English colonise Bahamas.
1630. The English on the Mosquito Coast.
1632. Canada, Cape Breton and Acadie restored to France by the Treaty of St. Germain-en-Laye.
1632. The first school opened in Quebec.
1632. The English colonise Antigua and Montserrat.
1632. The Dutch settle in Tobago.
1634. The English permitted to trade throughout the dominions of the Mughal.

1634. Maryland colonised.
1635. Connecticut colonised.
1635. Marquis de Gamache founded Jesuits' College in Quebec.
1635. Lake Michigan discovered by Nicolet.
1635. December 25. Death of Champlain at Quebec.
1637. De Sillery founded school and home for Indians near Quebec.
1637. The Dutch expel Portuguese from Gold Coast, capturing Elmina and Asim.
1638. Newhaven and Maine colonised.
1638. The Swedes found New Sweden.
1638. A Buccaneer colony at Honduras formed.
1639. The Ursuline Convent founded at Quebec.
1639. The Hotel Dieu founded in Quebec by Duchesse D'Aiguillon.
1639. Madras acquired; first English territory in India.
1640. Lake Erie discovered by Chaumonot and Brébœuf.
1640. The English export negroes to America.
1640. The Dutch take Malacca from Portuguese.
1640. The East India Company's factory founded at Hugli.
1641. New Hampshire joined to Massachusetts.
1642. May 18. Ville Marie (Montreal) founded by Maisonneuve. Fort Richelie (now Sorel) founded by Montmagny.
1642. Tasman discovers Van Diemen's Land and New Zealand.
1642. Another French East India Company founded.
1643. Tasman discovers the Fiji Islands.
1643. A "New England Confederation" is formed in America of Massachusetts, Plymouth, Connecticut, and Newhaven.
1644. Rhode Island colonised.
1647. Lake St. John discovered.
1650. The English colonise Anguilla.
1650. Grenada and St. Lucia settled by the French.
1652. The Dutch occupy Cape of Good Hope.
1654. Acadie taken by the English.
1655. Dutch annex New Sweden.
1655. Jamaica taken by British.
1655. The Treaty of Westminster, restoring Canada and Acadie to the French.
1658. The Dutch drive Portuguese from Ceylon.
1660. The Anglo-French Agreement.
1661. St. Helena occupied by East India Company.
1661. The English get Bombay as part of dowry of Catherine of Braganza.
1662. The Company of "Royal Adventurers" receive charter from Charles II.
1662. Constitution granted to Jamaica by Charles II.
1663. The English occupy St. Lucia (W. I.).
1664. Conquest of New Netherlands in America from the Dutch; granted to Duke of York, and called New York.
1664. French take Montserrat.
1664. First House of Assembly in Jamaica.
1664. Sívaji becomes Rájá of Máráthas. Defence of Surat against Sívají.
1664. Another French East India Company established.
1665. The Dutch seize St. Helena.

1665. Western Australia named by the Dutch "New Holland."
1665. New Jersey colonised.
1665–67. War between English and Dutch.
1666. The English take Virgin Isles (W. I.).
1666. French take Antigua and all St. Kitts.
1667. The English take Cape Coast Castle from Dutch, and lose Cormantine.
1667. The English cede St. Lucia to French, and receive back Antigua, Montserrat, and share in St. Kitts. The French obtain St. Domingo.
1667. Acadie restored to France by Treaty of Breda.
1667. The English cede Surinam to the Dutch in exchange for New York.
1668. Charles II. gives Bombay to East India Company.
1670. Honduras ceded by Spain.
1670. The Hudson Bay Company founded.
1670–96. No goods allowed to be imported from the colonies to Ireland.
1671. First purchase of land at Cape by Dutch from Hottentots.
1671. The Danes occupy St. Thomas (W. I.).
1671. The buccaneer, Morgan, sacked Panama.
1672. The Royal African Company formed to trade with Gold Coast.
1672–74. War between English and Dutch.
1673. The Dutch take New York, but restore it to English 1674.
1673. The East India Company retake St. Helena from the Dutch.
1674. Grenada annexed to France.
1677. The French take Tobago.
1681. Bengal made a separate presidency.
1682. The Compagnie du Nord formed at Quebec for Hudson Bay fur trading in Hudson Bay.
1682. The Dutch take Bantam.
1683. Charter of Massachusetts annulled by Charles II.
1683. Rising at Bombay quelled.
1684. Captain Rogers visits Natal.
1685. The French expel English from Hudson Bay.
1687. The East India Company's factory moved from Surat to Bombay. English driven from Hugli, but allowed to return.
1688–89. Three hundred Huguenot refugees arrive at the Cape of Good Hope.
1689. The French take St. Kitts.
1690. The English take St. Kitts.
1690. Calcutta founded.
1690. Capture of Port Royal by Sir William Phipps.
1696. The East India Company build Fort William.
1697. Treaty of Ryswick. Mutual restoration of places taken during the war.
1697. St. Kitts to be shared by the French and English.
1698. Death of Frontenac.
1699. Dampier explores the west coast of Australia.
1699. The French colonise Louisiana.
1700. East India Company buy site of Calcutta.

1701. August 4. Ratification of a treaty of peace with the Iroquois at Montreal. Canadians granted leave to engage in manufacturing.
1702. Jerseys united.
1702. The English take all St. Kitts.
1703. Delaware colonised.
1703. St. Lucia capitulated to General Greenfield.
1704. Gibraltar captured by Rooke and Cloudesley Shovel.
1707. Act of Union, England and Scotland, passed.
1708. The Old and New Companies united, three Presidencies established, and a Governor and Council appointed for Bombay.
1708. Minorca captured by General Stanhope.
1712. Dissolution of the Royal African Company: trade open to all.
1712. The Dutch abandon the Mauritius.
1713. The English obtain all St. Kitts and facilities for slave trade ("Assiento Treaty").
1713. Treaty of Utrecht, by which Hudson Bay and adjacent territory, Nova Scotia (Acadie) and Newfoundland were ceded to the English. Louisburg founded.
1718. Pirates driven from the Bahamas.
1718. Law's Mississippi Company found New Orleans.
1719. First Government founded at Nova Scotia.
1721. The Dutch attempt to colonise Natal.
1721. January 21. Mail stage coaches established between Quebec and Montreal.
1721. The French East India Company occupy the Mauritius.
1721. The Dutch settlement at Natal abandoned.
1731. The Swedish India Company formed.
1732. The colony of Georgia founded.
1738. The Maroons allowed to settle in the north of Jamaica.
1739. Invasion of India by Nádir Shah.
1744. The French take St. Lucia.
1745. Louisburg and Isle of Cape Breton taken from French.
1746. Labourdonnais takes Madras; English retire to Fort St. David.
1748. St. Lucia, St Vincent, Tobago, and Dominica to be neutral.
1748. The English vainly attack Pondicherry. Madras restored to the English.
1748. Treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle.
1748. Restoration of Louisburg to the French in exchange for Madras, by the peace of Aix-la-Chapelle.
1749. June 21. The City of Halifax founded by Lord Halifax.
1751. Rocky Mountains discovered by Niverville's Expedition.
1751. Capture of Arcot by Robert Clive.
1752. March 23. Issue of the Halifax *Gazette*, the first paper published in Canada.
1752. The new style introduced into England. Year began January 1, not March 25, and eleven days suppressed between 2nd and 14th of September.
1752. Trichensprey surrendered to French.

1754. The French recall Dupleix. Treaty of Peace signed at Pondicherry.
1754. The French annex the Seychelles.
1754. The French occupy Fort Duquesne, on the Ohio.
1755. Expulsion of the Acadians from Nova Scotia.
1756. Siráj-ud-daulá takes Calcutta. (Black Hole Massacre.)
1756. The English take Dominica.
1756. The French take Port Mahon in Minorca.
1757. Clive recovers Calcutta, takes Chandernagar, and defeats Nawáb at Plassey.
1758. The English take Senegal and Goree.
1758. July 26. Final capture of Louisburg by the English under General Amherst.
1758. First meeting of Nova Scotian Legislature.
1758. Clive, Governor of Bengal, reduces Chinsurah to mere trading post.
1758. Capture of Fort Duquesne (afterwards called Pittsburg).
1758. Louisburg and Cape Breton taken.
1759. Battle of Quebec. Death of Wolfe. Quebec, Ticonderoga, Crown Point, and Fort Niagara captured.
1760. The English take Montreal. Conquest of Canada completed.
1760. Rising of slaves in Jamaica.
1760. Victory of Wandewash secures Madras to England, and completes the downfall of French in India.
1761. Capture of Martinique by the English.
1761. Capture of Pondicherry from French; restored 1763.
1762. First English settlement in New Brunswick.
1762. The English take Havannah, St. Lucia, St. Vincent, and Grenada.
1762. Capture of Manilla (Philippine Islands).
1762. Capture of Havannah (Cuba).
1762. Grenada surrendered to England.
1763. The English retain Tobago, Dominica, St. Vincent, Grenada, but restore St. Lucia to France, and give back Havannah to Spain.
1763. The peace of Paris. England keeps her conquests in America, including Canada and parts of West Indies. Restores Pondicherry.
1763. The English retain Senegal, but return Goree to France.
1763. Explorations of Wallis and Carteret in Australia.
1763. The English massacred at Patná.
1763. Falkland Islands taken by the French.
1764. Spain buys Falkland Isles.
1764. Act for taxing American imports; all taxes removed except tea in 1770.
1764. Munro, at Baxár, defeats league of Great Mughal, Nawáb of Bengal and Wazír of Oudh. Makes England the leading Power in India.
1765. Grenville's Stamp Act for America. Repealed in 1766.
1765. The English garrison Falkland Isles.
1765. Isle of Man annexed to Great Britain.
1767. Carteret discovers Pitcairn's Island.
1767. Townshend's Revenue Act passed.

1768–71. Captain Cook circumnavigated the world.
1769. Cook visits New Zealand and Fiji.
1770. Prince Edward Isle separated from Nova Scotia.
1770. Spain seizes Falkland Isles.
1770. Cook visits Australia, landing at Botany Bay, and names the country New South Wales.
1770. Captain Cook lands at Moreton Bay (Queensland).
1771. England recaptures Falkland Isles.
1771. The French take Dominica.
1772. Lord Mansfield declares slavery cannot exist in England.
1773. Exploration of Furneaux.
1773. Boston tea riot.
1773. First meeting of the House of Assembly of Prince Edward Island.
1774. The "Quebec Act" passed.
1774. Warren Hastings becomes first Governor-General of India. He reorganised the administration.
1774. Falkland Isles abandoned.
1774. Cook discovers Norfolk Island.
1774. Assembly of Massachusetts meets for the last time under the English Crown.
1775. The French retake Senegal.
1775–83. War of American Independence.
1775. George Washington appointed Commander-in-Chief in America.
1775. Battle of Bunker's Hill.
1776. Battle of Long Island; Declaration of Independence.
1777. Surrender at Saratoga.
1778. June 3. First issue of the Montreal *Gazette*. This paper is still published.
1778. Cook arrived in Nootka Sound and claimed the present north-west coast (British Columbia) for the Crown of Great Britain.
1778–82. French take all West Indies, except Jamaica, Antigua, Barbados, and Bahamas (which last Spain take).
1778. France recognises the independence of United States.
1778. American ally with France.
1779. Spain joins in American war.
1779. French take English posts, but lose Goree.
1780–83. War: England against France, Spain, and Holland for naval supremacy.
1780. Pitcairn Island occupied by Mutineers of *Bounty*.
1781. Cornwallis surrenders at Yorktown.
1781. The Dutch war with the Kaffirs.
1781. Tobago captured by the French.
1781. Hayder Ali defeated by Sir Eyre Coote.
1782. Rodney victorious in West Indies against the Count de Grasse.
1782. England acknowledges the independence of the United States.
1782. Rodney's victory off Dominica saves Jamaica.
1782. English lose Minorca.
1782. English invade Ceylon.

1783. English to have Gambia; France to have Senegal and Goree.
1783. Treaty of Versailles. French and Americans get right to fish in Gulf of St. Lawrence. Boundary between Canada and the United States defined.
1784. August 16. New Brunswick made a separate province.
1784. Pitt's India Bill passed, forming Board of Control.
1784. Tipú of Mysore makes peace.
1785. May 18. Date of charter of St. John, N.B., the oldest incorporated town in Canada.
1786. First vessel on the Pacific coast launched by Captain John Meares.
1786. Penang ceded to the East India Company.
1787. Freed negroes settled at Sierra Leone.
1787. The French acquire Cape Verde and Dakar.
1787. First Colonial See established in the British Empire in connection with the Church of England in Nova Scotia.
1787. Association for Abolition of Slave Trade formed.
1787. Sierra Leone ceded to Great Britain by native chiefs
1788. Captain Arthur Philips lands a party of convicts at Port Jackson, N.S.W.
1788. Sydney founded; convicts sent to Norfolk Island.
1789–93. Permanent land settlement established in Bengal.
1789. Battle of St. George Coy; Spaniards expelled from British Honduras.
1790. Vancouver Island circumnavigated by Captain Vancouver.
1791. Canada divided into two provinces.
1792. September 17. First meeting of the Parliament of Upper Canada at Newark (Niagara). English law introduced.
1793. Slavery abolished in Upper Canada.
1793. The East India Company annex New Guinea for a time.
1793. Pondicherry taken from French.
1793. The English take Tobago and St. Vincent.
1794. The English take St. Lucia, Martinique, and Guadaloupe.
1794. Seychelles taken by the English.
1795. The English take Malacca from Dutch.
1795. Mungo Park ascends the Niger.
1795. The English take Cape from the Dutch; restore it 1803; again captured 1806.
1796. The English take Ceylon and Moluccas, also Guiana, from the Dutch.
1796. Seat of Government of Upper Canada removed to Toronto.
1797. The English take Trinidad from Spain, and remove Caribs from St. Vincent.
1797. Tasmania found to be an Island.
1798. Bass's Straits discovered.
1798. Slave Amelioration Act and Catholic Emancipation Act passed by general legislature Windward Island; both disallowed by Crown.
1799. Death of Washington.
1799. Capture of Seringapatam.
1800. Union of Great Britain and Ireland.
1800. Malta placed in the hands of the British.
1800. The English for a time occupy Perim.

1800. Province Wellesley occupied.
1801. Ceylon made a separate colony.
1802. Guiana restored to the Dutch.
1802. The English restore the Cape to the Dutch.
1802. Peshwá of Poona submits to "Subsidiary system," hence second Maráthá War (1802–1804), with battles at Assaye (1802), Argáum, &c., and with result that Sindhia and Bhonsla yielded to system.
1802. Treaty of Amiens. England restores conquest except Trinidad and Ceylon. The title of King of France abandoned by England.
1802. Flinders discovered Port Phillip.
1803. Convicts sent to Van Diemen's Land.
1803. Louisiana purchased from the French.
1803. Occupation of Kandy and Guiana.
1803. The English take Tobago and St. Lucia.
1803. First newspaper established at New South Wales.
1803. Slavery abolished in Lower Canada.
1804. The English capture Goree.
1805. Convicts cease to be sent to Norfolk Island.
1806. November 22. Issue of *Le Canadien*, the first Canadian newspaper printed entirely in French.
1806. The English take the Cape of Good Hope.
1807. The English take St. Thomas and St. Croix.
1807. Abolition of the slave trade.
1807. The English take Heligoland from Danes.
1809. The English take Cayenne and Martinique.
1809. The English take Senegal.
1809. Kaffirs expelled from Zuurveldt and Rietfontein.
1809. First steamer on St. Lawrence River.
1810. The English take Guadaloupe and St. Eustace.
1810. Mauritius captured by British.
1810. Merino sheep introduced into New South Wales.
1812. United States declare war against England and invade Canada.
1812–13. Bathurst country explored.
1813. East India Company loses monopoly of Indian trade.
1814. December 24. War with America terminated by treaty of Ghent.
1814. The English keep Tobago and St. Lucia, and restore other conquests.
1814. British Guiana ceded to Great Britain.
1814. Peace of Paris.
1814. The Cape of Good Hope finally ceded to English.
1814. Goree restored to the French.
1814–15. Gurkha war.
1815. Ascension Island taken and garrisoned by Great Britain.
1815. Bonaparte conveyed to St. Helena.
1815. The English annex Candy.
1816. The English restore Java to Dutch.
1816. Algiers bombarded by Exmouth.
1816. New settlement at Gambia by British merchants from Senegal.

1816. Tristan da Cunha annexed.
1817. Pindáris conquered.
1817–18. Third Marátha War, ending in annexation of Poona and reduction of Holkar and Rajputana.
1818. Treaty between America and Canada respecting fisheries.
1818. The English restore Malacca to Dutch.
1819. The English occupy Singapore.
1820. Spain cedes Florida to United States.
1820. Cape Breton reannexed to Nova Scotia.
1820. Buenos Ayres tries to settle Falkland Isles.
1821. African Company dissolved and its forts transferred to the Crown.
1823. Brisbane River discovered.
1823–28. Lord Amherst, Governor-General of India; conquest of part of Burmah.
1824. War with Burmah. Rangoon taken.
1824. Convicts sent to Moreton Bay.
1824. Singapore ceded by Sultan of Johor.
1825. Tasmania made a separate colony.
1825. The English get from Dutch Malacca in exchange for Sumatra.
1826. Ashantis defeated at Accra.
1826. Annexation of Assam.
1826. Convicts sent to Norfolk Island.
1826. New South Wales tries to colonise New Zealand.
1826–29. Colonists settle on Swan River.
1828. Gold Coast dropped by Government.
1828. American tariff imposing heavy duties on British goods.
1828–35. Lord W. C. Bentinck, Governor-General of India; puts down Thagi and Satí; Macaulay is legal member of his council.
1828–31. Sturt's expeditions into South Australia.
1829. Settlement made in Western Australia.
1829. Perth founded.
1830. Mormons first appear.
1830. Ports in America reopened to British commerce.
1831. Insurrection of negroes in Jamaica.
1831. Americans destroy settlement on Falkland Isles.
1832. Insurrection of negroes in Trinidad.
1832. Constitution given to Newfoundland.
1833. Act of Parliament opening the trade to India and China.
1833. Abolition of slaves.
1833. The English colonise Falkland Isles.
1833. Anti-Slavery Society established in United States.
1834. Toronto incorporated.
1834. Crown takes over St. Helena.
1835. Settlement at Port Phillip.
1835–36. Dutch "trek" into Natal, and defeat Zulus.
1836. First railroad in Canada, La Prairie to St. John's.
1836. South Australia colonised; Melbourne and Adelaide founded.
1837. Singapore made seat of government of Straits Settlements.
1837. The Dutch Boers migrate to Natal.
1838. Negro population of Jamaica emancipated (310,000).

1838–39. Eyre's expeditions (Australia).
1839. Annexation of Aden.
1839. New Zealand colonised.
1839. Republic of Natal proclaimed by the Boers. Maritzburg founded.
1839–40. Native chiefs cede New Zealand to British. Wellington and Auckland founded.
1840. Sir James Brooke establishes the independent State of Sarawak.
1840–41. Eyre's last expedition (Australia).
1840–41. New Canadian Constitution. Upper and Lower Canada united.
1841. Convicts to New South Wales cease.
1841. Hong Kong ceded to the English. Treaty ports opened.
1841. New Zealand becomes a separate colony.
1841. Insurrection at Kabul, followed by disastrous retreat.
1842. Queensland opened to colonists. Copper found in South Australia. Sturt's journey to the central region of Australia.
1842. Algiers annexed to France.
1842. August 9. Settlement of the boundary line between Canada and the United States by the Ashburton Treaty.
1843. Sind annexed Gwalior captured.
1843. Strzelecki explores Gipp's Land.
1843. Victoria, B.C., founded by James Douglas. Geological survey established by Government. First iron steamer in Canada launched at Montreal.
1843. Natal annexed by the English.
1843. The Gambia made a separate settlement from Sierra Leone.
1843. Government resumes control of the Gold Coast.
1844–45. Leichhardt's first expedition (Australia).
1845. Jamaica railway opened.
1845. Orange Free State annexed; Pretorius leads Boers to Transvaal.
1845–46. Sikh War: Battle of Múdkí.
1846. Labuan ceded to Great Britain by the Sultan of Borneo.
1846. Treaty of Lahore; end of first Sikh war.
1847. Navigation laws repealed. Electric telegraph line established between Quebec, Montreal, and Toronto.
1847. Bishopric of Cape Town founded.
1847. Liberia declared an independent republic.
1848. Leichhardt's last expedition (Australia).
1848. Annexation of the Orange River territory.
1848. Turks and Caicos Islands placed under the Government of Jamaica.
1849. Canadian trade opened to world. Vancouver's Isle made a Crown colony.
1849. Satára annexed. Punjab annexed. Dulíp Singh pensioned.
1849. Cape colonists object to convicts being sent.
1850. The Straits Settlements separated from Bengal.
1850. Bombay railway commenced.
1850. Russell allows certain Australian Colonies to choose mode of government.

1850. Convicts sent to West Australia.
1850. Gold discovered in Australia.
1850. The first sod of the Northern Railway (Canada) turned by Lady Elgin.
1850–53. Kaffir Wars: English buy Danish possessions on Gold Coast.
1850. Victoria made a separate colony.
1851. The Great Exhibition at London. Submarine telegraph from Dover to Calais.
1851. Prince Edward's Isle gets responsible government.
1851. King of Lagos (Kosoko) expelled by British on account of his connection with the slave trade.
1851. Transfer of the control of the postal system from the British to the provincial Governments, and adoption of a uniform rate of postage (Canada).
1851. Gold found in Victoria, which is now separated from New South Wales.
1852. Second Burmese War. Pegu conquered.
1852. Newfoundland gets responsible government.
1852. New Zealand obtains responsible government.
1852. Transvaal recognised as independent.
1852. Annexation of Pegu.
1852. Commencement of the Grand Trunk Railway.
1853. First ocean steamer arrived at Quebec.
1853. Convicts cease to be sent to Van Diemen's Land, which now takes the name of Tasmania.
1853. Orange Republic acknowledged.
1853. District of British Kaffraria formed.
1853. Constitution granted to the Cape Colony.
1854. Kuria Muria Islands ceded.
1854. New Constitution given to Jamaica.
1854. Orange Free State restored.
1854. Reciprocity Treaty with the United States and Canada.
1854. Colonial and War Secretaryships separated.
1855. Victorian and New South Wales constitutions formed.
1855. Responsible government granted to Newfoundland.
1856. Natal separated from Cape and made a Crown colony.
1856. Oudh annexed.
1856. Tasmania and South Australia receive responsible government.
1856. Most of inhabitants of Pitcairn's Island moved to Norfolk Island, which ceased to receive convicts.
1856. German Legion from Crimea arrive at Cape.
1856. Treaty of Paris.
1856. Canadian Council made elective.
1856. Grand Trunk Railway opened.
1857. Perim occupied.
1857–58. Great Sepoy mutiny: Sikhs loyal.
1858–64. Livingstone's journeys in Zambesia.
1858. Ottawa made capital of Canada.
1858. Gold found in British Columbia.
1858. Adoption of the decimal currency in Canada.
1858. Annexation of Oudh.

1858. Gladstone sent as Commissioner to Ionian Islands.
1858. Queen Victoria proclaimed Sovereign of India.
1858. Crown takes over India from East India Company; Mutiny suppressed; cost £40,000,000.
1858. Suez Canal commenced.
1858. First Atlantic cable laid; connection broken after first message.
1859. Queensland separated from New South Wales and receives constitution.
1859. Fiji vainly offers cession.
1859. The Punjab made a distinct Presidency.
1860. Kowloon, near Hong Kong, ceded.
1860. War: England and France *v.* China.
1860. First railway from Cape Town.
1860. Winnipeg founded.
1861. Lagos ceded to English.
1861. Boers in Transvaal form themselves into a separate State.
1861. Stuart, M'Kinlay, and Landsborough cross Australia.
1861. King Docemo cedes Lagos to British Crown.
1862. British Columbia obtains responsible government.
1865. Rising in Jamaica; put down by Governor Eyre.
1865. Wellington made capital of New Zealand.
1866. Fenian invasion of Canada from United States.
1866. Vancouver's Isle joined to Columbia.
1866. Inter-colonial Exhibition at Melbourne.
1866. Jamaica's Constitution surrendered.
1866. Atlantic cable laid by the *Great Eastern*.
1867. Twelve islands off Angra Pequena annexed; added to Cape in 1874.
1867. Straits Settlements become a Crown colony.
1867. Diamonds found near the Orange River.
1867. February 10. The British North American Act passed by the Imperial Legislature. July 1. Union of the provinces of Canada, Nova Scotia, and New Brunswick under the name of the Dominion of Canada. The names of Upper and Lower Canada were changed to Ontario and Quebec respectively.
1867. Russian America purchased by United States.
1868. Convicts to West Australia cease.
1868. Peninsula of Little Aden purchased.
1868. Abyssinian expedition.
1869. Suez Canal opened (Nov.).
1869. June 22. Bill passed providing for the government of the North-West Territories.
1869. November 19. Deed of surrender signed, Hudson's Bay Company's sale and transfer to her Majesty.
1870. Inter-colonial Exhibition at Sydney.
1870. Red River rising under Riel (Canada).
1870. Manitoba joins Dominion.
1870. July 15. Addition of the North-West Territories to the Dominion (Canada).
1871. British Columbia joins the Dominion.
1871. Leeward Isles federated.

1871. Treaty of Washington: Alabama arbitration.
1871. Pacific Railway surveys begun; Post-cards issued.
1871. Griqualand and Basutoland annexed to Cape.
1871. Dutch possessions on Gold Coast acquired.
1872. Lord Mayo murdered in India.
1872. Cape receives responsible government.
1872–73. Giles's expeditions; discovers Lake Amadeus (Australia).
1873. Prince Edward's Isle joins the Dominion.
1873. Turks and Caicos Islands definitely annexed to Jamaica.
1873. November 7. Mackenzie Administration formed (Canada); Island of St. Juan awarded to the United States by the Emperor of Germany.
1873. Port Moresby in New Guinea discovered.
1874. Fiji annexed.
1874. War with Ashanti.
1874. Sir Andrew Clarke arranges Pangkor Treaty (Straits Settlements).
1875. The Prince of Wales visits India.
1876. Kaffraria, &c., annexed.
1876. Sir H. B. Frere, Governor, opens Exhibition at Cape Town.
1876. Opening of the Inter-colonial Railway from Quebec to Halifax.
1876. North-West Province separated from Manitoba.
1877. South African Confederacy formed.
1877. Transvaal annexed.
1877. The Queen proclaimed Empress of India.
1877. May. Medical Council of Great Britain decided to recognise Canadian degrees.
1878. Port of Walfish Bay proclaimed British; annexed in 1884.
1878. Treaty of Berlin.
1878. Cyprus placed under British protection.
1878. Freedom of Native press in India abolished.
1879. Cavagnari slain at Kabul; English invade Afghanistan.
1879. Sydney International Exhibition.
1879. Zulu War; Rorke's Drift; Ulundi: Cetewayo captured.
1879. Adoption of a protective tariff, otherwise called the "National Policy" (Canada).
1879. Colonial Defence Commission appointed.
1880. Diamond Field annexed.
1880. Griqualand West incorporated with Cape Colony.
1880. Melbourne International Exhibition.
1880. Boers of the Transvaal in revolt (December).
1880. General Roberts' march from Kabul to Kandahar.
1881. The North Borneo Company get charter.
1881. Defeat at Laing's Nek and Majuba Hill.
1881. Self-government granted to Transvaal.
1881. Canadian Pacific Railway commenced.
1883. Queensland tries to annex part of New Guinea.
1883. Completion of the direct railway between Melbourne and Sydney.
1883–84. Calcutta International Exhibition.
1883. Toronto Industrial Exhibition.
1884. English Protectorate instituted over part of New Guinea.

1884. Walfish Bay joined to Cape.
1884. Basutoland made Crown colony.
1884. Oil River (Niger Coast) Protectorate established.
1884. Constitution of Jamaica changed.
1885. Rising in the North-West suppressed.
1885. The Canadian Pacific Railway completed.
1885. Tembuland, &c., annexed to Cape.
1885. The North Borneo Protectorate established, including Brunei and Sarawak.
1885. Windward Isles federated.
1885. Protectorate over British New Guinea proclaimed.
1885. Death of Gordon.
1885. Riel's rebellion suppressed by Canadians.
1886. Annexation of Upper Burmah.
1886. Socotra annexed.
1886. Upper Burmah annexed
1886. Gold discovered in Western Australia.
1886. Anglo-German Treaty as to East Africa and Niger.
1886. Niger Company receive charter.
1886. May 4. Opening of the Indian and Colonial Exhibition in London.
1887. Zululand annexed.
1887. New constitution given to Malta.
1887. British Protectorate over Somali Coast proclaimed.
1887. Toronto Industrial Exhibition.
1888. Part of New Guinea annexed.
1888. East African Company obtain charter.
1888. Fishery Treaty between Great Britain and United States; but not ratified.
1888. British Government assumes protectorate over State of North Borneo.
1889. Centennial Exhibition at Melbourne.
1889. Christmas Island placed under the government of the Straits Settlements.
1889. Nyassaland Protectorate established.
1889. Royal Charter granted to British South African Company.
1889. Tobago joined with Trinidad in government.
1890. Labuan incorporated in North Borneo.
1890. Swaziland independence guaranteed.
1890. Anglo-German agreement as to East Africa.
1890. Anglo-French agreement as to Niger.
1890. Responsible government granted to Western Australia.
1890. Anglo-German agreement signed July 1; English Protectorate at Zanzibar; cession of Heligoland to Germany.
1890. July 22. International Peace Conference of members of European Legislatures at the Hotel Métropole; Lord Herschell, chairman.
1890. August 6. Anglo-French agreement (frontier of Niger) signed.
1890. August 9. Heligoland transferred to Germany.
1890. December 11. Deputation from North Queensland, respecting separation of North and South Queensland.
1891. Jamaica International Exhibition.

1891. Earl of Kintore crosses the continent of Australia.
1891. January 1. Uniform Colonial Postal rate (2½d.) adopted.
1891. January 2. National Australian Federation Convention opened at Sydney: Sir Henry Parkes, President.
1891. March 3. United States Congress pass Copyright Bill.
1892. February 29. Treaty of Washington (Behring Sea) providing for arbitration as to seal fishing.
1892. King Thebaw removed to India.
1892. Russians appear on the Pamirs.
1892. September 28. Legislative Council of New Brunswick abolished.
1893. November 2. Matabele War: Bulawayo destroyed.
1893. Legislative Council and Assembly of Prince Edward Island merged into one body.
1893. Natal obtains responsible government.
1893. Defeat of Matabeles by South African Company.
1895. British Bechuanaland incorporated with Cape.
1895. December. Jameson's Raid.
1896. January 1. Defeat of Jameson.
1896. Ashanti War: Coomassie taken, January 17.
1897. Diamond Jubilee.
1897. Zululand included with Natal.
1897. February 2. Anglo-Venezuelan Treaty of Arbitration signed at Washington by Sir Julian Pauncefote, British Ambassador, and Señor José Andrade, Venezuelan Minister.
1898. Soudan War: Khartoum retaken, September 2.
1898. Christmas Colonial Penny Postage inaugurated.
1899. April 8. Messages sent to France by wireless telegraphy.
1899. Peace Conference at the Hague, May 17 to July 29.
1899. Transvaal War begins October 9. President Kruger's ultimatum.
1899. November 24. Death of the Khalifa.
1900. January 4. Nigeria taken over from the Royal Niger Company.
1900. Transvaal War. Kimberley relieved February 14; Ladysmith relieved March 1; Bloemfontein taken March 13; Mafeking relieved May 17; Pretoria surrenders June 1.
1900. Orange Free State proclaimed a British colony May 27.
1900. September. South African Republic proclaimed a British colony September 1.
1901. January 1. Colonial penny postage commences at New Zealand.
1901. January 1. The Federation of the Australian Colonies inaugurated at Sydney.
1901. January 22. Death of Queen Victoria.
1901. March 1. Postal telegraphic and telephonic service of Australia transferred to the Commonwealth.
1901. May 9. Duke of Cornwall opens the first Parliament of the Commonwealth of Australia.

CENSUS RETURNS

The Census Returns for 1901 is not yet complete, but the following figures (some unrevised) have been issued :—

India	294,266,701
British India	231,085,132
Native States	63,181,569

Provinces.—Madras, 38,208,609; Bombay, 18,584,496; Bengal, 74,713,020; North-West Provinces and Oudh, 47,696,324; Punjab, 22,449,484; Burma (Lower), 5,371,328; Burma (Upper), 3,840,833; Central Provinces, 9,845,318; Assam, 6,122,201; Berar, 2,752,418; Ajmer-Merwara, 476,330; Coorg, 180,461; Baluchistan, 810,811; Andamans, 24,499.

Capitals of Provinces.—Calcutta and suburbs, 1,121,664; Madras, 509,397; Bombay, 770,843; Karachi, 115,407; Allahabad, 175,748; Lucknow, 263,951; Lahore, 120,058; Rangoon, 232,326; Mandalay, 182,498; Nagpur, 124,599; Ajmer, 75,759.

The census for India includes the whole of the Empire except the West Manglun and the trans-Salween Northern Shan States, and certain tracts of the Baluchistan Agency, the area affected by disturbances. Many parts of India are included in the census for the first time. The population has risen since 1891 by 2.42 per cent. (or not including the tracts now enumerated for the first time by 1.49 per cent.). In British India there has been an increase of 4.44 per cent., in the Native States there has been a decrease of 4.34 per cent., against an increase 1881–1891 in British India of 9.68 per cent., and in the Native States of 16.58 per cent.

Ceylon	3,576,990
Hong Kong	283,975
Straits Settlements	572,249
Fed Malay States	678,595
Victoria (Hong Kong)	181,918

Canada, 5,338,883; Ontario, 2,167,978; Quebec, 1,620,974; British Columbia, 190,000; Manitoba, 246,464; The Territories, 220,000; Nova Scotia, 459,116; New Brunswick, 331,093; Prince Edward Island, 103,258.

Some of the principal Municipal Cities:—Montreal, 266,826; Toronto, 207,971; Quebec, 68,834; Ottawa, 59,902; Hamilton, 52,550; Winnipeg, 42,336; Halifax, 40,787; St. John, 40,711; Vancouver, 26,196; Victoria, 20,821; Charlottetown, 12,080.

The returns for Canada does not include the extreme northern portions of Quebec and Ontario, and the unorganised territories of Athabasca, Franklin, Keewatin, Mackenzie, Ungava, and Yukon.

Bahamas, 53,735; St. Vincent, 47,548; Virgin Island, 4908; St. Kitts, 29,782; Nevis, 12,774; Anguilla, 3890; Antigua, 34,178; Montserrat, 12,215; Redouda, 18; Dominica, 28,894; Trinidad, 251,009.

Capitals. — Kingston (St. Vincent), 21,377; St. John's (Antigua), 9262; Plymouth (Montserrat), 1461; Roseau (Dominica), 5764; Belize (British Honduras), 9113; British Honduras, 37,479; Gibraltar, 27,460; Southern Rhodesia: Mashonaland, 5037: Matabeleland, 10,816: New South Wales, 1,359,943: Victoria, 1,199,692; Queensland, 503,266; South Australia, 358,097; Western Australia, 182,553; Tasmania, 172,000; New Zealand (ex. Maoris), 772,455; Maoris, 43,101. *Capitals with Suburbs.*—Sydney, 488,382: Melbourne, 494,129: Brisbane, 119,428; Adelaide, 162,261; Perth, 36,199: Hobart Town, ... ; Wellington, 49,344; Isle of Man, 55,608; Douglas, 19,525; Ramsey, 4866; England, 30,805,466; Wales, 1,720,609; Scotland, 4,472,000; Ireland, 4,456,546; United Kingdom, 41,454,621; London (County of), 4,536,063.

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